THE ECCLESIASTICALL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

THE HISTORIE Of the REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND;

Containing five Books:

Together with some *TREATISES* conducing to the Hiſtory.

Publiſhed by Authority.

JEREM. 5. 1.

Run ye to and fro thorow the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, *and ſee now, and know, and ſeek in the broad places thereof, if ye can finde a man, if there be any executeth judgement, that ſeeketh the Truth, and I will pardon it.*

2 COR. 13. 8.

For we can do nothing againſt the Truth, but for the Truth.

LONDON,
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M DC XLIV.

To the Reader.

Chriſtian Reader,

HEre I preſent unto thee a Piece, I dare promiſe, worthy of thy reading; wherein thou haſt a true and plain Relation (without diſguiſing) of many memorable Paſſages happened in the Church of God, and likewiſe ſome notable ones in the State of the Kingdom of Scotland, from the very firſt ſetling of State and Church in that Countrey. But namely, and chiefly, thou haſt here related what principally paſſed in Church and State in this our Countrey, during the great Work of purging the Church from the Superſtitions and Idolatry, and freeing both Church and State from the Tyranny and Slavery of Popery, untill the coming of King James, our late Soveraign, to the Crown of Scotland. Further, beſide the true and faithfull Relation of many Occurrences that fell out in theſe dayes in Scotland, thou haſt unfolded unto thee, and made plain, the ſtrong Reaſons, and neceſſery Cauſes that moved theſe men who are here named, although infirm and weake in themſelves, to undergo the great Work of Reformation: With the ſolid Grounds upon which they went on with this weighty Buſineſſe willingly and cheerfully, notwithſtanding the great rubs and difficulties they met withall, through the help and aſſiſtance of God, who by them, mean Inſtruments, brought things to paſſe, in deſpight of the malice and ſtratagems of Sathan, with his agents, for the good of his People, and the ſetling of his Church in Purity and Liberty.

All theſe things are ſet down plainly and ſimply, in familiar and homely Language; Yet ſo, that they may be with eaſe apprehended and underſtood by any one. From what thou haſt here, written in this Volume, although there were no other Writings in this kinde extant, thou mayeſt ſee eaſily, by what means the great Myſtery of Iniquity, from the very firſt Riſe, hath been ſet afoot, and conſtantly, ever ſince, hath been carried on; to wit, By cunning Devices, impudent Lyes, continued and crafty Plots, under ſpecious Pretexts, and open Oppreſſion, Tyranny, and Cruelties, within Scotland, till the yeer of Chriſt 1567. After which time, the enemies of God, and of his People, have not been ſleeping, till this preſent, more then formerly. Wherefore, for thy good, Chriſtian Reader, I have thought fit in this place to point at ſome main Occurrences from that time till now.

Firſt then, the adverſaries of Truth and Goodneſſe, under the ſpecious Pretext of reſtoring Queen Mary to her Liberty, and of re-eſtabliſhing her in full Authority, and ſole Power, did diſquiet and trouble both Church and State in Scotland, both with open Force, and ſubtill Plots, for ſome yeers, that is, to the 1573 yeer. But finding that all their Undertakings, under this pretext, proved to be in vain, and without ſucceſſe, and ſtanding to their main Deſigne of undoing

Religion and Liberty, they bethought themſelves of another way, in appearance more plauſible, for compaſſing their wicked Intents; it was, To deal, by way of entreaty and requeſt, with the chief Miniſters of State and Church then, To have the Mother ſet at liberty, and to be joynt in Authority and Power with her Son. And, for the obtaining of this, was employed the credit of the French Court for the time, with all its skill and cunning; but to ſmall purpoſe: For theſe rude fellows, who managed the publike Affairs then of State and Church, could not be corrupted with the French Complements. In this way the enemies continued, till the yeer 1577, *and did not then give over, notwithſtanding their bad ſucceſſe; but, according to their wonted and reſolved cuſtome, they went on with their Deſigne, betaking themſelves to a new courſe; wherein, they had indeed more ſucceſſe then in either of the former two: It was this; They did ſet awork certain men, who with fair words, and flattering tales, ſo craftily dealt with the young King, hardly yet twelve yeers of age, that they made him caſt off, as a yoke, the counſell and ſervice of thoſe, who, ever ſince his Birth-day, had carefully laboured for the good of State and Church, with the pereſervation of his Authority, and ſafety of his Perſon: And ſo the inconſiderate young King, although of moſt nimble wit and knowing, above his yeers, under the ſhew of freedom, put himſelf in the power of thoſe who wiſhed no good to his Perſon and Authority, and as little to the Church and State, making no ſcruple to trouble both for their own ends, according to the Inſtructions of the Maſters who ſet them awork. So, in very ſhort time, they gave unto the young King ſuch impreſſions (which did ſtick too much to him) that not onely he became averſe from thoſe who had been ſo uſefull to the publike, and ſo ſerviceable to him, but alſo he ſuffered them to be perſecuted, yea, ſome by death, and others by baniſhment.*

While the enemies were thus working buſineſſe with us in Scotland, *they were not idle with our neighbours in* England; *for they were contriving and plotting, under colour of ſetting the impriſoned Queen at liberty: And were gone ſo far on in this way in both Kingdoms, that to ſtop the courſe and progreſſe of the enemies, both Countries thought it neceſſary to enter into a mutuall League and Covenant one with another, for the defence of the Reformed Religion, and Liberties of both Kingdoms, with the preſervation of the Perſons and Authorities of both Princes, King* James *and Queen* Elizabeth, *againſt the common enemy. This was done by the conſent of both Princes, in the yeer* 1686.

After this, the enemy ſeeing the warineſſe of both Kingdoms to be ſuch, that in a ſhort time he was not likely to advance the main Deſigne according to his minde, by craft and cunning leaveth off for a time to act the part of the Fox, and openly declares himſelf to be a raviſhing Wolf: So the yeer 1588 *the Armado cometh againſt both Kingdoms, which God, in his mercy unto our fathers and us, brought to nought. About this time, and ſome yeers before, the agents of the enemy were very buſie with King* James *to break with* England, *and to revenge the hard uſage, and ill treatment of his Mother: But God did direct him ſo, for his own good, that he did give no conſent to their evil counſell. Upon this refuſall of the King, the agents of the common enemy do beſtir themſelves to trouble both King and Kingdom; which they did in a high meaſure, in the yeer* 1595. *This gave occaſion then both to Prince and people to enter into Covenant for the defence of the Truth, and pure Doctrine of the Church, with the Reformed Diſcipline, and of the ſafety of the King and Kingdom; by which means, the proceedings of the enemies was ſtopped for a while.*

Now

To the Reader.

Now the time drawing neer of the Kings coming to the Crown of England, *the watching enemy returns to work again, in another manner then he had done hitherto; which was this: By the mouths of ſome timerous and worldly men, he cauſeth to preſent unto the King the conſideration of great difficulties that he was likely to finde, in his ſucceeding to the Crown of* England, *by two parties there, who were given out to be the Strength of the Kingdom; to wit, the profeſt* Papiſts, *and the* Prelaticall *men; therefore, to facilitate the buſineſſe, they muſt be in ſome ſort contented. For the ſatisfaction of the Prelates, the King, by degrees, muſt endeavour to bring again into* Scotland *Prelacy, with all its dependences; for no neglecter or contemner of the holy Order could be kindely received to reigne in* England: *and ſo this part of the advice was followed with all poſſible care and diligence. To content the Papiſts, they not onely muſt have given unto them under-hand hopes of connivence, and over ſeeing their practice; but alſo there muſt be a Letter written to the Pope, to aſſure his Holineſſe of the Kings affection to the Catholike Cauſe. Thus both theſe parties were calmed ſo far, that the King came to the Crown of* England, Anno 1602, *without manifeſt oppoſition, albeit not without the grumbling and grudging of ſome. As for the ſtricter ſort of Profeſſors of the Reformed Religion, going under the nick-name of* Puritans, *no oppoſition or trouble to the Succeſſion was feared from them, becauſe the Principles upon which they go on, riſing from the Word of God, are far other then theſe of worldlings, which flow from intereſt, and conſequently, they needed not Atonement, or Propitiatory Sacrifice, to befriend the King. But the holy Father not finding reall performance by the King of what he looked for, remembers the King in good earneſt of his promiſe not kept, by the Gun-powder Plot,* Anno 1605. *After which (by Gods mercy failing) men would have thought, that the Popiſh party ſhould leave off all undertakings hereafter. But they follow their buſineſſe more conſtantly then ſo; for no ſooner one Plot fails, but incontinent they put another afoot; yea, they have ſeverall Plots at one and the ſame time in hand, whereof it is likely that either one or other will take. Now this great Plot of the Gun-powder being come to nothing, they, as it were, go back for a time, to come forward in due ſeaſon with another; and leaving for a while the open and devouring raviſhing of the Wolf, they have recourſe again to the cunning of the Fox.*

The next care then, after the calming in ſome meaſure the ſpirits of men, after ſo horrid a Treaſon, is to look about, and to ſtudie by whom the affairs of theſe Dominions were managed: And finding, by ſerious inſpection, That all affairs received great influence from the Court, after mature deliberation, they reſolved to make friends there; which they did, by ſubtill inſinuations, fair words, high promiſes, and ſome reall performances of good Offices; yea, when money was abſolutely neceſſary, it was not ſpared. Thus, by degrees, having gotten friends at Court, in it they make a party next, for whoſe ſubſiſtence and increaſe, they employ all that they can. Now having power and credit at Court, more and clearly perceiving it to be the fountain from whence all preferment to Honour and benefit in Church and State did flow, they judged it fit for their purpoſe to make ſure of ſome prime men both in Church and State, according to their minde; which was done as they deſired. Thus having gained men chief in State and Church for their uſe, then they went to the corrupting of the Univerſities, being the Seminaries of all Liberall Education. This likewiſe they did effectuate; firſt, by the Over-ſeers connivence to looſeneſſe of life in young people; next, by the bad example of the Seniors

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the Juniors were invited to do mischief. Then the Teachers, by their bad instruction, did corrupt, namely, in Theologie, all sound Doctrine. And for this purpose, the earnest studie of the Old Testament in the Originall Hebrew was cryed downe, as beseeming rather men of the Synagogue, then those of the Christian Schools. Likewise the Greek of the New Testament must not be read with diligence, for fear of spoyling the elegancy of the Greek Language, which is to be found in profane Authors. So they withdrew the Students from the studie of Scriptures in the Originall, and recommended to them the reading of humane Writings, particularly in Theologie, the Books of the Ancients, which are commonly called Fathers. *Likewise was recommended unto young men the studie of the Sophistry of the Monks, as of* Thomas *and* Scotus *namely, with their Expositors. True it is, That if young men were well instructed in Theologie from the Scriptures, and taught the true Principles of Philosophie, in a setled course, by some judicious and diligent Professor, they might reade all these Books, and others in their kinde, with pleasure and benefit. But alas, young men not knowing the rudiments of Theologie, nor the first Elements of Philosophie, are let loose unto themselves, and so by reading these Books, having no sure ground to stick to, learn onely to doubt, and put Queries, yea, of the very Principles of all sound knowledge, both Divine and Humane. Thus being brought to waver and doubt, they are easily led, what by interest, what by weaknesse, to embrace a bad Opinion; or at least, to hold all uncertain, as the ancient* Scepticks, *not being able to resolve: Yea, doubting is come to that height, that, in the opinion of many, he is the bravest fellow, and wittiest, that can raise most Queries, answer them who will or can: And so* Wit *is hugely cryed up, which is but meer froth; and poor solid* Wisedom *is not so much as named, or thought on.*

Then those of the richer sort, having spent some time idly and loosely at the Universities, go beyond Sea, particularly to Italy, *forsooth, either upon their own trust, or, which is little better, if not worse, many of those who go along with young men, to advise and direct them, have as much need of one for their guide, as the young men themselves; having neither staidnesse, discretion, nor probity. So that if there were a just account cast up of all those who either have been bred in the Universities, or gone beyond Sea these many yeers, I will speak within compasse, That of twenty you shall hardly finde one who is improved in vertue by this Breeding, for the good of the Church and State, whereof they are members, and perhaps considerable too, if they were wise and good. At this present both Church and State findes this to be true, by wofull experience, namely, in the Clergie, Gentry, and Nobility.*

Now these evils have not been in England *alone, for* Scotland, *according to its proportion, in compasse of Bounds, numbers of people, provision of means, and in its distance from Court, hath its full share of all the evil: For first, the Schools of breeding young people at home were become very corrupt; and many in their travelling abroad, have either miscarried, or little benefited themselves: The fruit we have found, namely, in our corrupt Clergie, yea, and in some of our infatuated Gentry and Nobility: but blessed be God, things are now in a better posture and constitution there, then they have been formerly; God grant we may have occasion to say the like of* England. *For Religion, sound knowledge, and true wisedome, with probity have been so neglected and contemned there, to the ignominy and reproach of Christianity, that in these times, there we have seen the dolefull effects of want of Religion, and of these other vertues. But to return to the Court.*

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The Popiſh party, although they had both power and credit at Court, yet they were not aſſured to go on ſo ſmoothly and ſpeedily with the great Deſigne, ſo long as there were any of eminency there, of whom they could not be certain: So Prince Henry *was firſt wiſhed to be out of the way, next, by untimely death was taken away, to the grief of many honeſt men. This conceived* Remora *being laid aſide, they reſolve to go on more freely in their Deſigne. But although they had gained much upon the affection of the King, yet they can ſuffer him to expreſſe the Notions of Religion and wiſedom, both by word and writing: Yea, they will yeeld him to follow ſo far his former Principles, as to match his daughter to one of his Profeſſion: ſo he marries the Lady* Elizabeth *to the Prince Elector Palatine, although it was not altogether ſo pleaſing to ſome chief ones at Court then. Theſe things paſſed, in the yeer* 1613. *who, although they would not ſtop the Marriage to go on, yet they managed the buſineſſe ſo, that they hindered the Prince Elector Palatine to receive the advantages which in reaſon he ſhould have had by vertue of it, as help and ayd at his need,* &c.

Here we muſt make a little ſtep beyond Sea, and preſently return back. Now then, we muſt know, That as the Popiſh party have been very buſie in theſe our Dominions, in carrying on the Work of the great Deſigne of ſubjecting all to the Pope, directly, or indirectly; ſo in other places, where Idolatry and Tyranny had been caſt off, they have not been ſleeping nor idle, namely, in our neighbour Countreys; where, when they had made things up for a combuſtion of War, by their crafty forecaſting diviſions and corruptions in life and Doctrine of men of place, they kindled the fire; witneſſe the buſineſſe of Barnevel *in the Low Countreys, in the yeer* 1619. *And not long thereafter, the troubles raiſed in* France *againſt the Profeſſors of the Truth; then in* Germany *likewiſe, having all things ready for a War, as they were thinking that the two Houſes of* Saxe, *to wit, the Weymerian, and the now Electorall, was moſt fit and eaſie to be embroyled, by reaſon of the emulation of the Weymerian againſt the other, for the Electorall Dignity, taken from it, and given to the other: But conveniently for their purpoſe, the Elector* Palatine *being made King of* Bohemia, *the great agent of the Pope, the Houſe of* Auſtria, *takes occaſion to make War againſt him, leaving the Houſe of* Saxe, *&c. Now to come home again.*

King James *by this time is turned about, and his affection ſo much cooled and turned from the Proteſtant party diſtreſſed, that for all help or ſupply to the Proteſtants of* France, *he ſends complements by Embaſſadours, with fair promiſes. And for his ſon-in-Law, with other Proteſtants his adherents in* Germany, *he did little more; ſo ſenſeleſſe is he of the ſufferings of* Jacob, *and unmindefull of his own intereſt, by ſuffering thoſe in* France *and* Germany *to periſh, who not onely did ſo much honour him, but they being preſerved, made him the moſt redoubted and conſiderable Prince in Chriſtendom. To ſpeak nothing of his tye by nature unto his own children. Then, contradicting his own publiſhed Dictates, he muſt ſeek after a Popiſh wife for his ſon; and, to haſten the buſineſſe, the young Prince muſt be ſent into* Spain, *where he had two men by whom he was then adviſed; who, although they did not love one another, yet they did agree among themſelves, To betray their old Maſter, with their Countrey, and their young Maſter in their company; whom they then counſelled to embrace Popery, and by writing engage himſelf unto the Pope. This is upon Record. At laſt, the Prince cometh home without the wife, which was never really intended for him, howſoever*

things were given out, notwithſtanding all the pains of the young Prince, and the earneſt ſollicitude of the Father, with the compliance of both. If it had not been for the hatred to the Palatine Houſe, and fear of its advancement to the ſucceſſion of thoſe Dominions, the Prince never had ſeen this Iſland again, but in a Map. Howſoever, King James *is glad to have his ſon ſafe returned: And at length, ſeeing clearly how he had been miſled and gulled, bethinks himſelf how to amend his former miſtakes and errours; but alas, it was too late: for as he was thus conſulting with himſelf, death takes him away,* An. 1625. *not without ſuſpition of wrong done unto him. The new King muſt have a Popiſh wife (according to the former intention) ſhe cometh from* France, *and bringeth along with her, her ſtrange gods. The Prelats had a main hand in this Popiſh Match, by actuall furtherance thereof, and by opening the way how the free exerciſe of Popery might be had, in favour of the Queen and her adherents, without breach of the Law of the Land.*

The ſame yeer of the death of the late King, and of the Marriage of our now Sovereign, there was an Expedition made againſt the Spaniard, without any reall intention to do harm, as appears by the ſlack performance of the War, and by the ſhamefull Peace made thereafter. The main drift of this undertaking was, firſt, To try how ready the people would be to endure Souldiers in the Countrey, which they had not ſeen for a long time, and how willing they would be to undergo a War, at the command of the corrupt Court, and uphold it with Supplies of men and moneys. Next, There muſt be an Expedition againſt France, *under pretext to help the then diſtreſſed Proteſtants there; which really was intended for the haſtening of their ruine, and encreaſe of their deſolation: and ſo it proved indeed, although the main and chief undertaker was prevented, by death, to ſee the effect of his intents. The other end of this undertaking was, To have Forces at command, both Horſe and Foot, by Land, and a well-provided Navie at Sea, for the enſlaving of the people to ſpirituall and temporall Bondage; which in all humane probability had not been difficile to effectuate then, ſuch was the ſheeppiſh ſillineſſe, and knaviſh baſeneſſe of many men in theſe Dominions, of all ranks, conditions, and profeſſions; as alſo the unpreparedneſſe of the wiſer and better Patriots and Members of the Church, to withſtand this miſchief, if God in his mercy, by the unexpected death of the Court-ruler, and chief agent in the buſineſſe, had not put in a* Remora *and lett: At which time, if men had returned unto God, amending their lives in private, and had expreſſed their true zeal then to the good of the Church and Countrey whereof they are members, according to their ſeverall ranks and conditions, the deſigne of the common enemy had been fully daſht. But God in his wiſedom hath been pleaſed to keep us yet a while longer under the rod of tryall, to ſee if we will return unto him at laſt. The Romiſh party, although aſtoniſhed and ſurpriſed at the death of their Engine and main Inſtrument here among us, gives not over, but continues the great Deſigne, without intermiſſion, albeit not with ſuch ſpeed as formerly; for thoſe to whoſe care principally the buſineſſe was committed, and in whoſe hands the managing of matters had fallen, by the death of the late* Fac totum, *were not ſo powerfull to obtain, without refuſall, what they pleaſed, at the Kings hands; neither were they in ſuch opinion and reputation with inferiours, to make them go on in the work ſo earneſtly; wherefore the Queen muſt be brought now of neceſſity, to take upon her the main care, and to obtain from the King whatſoever may conduce and further the buſineſſe, and take away*

all

all letts and ſtops which may hinder the proceedings: Then, to employ all her credit abroad, for countenancing and advancing affairs: And next, by her authority to draw on inferiours to act their part with affection and ardour. Now all things being thus cunningly and carefully, by degrees, in few yeers, prepared and diſpoſed, for enſlaving Church and State, Prince and People, to Rome *again, it was thought fit, by the hotteſt of the party, to wit, the Jeſuites, to haſten the work openly, and delay no more time (the compaſſing of the Deſigne being conceived to be infallible) By this means they thought to ſhorten the buſineſſe, and to make themſelves ſo conſiderable, as to ſhare deeply in the Booty; of which they looked for but little, if things were ſtill lingred, and carryed on ſlowly. But how, and where to begin this new undertaking, was conſulted upon; and, after deliberation, the Scots muſt be begun at, the way is reſolved on, there muſt be a new Prayer-Book put upon theſe rude fellows, that they may ſay their Prayers in* modo & figura a la Romaine, *and not ſo rudely and irregularly as they were wont to do, in the Northern way. Then they muſt have high-Commiſſion Courts, Canons, and* Etcetera's: *Which things, if the Scots be ſo wiſe to accept, as doubtleſſe they will (reaſoned theſe men: but he that reckons without this hoſt, reckons twice) for their chief men of State are either actually at Court, or provided to places in the Countrey from Court, at leaſt, they can do no buſineſſe of moment, without the favour of the Court. At this time the devout and religious Prelats, with the reſt of their good Clergie, are not onely in all earneſtneſſe bent for the work, according to their ſeverall places in the Church, but alſo they over-ſway all buſines in State, Wherefore, without difficulty, we will compaſſe our main Deſigne thorow all theſe Dominions (ſaid they.) And truely ſo they had, in all likelihood, as we may ſee by the wofull carriage of buſineſſe, and ſo ill managing ſo good a Cauſe in* England *ſince; But God had, in his mercy towards us all, ordained otherwiſe. And if the Scots (ſay they) ſhould be ſo mad as to refuſe the commands from the Court, and think upon reſiſtance, they ſhall be made obey the holy* Mandate *with a Vengeance and ſay their prayers with a rod; for we ſhall ever-run their Countrey ſpeedily, and ſubdue them, as poor, ſilly, ignorant fools, deſtitute of all means for War, to wit, wiſedom, with reſolution, not having breeding, and preſſed down with poverty, to undertake and undergo ſuch a buſineſſe as War; and money and Arms to go on in it; for the Soyl being barren, and the Havens bad, they cannot have the advantages of a fertile Countrey, furniſhed with good Harbours, and Commanders or Leaders, to manage a War, their Military men being abroad, who will not eaſily quit the honorable and beneficiall Employments they have in forreigne Countreys, and come home to ſuffer want, with loſſe of credit. But God, who laughs from above at the fooliſh Counſells of vain men, in this particular hath made us ſee, That he hath an over-ruling power over the affairs of men, making little and contemptible ones do great things, and bring to nothing the undertakings of the mighty and wiſe of this world.*

By this time the new Prayer-Book, deſigned at Rome, *and perfected at* London, *is ſent down into* Scotland. *After ſome little reluctancy, it is received by the Councell there, the major part whereof then were either Church-men, or their addicted friends. Then it is ſent to the Churches, to be put in uſe and practice: But unexpected and unlooked for, it is oppoſed by inferiour people; from whence the oppoſition riſeth to thoſe of higher ranks: whereupon Petitions are drawn up, and ſent to the King, to ſupplicate His Majeſty, in all due reſpect, to free the Church of* Scotland *from this new Prayer-Book, with the High-Commiſſion Courts, Canons,* Etcetera's.

To these Demands of the Scots no answer is given, but hot threatnings; after which, preparatives of War were made against the Scots: and because the King did not show himself propense enough to the undertaking of War, nor the Queen forward enough to engage the King in this holy War, the Queen-Mother, who, for her known faithfulnesse to her husband, and for her care of her son, both late Kings of France, *must come to her Son-in-law (against his will) to help him with her best advice and counsell, and to better instruct her daughter how to carry her self with earnestnesse and addresse in the businesse.*

Things being thus disposed, there is an Expedition undertaken against the Scots, and followed to the Borders by the King present in person; but to small purpose; for the Scots came to the Borders duly prepared, notwithstanding their pre-conceived wants and indisposition, to sell their Religion and Liberty at a dear rate: which being perceived by the Court, the Scots Demands, formerly rejected, are granted, and a Peace concluded. Then some of the chief men of the Scots were invited to go to Court, for the time at Barwick; *who, upon certain advice of a Plot against them, were stopped by their friends, to trust themselves to the faith of the Court.*

After things in a kinde calmed there, the King, not suffered by his Counsell to go into Edinburgh *to settle things fully, he sends Deputies thither, and returns to* London. *At his return, the Scots Commissioners are imprisoned at* London, *against their Safe-Conduct; and the Agreement with the Scots is burnt publikely, by the hand of the Hang-man, and a new Expedition, with more cunning and strength then the former, is undertaken against the Scots: Whereof the Scots duely advertised, judging it not to be safe to play alwayes after-games, settle their Countrey, make sure the strong Holds, which they had delivered, in simplicity of heart, unto the King, at the late Agreement, and come into* England *with such an Army, that they made their enemies retire. Upon this point of necessity, the King assembled divers of the Nobles, by whom he is advised to call a Parliament, which is granted, although with difficulty. At the overture of the Parliament, having gained all the party possible, the King is made to demand assistance to repell the Scots from* England, *and chastise them; but to no purpose, wherefore the Parliament must pay for it; and to this purpose, the English Army afoot must be brought to* London, *under some pretext. This Plot failing, and discovered, the Scots must be tempted, under great offers, no lesse then the plunder of* London, *and the propriety of the adjacent Counties to their Countrey. The Scots not onely refused these great offers, but also give advice of them to the Parliament. Then the Scots must be hastened home, and the King must go into* Scotland, *under pretext to settle things there, but really, to make a party, viewing by the way the Scots Army; and to make sure of some men dis-affected to the Designe of the Court. These things not succeeding, to smooth a little the shamefull businesse, Titles of Honour, and Pensions are given to many.*

While the King is in Scotland, *the Rebellion riseth in* Ireland, *having its influence from the Court, whether by sealed Patents, or otherwise, I will not enquire now (were then of the Spanish Navie) but certain it is, it had its rise from Court. Some dayes after the Rebellion begun in* Ireland, *the King must return in all speed to* London, *under pretext to consult with the Parliament how to represse this odious Rebellion; but really, to be revenged of the Parliament, for not assisting against the Scots, and for punishing the main agents of the Scotish party, witnesse the faction*

the

the Queen had made in the City, during the Kings abode in Scotland, to divide the City and Parliament, and the demanding of the Members of the Houſes, againſt all Law, upon accuſation of Treaſon; whereof the chief and main point was, To have favourized the Scots Affairs in England, againſt expreſſe Acts of Oblivion of both Parliaments of Scotland and England. As for the repreſſing of the Rebellion in Ireland, it is ſo little taken to heart, that the King ſeldom goes to the Houſe, and being there, ſpeaks but little of the buſineſſe. After a while, with much ado, the Popiſh Iriſh in Arms are declared Rebells, when they had ruined many families, and killed many of the innocent Proteſtants: But of the Kings Declaration there were but few Copies Printed, and of the few hardly any diſperſed; when the Scots, before they had gathered any Head, were Prelatically excommunicated, and curſed thorow all the Pariſhes of England, and declared Rebells every where by printed Papers: Who, as they intended no ill, ſo, bleſſed be God, never men of War in a Country did leſſe harm then the Scots did. Yea, which is more, all the good intentions of both Parliament and City, with the ready offers of the Scots for the ſpeedy help of the poor Proteſtants againſt the bloody Butchers in Ireland, was delayed, deluded, yea, almoſt put off, by the Court, and the corrupt Members of both Houſes, who ſince have ſhewed themſelves openly what they are, in publike Affairs. But theſe Deſignes failing of apprehending the Members, and of dividing the City and Parliament, as was ſeen by the accompanying the Members to the Houſes again, the King muſt leave London.

Here before we proceed any further, we ſhall go a little back.

When the firſt undertaking was againſt the Scots, all things within theſe Dominions being diſpoſed for the beſt furthering of the work, the holy Conclave of Rome forecaſting all chances: and fearing that England would not altogether be ſo forward to contribute much unto the deſtruction of Scotland, wherefore the King muſt be aſſured of ſome good friend abroad, and not far off, who may help in caſe of need: None is thought ſo fit as the Prince of Orange, being able to help with Moneys, Arms and Men for command: He muſt be gained, by offering him for his Son one of the Kings Daughters; who, notwithſtanding his high minde, would have been glad of a lower Match. Now at the firſt, the Prince of Orange did onely look to have the ſecond Daughter in due time: But, to engage him further, he ſhall have the elder (not ſtaying for her till ſhe be nubile) and that preſently, although ſhe did little more then, then well diſcerne her right hand from her left. But this is not all; for the Mother muſt carry the Daughter to the Prince of Orange, to gain him more ſpeedily, and make him more affectionate and ſure to the Deſignes of our corrupted Court: So the Kings Daughter is ſold, and made a Sacrifice for furtherance of the Catholike Cauſe, as his Grand-mother was ſold to Fraнce to the ſame Deſigne, by the corrupt Court of Scotland for the time. What miſchief this Marriage, and the Queens Voyage into Holland hath brought into this Countrey, and what ſtain ſhe hath brought upon her ſelf by it, we ſee all. And ſo many evils fell upon Scotland, after the ſending the then young Queen into France.

Here you ſhall obſerve the jugling knavery of our corrupt Court, who cry out againſt the Scots for taking Arms for the juſt defence of their Liberty and Religion, without any by-reſpect, as their whole proceedings to this inſtant do teſtifie, as guilty of the moſt horrid crime of Rebellion againſt Higher Powers, as they call it; yet the ſame corrupt Court makes the King give his Daughter unto him, who is

not onely a chief man, but a main Inſtrument to make War for the Liberty and Religion of the Countrey where he liveth, againſt the unjuſt oppreſſion of their Sovereign; as his renowned Brother, and moſt vertuous Father did before him; and as he intends to make his Son after him, witneſſe the reverſion of his Place he hath obtained, unto him, from the States. If the King of Spain by neceſſity hath been conſtrained to acknowledge the United Provinces free, it is nothing for the juſtice of their taking Arms to defend their Religion and Liberty: And if he had power, they would not be long free, witneſſe the ſecret Plots to divide them, and over-reach them. Farther, he is very ſhie in his Writs, to call them Free, as every man knows.

The Queen of Bohemia muſt not onely be neglected, and ſeen loſe all that ſhe and hers can claim for their own, but ſhe and hers muſt be ſerviceable to thoſe who have undone them: To this end ſhe muſt have People about her, namely, Court-Chaplains, to diſguiſe buſineſſe unto her, and ſo make her have a bad conception of thoſe who are her beſt friends, to wit, the true Profeſſors of the Truth, and good Patriots in theſe Dominions. Next, her eldeſt ſon, after a long and great neglect of yeelding him any help for the recovery of his own, is betrayed at our corrupt Court, when he is put in a way to do ſomewhat for his own reſtoring, &c. And after this, by the ſame Court, he is ſollicited to take Arms here againſt the onely men, who really and conſtantly have expreſſed unto him and his, true affection; but they being ſtopped by the Court, could not effectuate much by their good will. He in wiſdome refuſeth to fight againſt his friends. Since he will not, his two next Brothers muſt be employed; the eldeſt whereof is releaſed from priſon to that effect: And ſo they hazard their lives, and ſpend their blood, to ſerve the party who hath undone their Fortunes, and now ſtrives to undo their perſons.

The King having left London, after he had been in ſeverall places, retires to Yorke, where he begins to raiſe men againſt the Parliament. The Scots ſeeing this, ſend to him thither, to intreat him to lay aſide all ſuch intentions, and offer their ſervice by way of Mediation betwixt him and the Parliament, to take away all known miſtakes. The Scots Commiſſioners were not ſuffered to proceed any further then, in the buſineſſe, and were ſent back, beyond the expectation of men. After a long Pen-skirmiſhing on both ſides, Armies are leavied, many men killed and taken at divers times on each ſide; yea, a ſet Battell fought, where numbers of men are ſlain.

The Scots not being able any longer to ſee their Brethren in England deſtroyed, and the Executioners of Ireland butchering man, woman and childe (the help that the innocents ſhould have had from England being almoſt altogether diverted, by the Inteſtine War) and neither ſay nor do in the buſineſſe, under ſafe-Conduct ſend to the King and Parliament Commiſſioners, to intercede for an Agreement: But they being arrived at Court, were neglected with their Commiſſion, and not ſuffered to repair unto the Parliament: At laſt, they are diſmiſſed, not without difficulty, and, having done nothing, return. Upon this, the Scots convene the States, to conſult concerning their own ſafety, and the help of their friends: At this nick of time, when they received many fair promiſes from the Court, with a requeſt to be quiet, a Plot of the Papiſts, ſet afoot by the Court, for embroyling the Countrey, is diſcovered; by the means whereof, they were incited to look more narrowly to themſelves and their friends. Then the Parliament of England ſends to the Scots for help. Upon this, a Covenant is made betwixt the two

Nations

Nations, for the defence of the true Religion, and Liberty of the Countreys, with the Kings juſt Rights : and, after due preparation, the Scots having ſetled their own Countrey, enter into England *with a ſtrong Army, to fight the Battells of the Lord; having for ſcope of their Expedition, The glory of God, and the good of his People, with the Honour of the King.*

Here we ſhall obſerve, in theſe our Countreys, in theſe laſt yeers, ſuch Riddles of State and Church, as have hardly been heard of: A Proteſtant Prince makes one Proteſtant Nation fight againſt another, for the Proteſtant Religion, which have been thought to be of one and the ſame Doctrine, for the main : One Church thunders Curſes againſt another : Then, a Prince miſled, with the ayd of Papiſts and Athaiſts, ſpoyling and deſtroying the profeſſors of the Truth, becauſe they profeſſe it, for the good and advancement of the Proteſtant Religion : Next, in a very ſhort time, a Prince to have all his ſubjects declared Rebells : Firſt, he is made declare the Scots; Then, he is conſtrained to declare the Iriſh : An Army gotten together in the Kings name, declares all thoſe that did oppoſe them, Rebells : The Parliament declares all thoſe who in the Kings name oppoſe them, Rebells and Traytors : Farther, under the Kings Authority, the named Rebells in England *by the King, maintain a War againſt the declared Rebells in* Ireland. *But the late carriage of things at Court, and by the Court-Inſtruments at home and abroad, hath ſolved the Riddle, namely, The Patent for the Rebellion in* Ireland, *The detaining of help ordained for the repreſſing of it, The Kings offer to go into* Ireland, *The Ceſſation, and bringing over of the Iriſh, and, The laſt-diſcovered Plot in* Scotland, *all other things laid aſide, tell us cleerly, howſoever the Proclamations and Proteſtations going in the Kings name be ſoft and ſmooth as the voyce of* Jacob, *yet the hands are rough as of* Eſau, *deſtroying, and ſeeking to deſtroy the true Religion, grounded in Gods Word, with the profeſſors thereof, as alſo the lawfull Liberty of the Countrey, and bring all unto ſlavery. Let* Ireland *and* England *ſay, if this be not true; and* Scotland *likewiſe, according to its* genius, *ſpeak truth.*

I ſhall cloſe up all with two or three Inſtances of eminent men amongſt the Papiſts Clergie, to ſhew clearly how they ſtand affected to the Proteſtants.

Cardinall Pool, *in an Oration to* Charles *the fifth, Emperour, ſaith,* You muſt leave off the War againſt the Turks, and hereafter make War againſt the Heretikes; *ſo names he the profeſſors of the Truth : He adds the reaſon,* Becauſe the Turks are leſſe to be feared then the Heretikes. Paul Rodmek *in a Book expreſſe, tells us,* That the Heretikes muſt be put to death, ſlain, cut off, burnt, quartered, *&c.* Stapleton *the Jeſuite tells us,* That the Heretikes are worſe then the Turks, *in an Oration he made at* Doway. Campian *the Jeſuite, in a Book of his, Printed in the yeer* 1583, *in* Trevers, *declares thus, in the name of his holy Order,* Our will is, That it come to the knowledge of every one, ſo far as it concerns our Society, That we all, diſperſed in great numbers thorow the world, have made a League, and holy ſolemn Oath, That as long as there are any of us alive, that all our care and induſtry, all our deliberations and counſells, ſhall never ceaſe to trouble your calm and ſafety. *That is to ſay,* We ſhall procure and purſue for ever your ruine, the whole deſtruction of your Religion, and of your Kingdom. *He ſpeaks to the Engliſh.* Now it is

long

long ſince we have taken this reſolution, with the hazard of our lives: ſo that the buſineſſe being already well begun and advanced, it is impoſſible that the Engliſh can do any thing to ſtop our Deſigne, or ſurmount it.

Let theſe few Paſſages ſatisfie for this time. I wiſh that thou maiſt reap ſome benefit of what is written here for thy good.

So, praying for your happineſſe,

I reſt,

Yours, in the Lord, *D. B.*



THE

The LIFE OF *JOHN KNOX.*

IOHN KNOX *was borne in* Gifford, *neer* Hadington, *in* Lothian, *the yeer of Chriſt*, 1505. *of honeſt Parentage: His father was a brothers ſon of the Houſe of* Ranferlie, *which is an ancient Family of Gentlemen in the Weſt. When he left the Grammar Schoole in the Countrey, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Saint* Andrews, *to ſtudie under* M. John Mair, *who in thoſe dayes was very famous for his Learning, which particularly did conſiſt in the ergotie or diſputative part of Philoſophy, and in School-Divinity, wherein formerly, for many yeers together, almoſt all Learning was placed. In a very ſhort time,* John Knox *became ſuch a Proficient, that in this kinde of knowledge wherein his Maſter moſt excelled, he ſurpaſſed him; and being yet very young, was thought worthy of Degrees in the School: Moreover, before the time ordinarily allowed by the Canons, he entred in Church Orders. Thereafter, laying aſide the idle Diſputes and Sophiſtry of the School, he betook himſelf to the reading of the Ancients; namely, of* Auguſtine, *with whoſe Writings he was much taken, by reaſon of their plainneſſe and ſolidity. Laſt of all, he betook himſelf to the earneſt ſtudy of the holy Scriptures; wherein having found the Truth of God concerning the ſalvation of Mankinde fully revealed, he in good earneſt did embrace it, and freely profeſſed it; yea, made it his main work to make it known to all men, and believed by them; in which work he was very active and vigilant, at home and abroad, namely, at home. For the Cauſe of the Truth he ſuffered very much by Sea and by Land, in minde and in body; among forraigners, and amongſt his own Countreymen, as ye may ſee in this Hiſtory of the Church, which now here we preſent unto you: Which Hiſtory, namely, ſo much of it, I mean, as formerly was publiſhed, hath gone commonly under his*

name, becauſe he is the man of whom moſt is ſpoken thorowout the whole Hiſtory, as being a moſt earneſt and diligent agent in the buſineſſe of Reformation in the Church: Next, becauſe he hath penned with his own hand, or ſpoken by word of mouth, the moſt part of the moſt remarkable and moſt uſefull things for Poſterity in the Hiſtory. Thirdly, the whole History is gathered out of his Papers and Manuſcripts: And ſo ye ſee why it is generally received to be of John Knox. *But to return to his Life.*

He being conſtrained for a time to leave his Countrey, by reaſon of the Perſecution raiſed in Scotland, *by the then Biſhops, againſt the profeſſors of the Truth, he came into* England, *where for ſome yeers he was buſied, in preaching the Evangell of Chriſt, with a great deal of content and beneſit to thoſe that had the happineſſe to hear him. His chief abode was in* Berwick, Newcaſtle, *and* London: *This was in the dayes of King* Edward *the ſixth, with whom he was in great favour and eſteem; By whom being offered a Biſhopricke, he not onely refuſed and rejected it, but with a grave and ſevere ſpeech declared, That the proud Title of Lordſhip, and that great State, was not to be ſuffered to be in the Church of God, as having* quid commune cum Antichriſto; *that is, ſomewhat common with Antichriſt. King* Edward *being dead, the perſecution of* Mary *made him leave* England, *with many other godly Miniſters, who went beyond Seas. Firſt,* John Knox *went to* Frankford, *where for a time he preached the Goſpel to the Engliſh Congregation there; From whence he wrote the Admonition to* England: *But being moleſted there, partly by open Papiſts, and partly by falſe Brethren, was conſtrained to retire: And from thence he went to* Geneva, *from whence he wrote his Letter to* Mary *Regent of* Scotland, *his Appeal to the Nobility of* Scotland, *and Admonition to the Commons of* Scotland. *From* Geneva, *after ſome yeers abode there, he was called home to his own Countrey, the yeer of Chriſt* 1559. *which was the* 54 *of his age, by the Noble-men, and others who had taken upon them the generall Reformation of the Church of* Scotland; *where, how ſoon that the reformed Church had any liberty, he was ſetled Miniſter at* Edinburgh, *where he continued exerciſing his Miniſtery to his dying day; but not without interruption, by reaſon of the Civill diſorders that fell out in thoſe dayes.*

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During this his being at Edinburgh, *he Preached many excellent Sermons; whereof there be but few that were printed and conſerved to Poſterity, he not being willing to buſie himſelf with the Preſſe: Yet ſome of them we have, as this, namely, which he Preached Aug.* 19, An. 1564. *and for which he was forbidden to Preach for a time: He, to make known to the world what ground there was to deal ſo with him, took the care to have this Sermon printed, as you will finde it at the end of this Hiſtory.*

Here I cannot let ſlip a remarkable paſſage; which was this; Anno 1566. *the Earle of* Murray *was ſlain upon the Saturday: The morrow after,* John Knox *preached in* Edinburgh; *where, as he was reading the Papers wherein was written the names of thoſe that deſired the Prayers of the Church, he findes a paper with theſe words,* Take up the man whom ye accounted another god: *which he paſſed, without expreſſing any commotion, and went on with his Prayer and Sermon. At the end of the Sermon, he made moan for the loſſe that the Church and State of* Scotland *had, by the death of that vertuous man; and ſaid, That as God in his mercy giveth good and wiſe Rulers, ſo taketh he them away from a people in his wrath. Then he added, There is one in this company that maketh the ſubject of his mirth this horrible murther, whereat all good men have occaſion to be ſorry: I tell him, That he ſhall die where there ſhall be none to lament him. He who had written the aforeſaid words in the paper, was* Thomas Metellan, *a young Gentlemen of moſt rare parts, but youthfull, and bearing ſmall affection to the Earle of* Murray; *who, when he heard this Commination of* John Knox, *went home to his lodging, and ſaid to his ſiſter, That* John Knox *was raving to ſpeak of he knew not whom. His ſiſter replyed, with tears in her eyes, If you had followed my advice, ye had not written theſe words; and withall told him, That none of* John Knox *his threatnings fell to the ground without effect. And ſo it fell out in this particular; For ſhortly thereafter the young Gentleman went beyond Seas to travell, and died in* Italy, *having no known man to aſſiſt him, much leſſe to lament him. Towards the latter dayes of his age, his body became very infirm, and his voice ſo weake, that the people could not hear him, Preaching in the ordi- place, wherfore he made choice of another more commodious within*

the Town, reading to his auditors the history of the Passion, in which, he said, it was his desire to finish and close his Ministery. Thus he continued Preaching, though with much weakneſſe, two moneths and more, after this retiring: And foreseeing that he was not to remain long with them, he was instant with the Counsell of the City to provide themselves of a worthy man to succeed in his Place. Master James Lauſon, *who at that time professed Philosophy in the Universsity of* Aberdene, *being commended for a good Preacher, Commissioners were directed from the Body of the Church of* Edinburgh, *and from Master* John Knox *in particular, to desire him to accept of the Charge. To the Letter that the Commissioners carried, after that he had set his hand, he added this Postscript,* Accelera mi frater, alioqui sero venies: *Make haste, Brother, otherwise ye shall come too late: Meaning, That if he made any stay, he should finde him dead and gone. These last words moved M.* Lauſon *to take journey the morrow thereafter. When he was come to the Town, and had preached two severall times, to the good liking of the people, order was taken by the Rulers of the Church for his admission, and the day appointed; at which day* John Knox *himself would not onely be present, but also preach, though he could scarce walk on foot to the Chayre; which he did with such fervency of spirit, that at no time before was he heard to speak with such great power, and more content to the hearers: And in the end of the Sermon, calling God to witneſſe, That he had walked in a good conscience amongst them, not seeking to please men, nor serving either his own, or other mens affections, but in all sincerity and truth preached the Gospel of Christ: With most grave and pithie words, he exhorted them to stand fast in the Faith they had received: And having conceived a zealous Prayer for the continuance of Gods blessing among them, and the multiplying of his Spirit upon the Preacher who was then to be admitted, he gave them his last fare-well. The people did convey him to his lodging, and could not be drawn from it, so loath were they to depart from him; and he the same day in the afternoon, was forced to take bed. During the time he lay (which was not long) he was much visited by all sorts of persons, to whom he spake most comfortably: Amongst others, to the Earle of* Morton, *who came to see him, he was heard say,* My Lord, God hath

hath given you many bleſſings ; he hath given you Wiſdom, Honour, high Birth, Riches, many good and great friends, and is now to prefer you to the Government of the Realme *(the Earle of* Marr, *late Regent, being newly dead)* In his Name I charge you, That ye will uſe theſe bleſſings better in times to come, then you have done in times paſt : In all your actions ſeek firſt the glory of God, The furtherance of his Goſpel, The maintenance of his Church and Miniſtery ; and next, Be carefull of the King, to procure his good, and the welfare of the Realme. If you ſhall do this, God will be with you, and honour you : If otherwiſe ye do it not, he will deprive you of all theſe benefits, and your end ſhall be ſhame and ignominy. *Theſe ſpeeches, the Earle, about nine yeers after, at the time of his Execution, called to minde, ſaying, That* he had found them to be true, and him, therein, a Prophet.

A day or two before his death, he ſent for Maſter David Lindſay, *Maſter* James Lauſon, *and the Elders and Deacons of the Church, to whom he ſaid,* The time is approaching, for which I have long thirſted, wherein I ſhall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Chriſt for ever : And now, God is my witneſſe, whom I have ſerved with my ſpirit, in the Goſpel of his Son, That I have taught nothing but the true and ſolid Doctrine of the Goſpel ; and that the end I propoſed in all my Doctrine, was, To inſtruct the ignorant, To confirm the weak, To comfort the conſciences of thoſe that were humbled under the ſenſe of their ſins, and born down with the threatnings of Gods Judgements : Such as were proud and rebellious, I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame my too great rigour and ſeverity ; But God knoweth, That in my heart I never hated the perſons of thoſe againſt whom I thundred Gods Judgements ; I did onely hate their ſins, and laboured, according to my power, to gain them to Chriſt : That I did forbear none, of whatſoever condition ; I did it, out of the fear of my God, who hath placed me in the Function of his Miniſtery, and I know will bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for your ſelves ; I have no more to ſay, but to warn you, That

you take heed to the Flock over which God hath placed you Overſeers, which he hath redeemed by the Blood of his onely begotten Son. And you, Maſter *Lauſon*, fight a good fight, do the Work of the Lord with courage, and with a willing minde: And God from above bleſſe you, and the Church whereof you have charge: Againſt it (ſo long as it continueth in the Doctrine of the Truth) the gates of hell ſhall not prevail.

This ſpoken, and the Elders and the Deacons dimitted, he called the two Preachers unto him, and ſaid, There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly; You have ſometimes ſeen the courage and conſtancy of the Laird of *Grange* in the cauſe of God; and that moſt unhappy man hath caſt himſelf away: I will pray you two to take the pains to go unto him, and ſay, from me, That unleſſe he forſake that wicked courſe wherein he is entred, neither ſhall the Rock in which he confideth defend him, nor the carnall wiſedom of that man whom he counteth half a god (*this was young Lethington*) yeeld him help; but ſhamefully he ſhall be pulled out of that neſt, and his carkaſe hung before the Sun (*meaning the Caſtle he did keep againſt the Kings Authority: And ſo it fell out the yeer next following; for the Caſtle was taken, and he was publikely hanged, and his body hung before the Sun*) The ſoul of that man is dear unto me; and, if it be poſſible, I could fain have him to be ſaved. *They went, as he had deſired, and conferred a long ſpace with* Grange; *but with no perſwaſion could he be diverted from his courſe: Which being reported, he took moſt heavily. Yet* Grange, *at his death, did expreſſe ſerious repentance for his ſins.*

The next day, he gave order for making his Coffin wherein his body ſhould be laid; and was that day, as thorow all the time of his ſickneſſe, much in prayer, crying, Come, Lord Jeſu; Sweet Jeſu, into thy hands I commend my Spirit. *Being asked by thoſe that attended him, if his pains were great, he anſwered*, That he did not eſteem that a pain, which would be to him the end of all troubles, and beginning of eternall Joyes. *Oftentimes, after ſome deep meditations, he burſt forth in theſe words*; O ſerve the Lord in fear, and death ſhall not be troubleſome

unto

unto you: Bleſsed is the death of thoſe that have part in the death of Jeſus. *In the evening, which was the laſt of this wretched life, having ſlept ſome hours together, but with great unquietneſſe, for he was heard to ſend forth many ſighs and groans;* *one* Campbell, *and one* John Johnſton, *which two waited very diligently upon him, asked, after he awaked*, How he did finde himſelfe, and what it was that made him to mourn ſo heavily in his ſleep? *To whom he anſwered*, In my life time I have oft been aſſaulted with Satan, and many times he hath caſt in my teeth my ſins, to bring me to deſpair; yet God gave me ſtrength to overcome all his tentations: And now that ſubtill Serpent, who never ceaſes to tempt, hath taken another courſe, and ſeeks to perſwade me, That all my labours in the Miniſtery, and the fidelity that I have ſhewn in that Service, hath merited heaven and immortality: But bleſsed be God, that brought to my minde theſe Scriptures, *What haſt thou that thou haſt not received?* And, *Not I, but the grace of God in me:* With which, he is gone away aſhamed, and ſhall no more returne: And now I am ſure my Battell is at an end; and that without pain of body, or trouble of ſpirit, I ſhall ſhortly change this mortall and miſerable life, with that happy and immortall which ſhall never have an end. *After which diſcourſe, a Prayer was ſaid neer his bed where he lay: which being ended, it was asked, If he* heard the Prayer? *He anſwered*, Would to God that ye had heard it with ſuch an ear and heart as I have done; *Adding*, Lord Jeſu receive my Spirit. *With which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling a ſleep, rather then dying, he ended his life. He was a man endued with many excellent gifts, and with a very great meaſure of the Spirit: God raiſed him up to be a chief Inſtrument of the glorious Work of Reformation. The Court clawbacks and paraſites, have been, and are diſpleaſed with his Doctrine touching the Authority of Princes and Civill Magiſtrates, although there was never man born, who did more heartily reverence Civill Authority, nor obey more willingly the lawfull commands thereof, then he: All his Doctrine concerning the Civill Authority, was, To correct the corruption brought in by the ſlaviſh flatterers, who, abuſing the ſimplicity and debonnaritie of*

thoſe

thoſe whom God has placed in Authority, maketh them inconſiderately to rebell wilfully and openly againſt God and his Son, and turn all things up-ſide down, and undo the poor people of God, for whoſe good and ſafety they are placed ſo high. Likewiſe were and are to this day the proud Prelats and idle belly-gods highly offended with his Doctrine concerning Church-Government, although he intended no other thing, but the pulling down of Antichriſtianiſme fully, and caſting all tyranny and Idleneſſe out of the Houſe of God. Never was a man more obſervant of the true and juſt Authority of the Church-Rulers, according to the Word of God, and practice of the pureſt Primitive times. He alwayes urged preſſingly due Obedience by the people, to the faithfull Paſtors and Elders of the Church. Although he was both learned and eloquent, yet did he not much apply his minde to compoſe Books for Poſterity; for he was wont to ſay, That God had called him rather to inſtruct the ignorant, comfort the ſorrowfull, rebuke the ſinners, and confirm the weak living in his time, then to make Books for ages to come. *Neverthelleſſe, he wrote ſeverall good Pieces; for beſides what we have ſpoken of already, namely, he left theſe, A learned Treatiſe againſt the blaſphemous Anabaptiſts, Two Treatiſes againſt the Maſſe, One, of the Euchariſt, Some Sermons upon* Geneſis, *Some alſo upon the* Pſalms, *An Exhortation to all afflicted Churches, An Advice in time of trouble, The firſt blaſt of the Trumpet, &c.*

He died, Anno Dom. 1572, *and of his age,* 62. *His body was interred at S.* Giles, *without the Church. To his Buriall aſſiſted many men of all Ranks; among others, the Earle of* Morton, *who being neer to the grave, as the Corps was put in, ſaid, by way of Epitaph,* Here lies the body of him, who, in his life time, never feared the face of man.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THe Scots, by the moſt judicious Writers, and by thoſe who have moſt diligently ſtudied their Antiquities, are acknowledged to be among the firſt who embraced the Faith of Chriſt: yea, they are ſaid to be, by ſome, of the very firſt-fruits of the Gentiles: For in few yeers after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Apoſtles and Diſciples being conſtrained to leave *Jeruſalem* and *Judea*, by reaſon of the Perſecutions raiſed againſt them by the Jews, according to the diſpenſation of the All-wiſe God, went up and down the world; and ſpeaking to every People in their own Language, declared unto them the glad Tydings of Salvation in Chriſt Jeſus. Thoſe who came into our Northern Parts, to wit, into *Scotland*, and firſt made known unto our Fathers the Myſteries of Heaven, were of the diſciples of *John* the Apoſtle.

Scoti ex diſcipulis Joannis *Apoſtoli Chriſtianiſmum edocti ſunt.* Buch. Lib. 5.

Some yeers thereafter, to wit, in the ſecond Perſecution raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, many *Britons* Provincials of the Empire, profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, left their own countrey, and went into *Scotland*, for ſhelter from the generall Maſſacre then executed thorowout the whole Empire, by that bloody Butcher *Domitian*; and to enjoy the freedom of the Goſpel, which they knew to be received then in *Scotland*. Among theſe fugitive *Britons* there were ſundry learned

Multi ex Britonibus Chriſtiani ſeveritiam Domitiani *metuentes in Scotiam commigrarunt, è quibus complures doctrina & vitæ integritate clari in eâ ſubſiſterunt.* Buch. Lib. 4.

ed and pious men, who ſtayed in *Scotland* (the Perſecution ended) propagating the Faith of Chriſt there by their Preaching. This we have related unto us by the Hiſtorians of beſt truſt. We have not then from the Sea of *Rome* our firſt Inſtitution in the Chriſtian Faith; yea, we are ſo far from it, that, for many yeers together, we hardly had any communication with *Rome* at all. *Palladius* was the firſt, ſome yeers after the beginning of the fifth Age, who made our acquaintance with *Rome*; although the generall current of the Romiſh Writers give out, That the Goſpel was firſt planted amongſt us in *Scotland* by the means of *Victor* Biſhop of *Rome:* Yet *Baronius*, that renowned Chronologer, albeit he would fain have the Scots owe this Obligation unto *Rome*, diſclaimeth this opinion of his Party, as untrue, and diſagreeing with the beſt Antiquity.

Tertullian, who lived in the ſecond Age, and wrote Books divers yeers before the end thereof, and ſo was ſo neer the planting of the Chriſtian Faith amongſt the Nations, that in a manner he may be ſaid to have been an eye-witneſſe unto it, in his Book againſt the Jews, ſpeaking how the Light of the Goſpel was ſpread thorow the whole world, ſaith thus, *The Euangel was diffuſed into all the parts of the world, yea, into Britanie, and into that part of the Iſland whereunto the Roman Forces did never pierce.* By theſe laſt words of *Tertullian*, are meant the inhabitants of that part of the Iſland which lieth benorth the walls, firſt built by *Adrian*, then by *Antoninus Pius*, thirdly by *Severus*; and theſe were the Scots by name: For the Romans put walls betwixt them and the Scots Bowe-men, as our Poet expreſſeth it:

Roma ſagitti feris prætendit mœnia Scotis.

And *Claudian*, many hundred yeers before this our Poet, ſpeaking of the Legion which then was called from its Garriſon on the aforeſaid walls, ſaith thus, *The Legion came, which was placed before the utmoſt Britans, and which bridled the fierce Scot.*

Euangelium fuit diffuſum in omnes orbis partes, etiam in Britanniam uſque, eamque inſulæ partem, ad quam Romanæ vires nunquam penetrârunt. Tert. lib. contra Judæos.

Antoninus Pius *Britannos vicit, alio muro ecſpicio ſubmotis Barbaris ducto.* Jul. Cap.

Britanniam, muro per tranſverſam inſulam ducto, utrumque ad finem Occani munivit. Adrianus *murum primus ducit, qui Barbaros Romanoſque dividit,* Ælius Spartianus.

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,

Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, id eſt, oppoſita Scotis, quæ eorum furorem a Britannis profligaret in extrema limite Britanniæ & Scotiæ, ut explicat Buchan. Lib. I.

Lucius

Lucius Florus, many yeers before *Claudian*, who wrote towards the later end of the fourth Age, to wit, in the beginning of the ſecond Age; and *Spartianus*, who alleadgeth *Florus*, writ towards the later end of the third Age. *Lucius Florus* the Poet (is the ſame with the Hiſtorian, who writ the ſhort Hiſtory of the Romans, as judgeth *Salmaſius*) is brought in by *Ælius Spartianus*, in the Hiſtory of the Life of *Adrian* the Emperor, ſaying theſe words, *I would not be* Cæſar, *to walk among the Britans, and ſuffer the Scots morning hoar Froſts.* The word *pruina*, which the Author uſeth, doth ſignifie ſo much; for it is *quaſi* πρωΐνη ἀπὸ πρωΐ, morning. What *Florus*, in theſe words here alleadged, calleth in his Language *Scoticas pruinas*: *Claudian* calleth *Caledonias pruinas*, ſpeaking of another Roman, in theſe words, *And he placed his Camp in the middle of the Caledonian morning hoar Froſts.* I know that commonly in *Spartian*, of whom we have theſe Verſes of *Florus*, it is read, *Scythicas*, for *Scoticas*, but wrong, notwithſtanding that the great Criticks have not corrected it: For how, I pray you, can *Adrian* be ſaid to ſuffer *Scythicas pruinas*, who never was in the Countrie which then went under the name of *Scythia*? yea, the Romans had never any War with the *Scythes*; for albeit the *Scythes* heard of the Romans Arms, yet they never felt them: Beſides, what ſenſe had it been in *Florus* to ſay unto *Adrian*, That *he would not be* Cæſar, *to walk in Britany, and endure the morning hoary Froſts of Scythia?* For although the Romans heard ſay, That *Scythia* was a cold Countrey, yet they more perfectly knew *Scotland* to be cold, having been upon the place. Now it was very eaſie to thoſe who copied Books of old, and hardly underſtood what they writ, to change one letter for another, namely, when two letters are ſo like one to another, as theſe two Vowels V, O; for V not being Initiall or Capitall, was written formerly without the draught under it, which hath been written for diſtinction ſake, as we ſee it commonly now, thus U. This change of theſe two Vowels, hath been found elſewhere then in this place of *Florus*, by the Criticks, in the ſame words; who ſeeing the name of the Sea upon the Coaſt of *Scotland* written *Scythicum*, preſently mended it, and made it *Scoticum*.

Ego nolo Romanum eſſe, ambulare per Britannos, & Scoticas pati pruinas.

Inque Caledoniis poſuit qua caſtra pruinis.

Scythæ audiverunt, ſed nunquam ſenſerunt arma Romanorum.

Britannia & Scotica gentes Moſem & Prophetas nondum cognoverant.

Then *Eraſmus* ſmelled out the ſame fault in *Jerome* his Epiſtle to *Cteſiphon*, againſt *Palladius*, and his diſciple *Cæleſtius*, in theſe words, *Britannie and the Scots Nations had not then known* Moſes *and the Prophets*. *Eraſmus* finding *Scythicæ*, he changed it into *Scoticæ*.

Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti, & Cæruleos Scoto-Brigantes dare Romuleis colla catenis juſſit.

Lucius Seneca, about an hundred yeers before *Florus*, that is, about fourty yeers after Chriſt, now 1600 yeers ſince, in his Satyre upon the death of *Claudius*, makes mention of the Scots in the compoſed word *Scoto-Brigantes*, as thus followeth; *He (i. e.* Claudius*) commanded the Britans beyond the known Seas, and the blue Scoto-Brigantes, to ſubmit their necks to the Roman Chains.* This word above named hath puzzled many of the Criticks how to reade it, ſo that a right meaning or ſenſe might be had of theſe lines, with the true meaſure of the Verſe, ſome reading it one way, ſome another way; till at laſt, the learned *Joſeph Scaliger* corrected it as you have it here, giving to the words a plain and eaſie ſenſe, and keeping the law of the Verſes, againſt which all others did faile: And to this Correction of *Scaliger* hath ſubmitted many learned men: yet ſome, partly for envie againſt the Nation of whom is here ſpoken, partly for vanity, will ſtand out againſt the truth, becauſe of the authority of this Correction, at whoſe great and moſt rare Learning they are offended, as the former are at any advantage that the Nation whom theſe words doth concern may have. The Scots are called *Cerulæi*, or *blue*, becauſe they uſed much blue in their Garments; and ſo doth the old Scots to this day, witneſſe their Plaids, whereof the beſt ſort ordinarily hath the ground blue; as alſo their blue Caps.

In quibus Buchan. *lib.* 2. *Et* Salmaſius *in* Plinium.

Ex coloribus maxime purpureo & Cerulæo delectantur priſci Scoti.

Mamertinus in Panygyrico ait, Britones habuiſſe bella contra Scotos & Pictos, ante Jul. Cæſ. Buchan. *lib.* 2.

Mamertin, in his *Panegyrick* to *Maximinian*, tells us, That the Britans had War with the Scots and Picts, before *Julius Cæſar* entered into the Iſland. So, by theſe Teſtimonies, ye ſee how injurious they are unto the Scots, that will not have their name known, till many yeers, yea, ſome hundred yeers after the entry of the Romans into the Iſland.

Ejus partes habitatores ſæpius a Britanniæ ſcriptoribus Britones quàm Britanni nominatur. Buc. *l.* 2.

The Romans having ſetled themſelves in the Iſland, they divided the whole into two parts: Their part, or the South

part,

part, they called *Britannia major* and ſuperiour ; and their Provincialls went moſt commonly under the name of *Britones*, although ſometimes under the name of *Britanni*, but not ſo oft : and they were ſub-divided into ſeverall Peoples. The other part of the Iſland without the Roman Province, that is, the northern part, was called *Britannia minor*, and inferiour : Now all the inhabitants of this northern part, who were in continuall Bickerings and Warre with the Romans and their Provincialls, were called *Scoti*, ſometime *Tranſmarins*, ſometime *Forreigners* ; and they did conſiſt of two chief Peoples, to wit, *Brigantes*, and *Picti* ; which both were ſub-divided into ſeverall leſſer Peoples, of which we forbear to ſpeak at this time. So the name of *Scoti* was at firſt appellative, and given to more then to one People ; but in ſucceſſe of time, appropriated to one. And this is not ſingular in this name, for the proper names of divers Peoples at firſt hath been appellative, and thereafter appropriate to one alone : I will inſtance onely in one, for brevity ſake, which is this ; The name *Franck* or *French*, at firſt was common to all thoſe that ſtood out together for Franchiſe and Liberty againſt the Romans about the *Rhyne*, and other parts of *Germany* ; But at length it became peculiar unto one people, as we ſee it is at this day. Moreover, that the name of *Scoti* was appellative, and given to more then one people, you may cleerly ſee by the ordinary expreſſion of ancient Writers in the plurall number, thus, *Scotorum gentes*, *Scoticæ gentes* ; when otherwiſe all men ordinarily, both by word and writing, have ever uſed, and to this day uſe the ſingular number, ſpeaking of one people ; as *gens*, not *gentes* ; *populus*, not *populi* ; nation, not nations.

Nomen Scotus erat commune omnibus gentibus quæ excurſionibus loca populi Romana infeſtabant. Scal. *in* Euſe. *Sic vocat eos* Beda *modò tranſmarinos modò peregrinos Quod etiam notat* Buch. *Scoti dicuntur non ſolum Brigantes qui ex Hibern. in Britanniam tranſmiſerunt, ſed etiam indigenæ Britanni veri Picti, ſermone prorſus a Brigantibus diſcreti.* Scal.

As all the northern people of the main Land, or Continent, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, went anciently under the name of *Scythæ*, witneſſe *Strabo*, in theſe words, *The ancients commonly called the northern people* Scythes. And in another place he ſaith, *The ancients did call by one name of* Scythes *all the known places towards the North.* He means, in the Continent, or main Land. So the northern people of *Britannie*, which is another little world, were of old, and to this day

Ἀνειλε μὲν οὖν ὁ παλαιὸς πᾶς τὸν πρὸς ἄρκτον βάρβαρον ὀνόματι Σκύθην. *Strab. lib.* 11. Τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν μᾶλλον τι γνώριμα ὑπὸ τοῖς παλαιοῖς Σκύθαι ἐκαλοῦντο.

are called *Scoti*. The two names *Scytha* and *Scotus* do ſignifie one and the ſame thing, to wit, an *Archer*, or *Bow-man*; in Latin, *Arcuarius*; in Greek, Τοξότης. The ancient Writers tell us, That the *Scythes* were much given to Archery, and to Hunting; ſo were anciently, and to this day are the old *Scots* Bow-men; In Hebrew, קשׁת *Keſhut*, from קשׁת *Keſhet*, *Bow*. And ſo you have the ſignification of *Scytha* and *Scotus*; which are truely one and the ſame, with little change, more in Latin then in Greek; for the one is written Σκυθης, ſo at firſt the other was written Σκυθος, which afterward they turned into Σκοτος. This is the true origine of the name *Scotus*: It comes neither then from the fabulous *Scota*, neither from the fooliſhly-invented Σκοτος, darkneſſe; For if the days be as long in ſummer, as the nights are in winter, Why ſhould the Countrey be called *Scotia*, from Σκοτος, rather then *Photia*, from φως, light? Alſo the *Britan* Writers uſe one and and the ſame word, when they ſpeak of *Scyth* and *Scot*, to wit, *y Scot*; as likewiſe the Low German calleth them both *Schutten*: From the Hebrew קשׁת *Keſhet*, we have the vulgar *ſchut* and *ſchot*. Now this Etymologie of *Scot*, as it is true, ſo it is eaſie, by the tranſpoſition of a letter; to wit, by putting ק behinde ש; which is ordinary, not onely in the derivation of words from one Language into another, but alſo obvious in one and the ſame Language, in common diſcourſe. Let this one Example ſatisfie for all, to be ſhort, Is not one and the ſame word both written and pronounced, according to the writing *thirty* and *thrity*, in our vulgar Tongue? As the names of *Scyth* and *Scot* do ſignifie one thing; ſo the people, in many things, may be ſaid to be like one another; as for Example; The *Scythes*, in the Continent, generally were of two kindes; to wit, *European*, and *Aſiatick*: So the Scots in *Britanie* were of two ſorts in generall; to wit, the *Brigantes*, and *Picti*. Next, the *Scyths* did not till the ground, but feeding cattell and ſheep, had a Cuſtome to remove from one place or ſolitude to another: Of old, ſo did all the Scots; and to this day, the ancient or *priſci* Scots do. The *Scythes* did live much upon milk, and ſo do our old Scots. The *Scythes*, not knowing the

Αροτηρες δε ουκ ησαν ουδε νομαδες.

Strab. lib. 11.

Hence they are γαλακτοφαγοι.

the uſe of riches, did not deſire them: and ſo it is with many of our old Scots. The Scythes were never vanquiſhed by Forreigners: ſo the Scots were never utterly overthrown, although they have ſuffered very much by their enemies at ſeverall times. The Scythes were hard for toyling and War; ſo are our Scots, as is known to all, *&c.*

Scythæ ab alieno imperio aut imacti, aut invicti.
Σκυθαι ὀυδ' ὑπ' ἀλλων ἀ μαχητοι και ἀηττητοι.
Sola manet invicta Britannia Scotis.
Gens laboribus & bellis aſpera.

We have ſaid, That the In-dwellers of the north part of the Iſland were named *Scoti*; and that by a generall Diviſion they were of two kindes, *Brigantes*, and *Picti*: Now we muſt enquire who are *Brigantes*, and who *Picti*; where they both lived, and from whence they came. And, to begin at *Picti*, They inhabited the Eaſt ſide of *Britannia minor*, which is the beſt: and, for the moſt part, they were of the ancient native *Britons*; of whom, ſundry of old, before the entry of the Romans into the Iſland, had drawn themſelves Northward, to have more elbow-room for their courſe of life, which was, To feed Cattell, and to hunt, removing from one place to another, whereunto largeneſſe of Bounds is required. Then others of the old *Britons* flying from the Tyranny of the Romans, upon grievance, went from time to time Northward, beyond the Limits of the Empire, to their ancient com-Patriots.

Next came in to theſe North *Britans*, at divers times, ſeverall Colonies of Northern people from beyond Sea. Hence it is, that ſome late Authors have written, That the inhabitants of the Eaſt ſide of *Britannia minor* came from *Scandie*. The North *Britans* having received theſe men come from beyond Sea, into their Society, and being joyned with them, made up a People, called the Romans and South *Britons Picti*, becauſe they continued the Cuſtom of painting their bodies, of old in uſe among many Nations: which cuſtome the South *Britons* left off, with other Rites, now become Provincialls of the Empire. The whole Iſland was firſt called *Albion*; of which we ſhall ſpeak anon, God willing.

Then Βρεττανία, *Britannia*, which ſignifieth a woody Countrey; for of old it was καταδρυμος, *Sylvis obſita*, covered with Woods, as *Strabo* terms it. And to this day, we ſee that part

part of the countrey oppoſite to the Continent, full of Woods and Incloſures. We finde in ancient Authors, the Peninſule of *Italy*, next *Sicilie*, whereof *Rhegium* was the Metropolis, called Βρέτια and Βρεττιανία for the ſame reaſon, becauſe it was καταδρυμής. So *Strabo* names it alſo. The Origine of the word is ברח *barat*, which ſignifieth ſeverall kindes of trees, *Fir*, *Aſh*, *Cedar*, *&c.*

Βρεττιον ἐστι μέρος τῆς Ἰταλίας Βρεττανίας. *Vide Sal. pag. 321. in Plin.*

The *Picti* had divers people under them, whereof the chief were *Caledonii*; by whoſe name, ſometimes all the Picts were named, although *Caledonii* properly were thoſe of the Picts who dwelt among the leſſer hills; of which hills, ſome are called *Ocelli montes*, in vulgar language *Ochell hills*. The countrey of the *Caledonii* did begin at *Forth*, and went Northward beyond *Tay*, where their chief City was *Caledon*, now *Dunkell*, by a tranſpoſition. In this countrey were the Woods called *ſaltus Caledonius*, or *ſylva Caledonia*. The rockie and hillie part of *Ætolia* in *Greece*, was called by the ſame name: and there was there a Town of this name, yea, and a Forreſt, ſo much ſpoken of by the old Poets. True it is, That the ſecond vowell is now and then changed, which makes no difference; for in words the conſonants are mainly regarded. *Strabo*, *Lib.* 10. calleth the one and the other countrey ἀσπεραν, καὶ πετρήσσαν, hillie and ſtonie or rockie: the name cometh from גלאיתו *Galeetan*, which is as much as Βουνὸς Τραχύς, *tumulus aſper*, a rough little hill.

Benorth the Limits of the Empire in this Iſland, all people, beſide the Picts, were called *Brigantes*, which importeth as much as In-dwellers of Mountains, or high hills: So you have the *Brigantes* neer the Lake of *Conſtance*, in-dwelling Mountains. On the *Alps* in *Daulphine* you have *Brigantium Brianſon*, the higheſt Town in *Europe*. The *Brigantes* of *Spain*, as thoſe of *Ireland*, of old did inhabite Mountains; and ſo did our *Brigantes* in this Iſland mainly keep upon the Mountains. The name cometh from *Briga*, *Brica*, or *Bria*, as it is diverſly written: It ſignifieth an high place, or Mountain: Our vulgar hath interpreted it *Bray*; hence we haply call our *Brigantes* Bray-

Bray-men, vvhom vve call othervviſe High-landers, or High-land-men. *Strabo* tells us, That *bria*, amongſt the *Thracians*, doth ſignifie a Tovvn, or City. And ſo the vvord *Bria* muſt needs come from the Hebrevv בירה *bira*, Tovvn or Palace, by the tranſpoſition of a letter; vvhich is ordinary in the derivation of vvords, as vve have ſaid a little before. Here, for further proof of the tranſpoſition of a letter in a derivative vvord, take this example onely, *Dumbarton*, for *Dumbriton*.

Cauſabon, in his Notes upon *Strabo*, tells us, from *Heſychius*, That *bria* ſignifieth a Village or Tovvn upon a hill: So *bria* ſignifieth not ſimply a Tovvn or Village, but ſuch a one as is builded upon a hill. And truely, in the moſt ancient times, Tovvns or Villages vvere, for the moſt part, builded upon high places; as any man that hath taken the pains to remark, either by Hiſtories, or by conſidering the places he may have ſeen, knovveth. So then *Brigantes* are men inhabiting the hills, or having their Tovvns, Cities, Villages upon the hills. Yea, in old times, vvhen they had not yet fixed their abode certain, they were wont to remove from hill to hill, as we have ſaid formerly; and to this day ſome of our Highlanders do, within their own extent and limits

Heſychius explicat, Βεννα τὰν ἐπ' ἀκρῶις κωμὰν, ubi lego ἀκρῶις, non ἀγρ ις ut vulgò legitur.

The *Brigantes* in the Continent namely, were ſo given anciently to take away goods from their enemies with a ſtrong hand, that by ſucceſſe of time, all thoſe that openly did rob and plunder, were called *Brigantes*: And the French has from hence derived the verb, *Brigander*, to rob or plunder. Next, there is a kinde of Armour called *Brigantine*, the uſe and manner whereof is borrowed from the *Brigantes*; it is like a Male-Coat. Laſtly, there is a kinde of Ship uſed at the Sea, called *Brigantine*, of the middle ſize, as being moſt proper for War at Sea. Thus much for the name of *Brigantes*.

The *Brigantes* of this Iſland came hither from *Ireland*, at divers times, and upon divers occaſions. The *Brigantes* in *Ireland*, by *Ptolomie*, are placed well Southward: But thoſe that are come after *Ptolomee*, I mean thoſe of neerer Antiquity, have placed them more Northerly by many miles; as ye may ſee eaſily by looking upon *Ptolomee* his Maps; and *Ortelius*

Vide ſis Ptolomæi *Tabulam primam Europæ*; *Et* Ortelii *tertiam: quas conferas velim.*

his Maps of Geographie of the Ancients. So ye ſee that the *Brigantes*, at their firſt coming to *Ireland* from *Spain*; for thence they came, with many other inhabitants of that Iſland, dwelt in the South parts, but by degrees drew Northward, for conveniency to their wandring courſe of life, in keeping cattell, and hunting, and for freedom from the trouble of too neer neighbors: They went, by ſucceſſe of time, ſo far North, till at length, having come to the part next unto *Britannie*, they came hither, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the little Iſlands and hills next unto *Ireland*; and finding themſelves fitted in this new-found Land for their purpoſe, according to their minde, they made their abode there, and drew dayly more and more company unto them, till at length they made up a great Body of people in *Britannie*, and by little and little came all along the Weſt ſide of *Britannie*, keeping the hills, till they came to the River *Beliſana*, that is, *Rhibet*, in *Lancaſhire*, and from thence went ſtraight Eaſtward, till they came to the mouth of *Abus*, now *Humber*.

Scoto Brigantes *primò ex Hibernia in Æbudas inſulas & Montana continentis his proxima venerunt ſine certo Imperio: deinde acceſſiverunt* Fergufium *cum novis Coloniis cum res eorum creviſſent, quem in Regem ſibi ſumpſerunt.*

The North *Britans* were glad to give them way, contenting themſelves with the Eaſt ſide of *Britannia minor* (which indeed was, and is the beſt) and were glad alſo to have them for a Rampart againſt their enemies in the South, or in *majore Britannia*. The *Brigantes* were great enemies to the Romans, with whom they had divers Bickerings; but at laſt they were compelled to go Northward, and were hem'd in by the wall built by the Romans, betwixt the *fluve Tina*, now *Tyne* on the Eaſt ſide, and *Itrina*, now *Eden* in *Cumberland*, on the Weſt ſide. Although they left the Countrey beſouth this wall, yet the Romans continued there the names of *Brigantes*; yea, ſome of the *Brigantes*, allured by the bounty of the Soyl, did chuſe rather to ſubmit to the Roman yoke, then change their abode, although it was with thraldome. Then, after many various encounters with the Romans, they were yet conſtrained to yeeld more ground unto the Romans, who hedged in both them and the *Picts* northward with a Wall, betwixt *Bodotria*, or *Forth*, and *Glotta*, or *Clyde*. At laſt, the Romans, by cunning, raiſed jealouſies betwixt the *Brigantes* and *Picts*, and ſo not onely withdraws the *Picts* from the friend-

Ab Hibernia Scotici generis fuere Brigantes qui circa Eboracum habitabant, magna & valida natio, ac totius inſulæ latitudinem obtinebant. Buch.

friendſhip of the *Brigantes*, but makes them joyn with them, to overthrow the *Brigantes*; and taking occaſion of the *Brigantes* domeſtick troubles, fights with them; yea, at length, after a bloody well-fought Battell, defeats them, gives the beſt of the Lands they poſſeſt to the *Picts*, for their reward. After this the *Brigantes* were conſtrained, for the moſt part, (I mean of the better ſort) to retire thence, whereof ſome went to the next Iſles; ſome returned to *Ireland*, to their ancient *Patrie*; and ſome went to the North Countreys beyond Seas, and ſo they were for a time diſtreſſed, and in exile, till after divers attempts, they were reſtored again under the conduct of *Fergus* the ſecond. Here let us remember, That the whole Iſland *Britannie* was firſt named *Albion*, from *Albe*, or *Alpe*, which ſignifieth *hill*, or *high place*. This word *Albe*, or *Alpe*, cometh from *Albus*, white; and this from the Hebrew לבן *Laban*, *per metathesin*, *Alban*, *Albus*; & Αλφος in Greek; becauſe the high hills and mountains, yea, in the hot Countries, are frequently covered with Snow, and ſo appear white; witneſſe the high hills betwixt *France* and *Italy*, which, by reaſon of their highneſſe above other mountains, are named particularly *Alps*. The Iſland, when it had given unto it the name of *Britannia*, by little and little left off the old name of *Albon*, which continued in the North part of the Iſland, benorth the limits of the Empire; and ſo the whole Countrey beneath the *Humber* was called; and *Albion* in this ſecond ſenſe, in following times was called *Britannia minor*, as we have heard; but as the Romans did gain ground upon the in-dwellers of *Albion*, or *Britannia minor*, beating them Northward, they leſſened *Albion*, or *Britannia minor*, ſo far, till they brought them to keep North *Bodotria*, or *Forth*, and *Glotta*, or *Clyde*.

Britannia modò nomen totius inſulæ, modò partis ejus quæ Romanis faſcibus parebat cáque pars nunc Humbro, nunc vallo Adrianæ, nunc vallo ad Forthum figebatur.

Johannes Forderus, in his 2 Book, 7 ch. of his *Scoti-Chronicon*, tells us, That *Albania*, that is, *Albion*, began for a time at *Humber*, then at *Tyne*, then at *Forth*.

Laſt of all, the Romans having by their cunning divided the *Brigantes* and *Picts*; and having drawn the *Picts* on their ſide againſt the *Brigantes*, *Albion* was taken for that part of *Britannia minor*, beyond *Clyde* and *Forth*, which did not belong to the *Picts*; that is, the Northweſt ſide of that hillie Continent, with the hillie Iſlands adjacent, where to this day dwelleth our Highlandmen, or Highlanders, who are the remnant

of the ancient *Brigantes*. That the ancient name of a whole great Countrey, as this Iſland is, ſhould be conſerved in one corner, or a little portion thereof, may not ſeem ſtrange, I have thought fit to tell you, That you have the like in our neighbour Countrey, of old called *Gaule*, now *France*; where the ancient name of *Gaule*, among the vulgar, is onely conſerved in a little Countrey lying about *Sens*, of old, *Senones*: this little Countrey is called *Pays Gaulois*, and is divided in *Haute*, & *baſſe Gaule*. So it was judiciouſly ſaid by the Hiſtoriographer, The name of the Iſle *Albion* is derived from *Albe*, and remains in *Scotland*, as it were in its Native Soyl.

Nomen inſulæ ab Albo *ducitum Albion, in Scotia velut in natali ſolo hæret.* Buch.

Of *Alpe*, or *Albe*, ſignifying hill, or high place, you have the in-dwellers thereof ſometimes named *Albani*, as in *Aſia*, *Dalmatia*, *Italy*, and North *Britannia*; and their Countrey *Albania*, ſometimes *Albici*, *Albigois* in *Languedock*, and their Countrey *Albium*, or *Albi*, in vulgar language, ſometimes *Albini*, or *Alpini*, and *Albienſes*, as the in-dwellers of our *Albion*, who to this day call themſelves as they have done of old, &c. which name is one and the ſame with *Brigantes*. Here let us remark, That as the Provincialls or In-dwellers of *Britannia* ſuperiour, ſubject to the Romans, are ordinarily called by the Writers *Britones*; ſo the others, benorth the Empire, have been called by the Writers *Britanni*, *peregrini*, & *tranſmarini*, ſtrangers, and beyond-Sea-men, as if they had been of another Iſland. And truely, if it were not for the Strait betwixt the Rivers afore-named, which did ſerve for Border unto them, they were in another Iſland. Hence *England* is ſaid to be *inter quatuor maria*.

In Albio ſunt Brigantes Ptolomæ. Tacitus, & Seneca.

Ptolomeis, *Tacitus*, and *Seneca* tell us, That the *Brigantes* inhabited *Albion*, which when they writ, was that part of the Iſland beyond the Roman Empire. Therefore the *Brigantes* were then *Albini*, or *Albani*.

Brigantes circa Eboracum fuerunt Scotici generis, magna & valida natio. Buch.

Moreover, the *Brigantes* about *Eboracum*, now *Yorke*, were of the Scots, who came from *Ireland*, a great and mighty People.

John Fordon, in his *Scoti Chronicon*, writes, That the Scots came ſo far South as *Humber*, and poſſeſſed Lands there. Alſo the

the Iſle of *Man* was for a long time under the Crown of *Scotland*; which Iſle is as far South, as the Countrey about *Yorke*, although it be Weſtward, and in the Sea. And theſe were the *Brigantes* we now have ſpoken of. The *Brigantes*, at their firſt coming into *Albion*, came, as we have ſaid, without any certain or ſetled way of Government: but being grown to a conſiderable number or Body, they ſent into *Ireland* for *Fergus* the firſt, to be their King; whoſe (with a new Colonie) coming into *Albion*, is reckoned to be about *Alexander the Great* his time; that is, about three hundred yeers before the Birth of Chriſt.

Florente tum Imperio Romano Brigantes in Albium trajecerunt.

The *Brigantes*, alias, *Albini*, for a certain time, by ſome have been called *Dalreudini* (although this name did not laſt long) from the King *Reuda*, who brought into *Albion* the ſecond remarkable Colony from *Ireland*, after *Fergus*, about 180 yeers before Chriſt; that is, about 220 yeers after *Fergus*, And *Dale*, which ſignifieth *Countrey* and *Province*, as is known to this day: There is a certain place in the Weſt of *Scotland*, called to this very day *Ridſdale*.

Deinde poſt aliquot ætates domo pulſi in Hiberniam redierunt, unde majore cum numero duce Reuda in Albium reverſi ſunt. Quinte Caledonios iterum viſure Britannos.

We have heard, That the people benorth the Roman Province, upon the Eaſt ſide, were originally *Britains*, whence they were called *Britanni Picti*; and ſomtimes *Britanni Caledonii*, from one of the chief people; ſometimes ſimply *Picti*, or *Caledonii*. Alſo we have heard, That the people benorth the Province, on the Weſt ſide, were come from *Ireland*, and called *Brigantes*, or *Albani*; yea, for a time *Dalreudini*. Likewiſe we have heard, That all the people benorth the Empire, by a generall Appellation, were called *Scoti*, where they were all ſpoken of together: but when they were ſpoken of apart, thoſe of the Eaſt were called *Scoto-britanni*: Thoſe of the Weſt were called *Scoto-brigantes*, as we have heard out of *Seneca*.

Moreover, by progreſſe of time, the Iriſh came to go under the name of Scots, with thoſe of *Britannia minor*, or *Albion*, who from them had help, ſupply, and recruites, in their War againſt the Romans and Britans Provincialls. Thus naming the Iriſh by the name of Scots, began ſome hundred yeers after Chriſt; that is, towards the middle Ages. And

Hiberniam nominatam Scotiam a media ætatis ſcriptoribus obſervavit Ortelius in Geographia.

about that time *Ireland* was called by the name of *Scotia*, as *Abrahamus Ortelius* hath remarked, in theſe words; *I have obſerved Ireland to be named Scotia, by the Writers of the middle Age.* And ſo it hath been obſerved by the learned, That ancient Authors did never name *Ireland Scotia*; as you may ſee by thoſe who have exactly reckoned up the old names of *Ireland*, out of the ancient and Claſſick Authors. So it was not ſaid much amiſſe by one, That this naming of *Ireland* by the name of *Scotland*, was firſt about *Beda* his time, who lived in the beginning of the eighth Age. *Scaliger* tells us, That the word *Scot* is no Iriſh word, but *Britiſh*; that is not uſed in *Ireland*, but in *Britannia*: what is the origine and ſignification of the word, we have heard before.

Videſis Hermolaum Barbarum *in* Plinium, *&* Vadianum, *in* Solinum.

Scotus non eſt nomen Hibernicum, ſed Britannicum.

As the Iriſh began to be called *Scots*, ſo the *Picts* left off to be ſo named; now withdrawing themſelves from the *Brigantes*, or *Albini*, and ſtriking in with their enemies the Iriſh, by the Writers were called *Scoti Hibernienſes*, and the *Albins* were called *Scoti Albienſes*: And *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*, becauſe *Albania* or *Albion* in thoſe dayes, which they called *Scotia minor*, was of leſſe extent. But this name of *Scots* was not for any long time given to the Iriſh; So that at length the name of *Scots* became peculiar to the *Albins* or *Brigantes* alone.

Laſtly, the *Albins* having ſubdued the *Picts*, and made them no more a People, communicated into the Countrey, newly conquered by them, the name of *Scotia*, as one Countrey with *Albinia*; and ſo all the in-dwellers there, were called *Scots*, with the *Albins*, as one people with them, and ſo they are to this day.

Now the *Albins* or *Brigantes* being the onely Maſters of *Britannia minor*, came to be called *Scoto-Britanni*; as the *Picts* had been of old, and are upon occaſion called ſo to this day, to diſtinguiſh them from the South *Britons*, of whom, ſome are called *Cambro-britanni*, the reſt, *Anglo-britanni*.

Although the ancient *Brigantes* were called by forreigners *Scoti*, namely, by the *Britons* Provincialls, and the Romans, yet they did never name themſelves ſo, by this name *Scoti*; neither

neither do the High-landers to this day, in their own language call themſelves *Scots*, but *Albins*. So *Scaliger* had juſt reaſon to ſay, That *Scoti* was not an Iriſh name. As the *Hellenes* did never name themſelves *Greeks*, although they were ſo commonly called by the forreigners : And the *Miſraims* did not call themſelves *Egyptians*, although forreigners named them ſo.

The *Scots* now adayes are divided in Highland-men, and Lowland-men : The Highlanders are the true Progenie of the ancient *Brigantes*, or *Albins*, for the moſt part, I ſay, becauſe ſome are come in later times from other Countreys. And to this day our Highlanders, as the *Brigantes* of old, makes main uſe of their Bowes and Arrows, in their war, namely, when they are among the hills; ſo when they praiſe one for a Military man, they ſay, He is a good Bowe-man, and Bray-man; which two Epithites were expreſſed by the ancients in one compoſed word, *Scoto-Brigantes*.

The Lowland-men are made up of divers Nations; for a few of them are a little remnant of the ancient *Picts*; other few are deſcended from the ancient *Albins :* who leaving the hills, after the defeat of the *Picts*, did betake themſelves to the Low Countrey. Divers from the South parts of *Britannie*, had fled thither from the Tyranny of the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, as they did of old from the Tyranny of the Romans. Then the Engliſh, being ſo oft in *Scotland* with their Armies, have left divers in the Countrey. Alſo Marriages, and other private occaſions, have drawn ſundry men from *England* into *Scotland*. Laſtly, ſundry of the Low-Countrie people are come from beyond Seas, as from *France*, *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Flanders*, *Ireland*, *&c.* of late dayes : So all being reckoned, they are but few in the Low Countrey come of the old *Albins*, *Brigantes*, or old *Picts*.

The Low-Countrey men calls the High-landers *Iriſh*, not ſo much for their ancient deſcent, as for their language, onely differing from the Iriſh by dialect; and for their wayes of living not much unlike : yet one main difference is to be ſeen in the activity of the Scots, and the lazineſſe of the Iriſh. On the other ſide, the Highlanders calls the Low-Countrey men

Saxons,

Saxons, not ſo much for their deſcent (although many of them are come from the Southern people, as we have ſaid, who are a Progenie of the *Saxons*) as for the language, which differeth onely by dialect from the language of the South, which acknowledgeth the *Saxon* language for its mother Tongue, and for the way of living not ſo different, ſave that the Scots are harder bred, and conſequently, more fitted for toyling at War namely, then the Engliſh are; for we ſee the Engliſh to have pain to toyle, and endure Wars, at the firſt going to the Field, by reaſon of their tender and ſoft breeding. The language of the South-*Britons* of old, was not much different from that of the *Gauls*, from whence they came into *Albion*; witneſſe *Tacitus*, in *Agricola* his Life: The *Gauls* then did ſpeak a corrupt Greek, for they are come of the *Greeks*. Beſides, many words of the old *Gaulois*, the phraſe and conſtruction, are to this day in the French language kept; which doth ſignifie, that of old the Greek was ſpoken in *Gaule*, although corrupt groſly by ignorant men without learning, who neither could reade nor write. Yet in the South parts of *Gaule*, neer the *Mediterranean* Sea, wherein the Greek Iſlands are, the Greeke was ſpoken and taught, at *Marſeilles* namely. The ancient language of the *Britons* ſuffred a great change by the Romans, and other forreigners, who brought in amongſt them their terms of Law, of divine Service, of War, and of Policie, with the names of divers Commodities, and the names of divers Trades.

In no Language are the Greek Authors ſo well turned, as in French.

When the *Saxons* and *Danes* came into the Land, they confined the remnant of the ancient *Britons* unto the Weſt Countrey, with their language, ſuch as it was left unto them by the Romans, and other forreigners of old, and with themſelves planted the language which is ſpoken in all *England* now adays, with ſome alteration and change. The firſt notable change happened by the *Normans*, in whoſe language the Law hath been adminiſtred, &c. The next change is from the *Latin*, in which language divine Service hath been for many yeers Officiated. Then the Engliſh language hath borrowed from all neighbour Nations many words, without any great change; ſo that the Engliſh language is ſaid to be the quint-

eſſence

eſſence of all neighbour Languages: From it the Scotiſh Tongue differs but in dialect, as we have ſaid. The Highlanders Language, as hath been ſaid likewiſe, is Iriſh, which of old was a corrupt Greek alſo; for the Iriſh came into *Ireland* from the North parts of *Spain*, who ſpake a corrupt Greek, as thoſe of *Gaule* did; for the ancient in-dwellers of the North parts of *Spain* came alſo from the Greek Iſlands. So that of old, the Language of the ancient *Britons* was not altogether ſtrange unto the *Brigantes*, or *Alpins*; yea, in this time wherein we live, notwithſtanding the great changes that both the Languages have ſuſtained by time, and Commerce of forreign Nations, they have many words which are one and the ſame, ſignifying the ſame thing.

Thus much I have written of the beginning, names, way of living, and Languages of *Scotland*, to make known to all, how unjuſt and injurious unto us are ſome modern Antiquaries of our neighbour Countreys; who firſt think they cannot prove their own people to be ſufficiently ancient, except they take from their neighbour their juſt right of good Antiquity. Next, they conceive they cannot ſet forth fully enough the greatneſſe of their own Countrey, except they make their neighbours no people at all, or at leaſt, hardly conſiderable. Thirdly, they imagine, That they cannot extoll and magnifie the glory of their Countrey highly enough, unleſſe they not onely depreſſe and extenuate their neighbours name, but alſo attribute unto themſelves the advantages of their neighbours. But if theſe Antiquaries had conſidered with the eyes of men, That there is enough to be ſaid for the credit of their own Countrey, without wronging others, they had not ſo ſtuffed their Books with miſtaken and miſ-applied Allegations of good ancient Authors, nor with Collection of fabulous and lying Monks tales, wherein ſome of them do fanſie Learning mainly to conſiſt. But of this enough.

For this place, I will only adde this: As the Scots, although they be not of the greateſt people, yet they are truely one of the moſt ancient People in *Europe*; So I dare be bold to ſay, That God (to whoſe praiſe be it ſpoken) in his good-

neſſe towards them hath raiſed up of them, and amongſt them, ſo many excellent and vertuous men, in Church and State, in Piety and Learning, in Policy and War, at home and abroad, of old and of late, that few Nations, ancient or moderne, although of greater bounds, can compare with them; fewer equall them, and hardly any at all go beyond them in this; for which we praiſe God, who of the beſt things hath given us the beſt meaſure; and ſay with the Hiſtorian, *That the Land is more fertile of good men, then of good fruits.*

Terra virorum fortium quam frugum feracior

But now, ſince all former walls of ſeparation and diviſion, both ancient and moderne, Civill and Eccleſiaſticall, are in a great meaſure taken away by Gods bleſſing: and ſince in ſo many reſpects the Scots and Engliſh are ſo neer one unto another, as we have ſaid: But above all, ſince they both are members of the true Church and pure Spouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, to the upholding of whoſe Truth, and purging of it from uncleanneſſe they have newly bound themſelves together as one People, yea, as one man, Let them then, in Gods Name, laying aſide all excuſes, envies, jealouſies, and by-ends, as feeling members of one and the ſame Body, concur unanimouſly, with their mutuall and beſt endeavours, to ſettle the true Worſhip of God in all true purity, and quiet all things ſpeedily with wiſedom, to the good of the people, with due obedience to our lawfull Sovereign under God, as we are taught by the Law of God, the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, and the Municipall Laws of our ſeverall Countreys. But to return to the Church.

The Scots, although they received amongſt them the light of the Goſpel with the very firſt of the Gentiles, as we have ſaid, yet had they not the Evangel ſo univerſally profeſſed thorow the whole Countrey, till towards the firſt yeers of the third Age; that is, till *Donald* the firſt; who not onely profeſſed the Faith of Chriſt himſelf, with his Family, but did his beſt to caſt out Idolatry wholly from his Dominions, and to ſettle the Miniſtery of the Goſpel in every corner thereof: But this religious King could not bring

to

to paſſe this his good Deſigne fully, being diverted by continuall Wars againſt the Romans the whole courſe of his life.

After the death of *Donald*, till toward the later end of the third age; that is, to the Reign of *Crathilinth*, this work of totally putting down Idolatry, and ſetling the Goſpel every where in the Countrey, by the negligence of the following Princes, was at a ſtay. In this King *Crathilinth* his dayes fell out the ninth perſecution under *Aurelius*, and the tenth under *Diocleſian*, which gave occaſion to many Chriſtians from divers parts of the Empire, but namely from the South parts of *Britanie*, now another time to flie into *Scotland* for refuge, as they had done before under *Domitian*. Among thoſe fugitives who did then repair into *Scotland* for ſhelter from the generall maſſacre, were many excellent men in Piety and Learning, whom the King *Crathilinth* not onely kindely received, but alſo employed to ayd and help him and his Councell in the further ſetling of Chriſts Truth in his Kingdom, and in the totall extirpation of Idolatry out of it; which was ſo much the harder work, becauſe of the *Druides*, the principall falſe Prophets, and Idolatrous Prieſts in thoſe dayes; who not onely by their ſubtill hypocriſie, and ſenſe-pleaſing Divine Service, but alſo by a cunning forecaſt, having drawn into their hands the hearing and determining of Civill affairs, had ſo gained upon the ſpirits of the poor and ſimple people, that they could not imagine how to be without them, and live. The reſolute care and diligence of King *Crathilinth* and his Councell, with the help of thoſe pious and learned men, ſurpaſſeth all difficulties; and having put quite down the Groves and Altars under the Oaks, and, in a word, all Idoll Service, eſtabliſhed the pure Worſhip of the true God in every place of his Dominions, and filled up the rooms of thoſe falſe Prophets, with godly and learned Teachers of the people; which was done every where thorow the Kingdom, but particularly in the Iſlands, which thoſe pious men choſe for their principall abode, as being moſt fit for a retired life; and namely, in the Iſle of *Man* the King *Crathilinth* cauſed to build a

Church to the honour of our Saviour, which in following times, by corruptions, was called *Fanum Sodorenſe*, for *Soterenſe*, the word originall is, σωτὴρ. Hence the Town neer the Church was called *Sodora*, as Minſter in our vulgar language, and Mouſtier in *French*, ſignifying a Town, in a ſecondary ſignification, neer a Church. Thoſe godly men being ſetled as aforeſaid, and having withdrawn themſelves from the ſollicitude of worldly affairs, did wholly give themſelves to divine Service, that is, To inſtruct the ignorant, comfort the weak, adminiſter the Sacraments to the people, and to train up Novices and Diſciples, to do the ſame ſervice in their due time. Theſe men, for their ſingle and retired life, were called μοναχοὶ, or Monks, by abbreviation; and for their travelling altogether in Gods Worſhip and Service, were called *Colidei*, or *Culdees*.

Culdei *vitam ſolitariam tantâ ſanctitatis opinione apud omnes vixerunt, ut vitâ functorum Cellæ in Templa quum mutarentur; & inde conſuetudo apud poſteros manſit, ut priſci Scoti Templa Cellas vocent.* Buch.

Theſe *Culdees* were ſo given to the exerciſe of devotion, by the meditating the Myſteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, and by Prayers, that the very Cells whereinto they had incloſed and ſeparated themſelves from the world, after their death were reputed ſo many Temples or Chappels ſet aſide for Divine Service; hence to this day *Cella* is taken for a Church among the ancient Scots, as you may ſee in theſe compoſed names, *Kelmarnoc*, *Marnoc* his Church, *Celpatric*, *Patrick* his Church.

Veteres Scotorum Epiſcopi e monaſteriis electi, cum adhuc non honoris & lucri, ſed ſanctitatis & doctrinæ inter eos certamen eſſet, ſine invidia & æmulatione partium ubicunque obvenerat occaſio ſuum munus obibant, nullis adhuc regionibus definitis, cum nondum functio muneris eccleſiaſtici eſſet quæſtuaria. Buch.

The *Culdees* thus ſetled, as we have ſeen, did choſe out of themſelves ſome eminent men, in piety, knowledge, and wiſedom, to overſee the reſt, and to keep them to the diſcharge of their duty towards the People, and towards the Diſciples, with an orderly and diſcreet carriage of each one towards another, in their ſeverall ſocieties, and in their private. Theſe Overſeers or Superintendents choſen of themſelves, and by themſelves, did diſcharge the Duties of their Function, indifferently every where, thorowout the whole Kingdom, without reſtraining themſelves to any certain place, or Lording over their Brethren, or any part of the Flock of Jeſus Chriſt, not attributing unto themſelves any particular diſtinct holy order from the reſt, belonging

ing onely to them, and to be onely conferred by them. This way of inſtructing the People, and governing the Church by *Culdees*, did continue for many yeers, under Gods mercy; the Miniſtery of Gods Church, as yet, not being become a buſineſſe of gain, and of worldly pomp and pride; So theſe *Culdees* and Overſeers of others, had no other emulation, but of weldoing, nor ſtriving, but to advance true Pietie and godly Learning. The Overſeers or Superintendents of the *Culdees*, were commonly called by the Writers who writ of thoſe dayes, *Scotorum Epiſcopi*, without any definition of place, or preeminence of one above another. But to return to *Crathilinth*, who till his dying day, which was about the 312. yeer, did conſtantly continue to advance the Kingdom of Chriſt, as likewiſe his ſucceſſor *Fincormac*; under whoſe dayes the Goſpel did flouriſh in Puritie and in Peace; he died about the yeer 358. After the death of *Fincormac*, both the Church and State of *Scotland* fell in great diſorder and troubles, by domeſtick diſſenſions and factions for ſome yeers. The Roman Lievtenant *Maximus*, ſeeing the inteſtine troubles of *Scotland*, began to lay hold upon the occaſion. Firſt, he foments their diviſions within them; next, not onely he withdraws under fair promiſes from the Scots their ancient Allies, the *Picts*, but alſo obtains help of the *Picts* to make Warre againſt the Scots, and ſo to defeat them, which he did effectuate indeed in a battell fought with much bloodſhed on both ſides, at the Water of *Dun*, in *Carrick*, wherein the King *Ewen* was killed (this defeat fell out about 380. in the yeer of Chriſt) the moſt part of the Nobilitie, and numbers of People of thoſe that eſcaped, ſome fled into the Weſt Iſles, ſome into *Ireland*, and others to the Northern parts of *Germany* or *Scandia*; ſome ſubmitted themſelves to the will and diſcretion of the Conquerour, with the poor people that had not taken arms. Among thoſe that fled away, was *Ethod* the Kings Brother, who went with ſundry of the Nobilitie unto *Scandia*, where he and they ſtayed divers yeers, and from whence now and then they made ſecret attempts upon *Scotland*, with the help of their Bre-

thren, retired into the Iſlands and *Ireland*, but to ſmall effect.

Now as the face of the politique State of the Countrey was quite altered and undone, ſo the condition of the Church alſo was much diſordered, and the *Culdees* were conſtrained to withdraw, and ſeek ſhelter up and down, where they could finde any; namely, they returned into the Iſles, and into *Ireland*: At laſt the *Picts* perceiving by ſeverall attempts made by the exiled Scots, to return home, and re-eſtabliſh their State (although with little ſucceſſe, as we have ſaid) that the Scots were fully reſolved to beſtirre themſelves continually, till they were reſtored, and re-eſtabliſhed in their ancient Inheritances; the *Picts* themſelves being moved with the groaning miſeries of their neighbour poor people of *Scotland*, now under the Roman yoak, chiefly by their means; and taking to their conſideration, how fooliſhly they had ſuffered themſelves be ſo farre circumvented and deluded by the Romans, as to contribute to the ruine of their old friends; by whom, mainly in former times, they had withſtood the common enemy, did not onely comfort the poor oppreſſed remainers of the Scots at home, but alſo did invite theſe that were in exile to return, promiſing unto them the Lands which they had of theirs, and to help them with all their ſtrength and counſell, in the recovery of their whole State from the Roman Tyrants. The exiled Scots under the conduct of *Fergus* the ſecond, ſon to *Ethod*, beyond Sea, gathered all they could, both of their own people, and of their friends, from the places of their exile, namely, from *Scandie*, and from *Ireland* likewiſe, and came into *Scotland*, from whence they chaſed away the Romans, by ſtrong hand, with the help of the *Picts*, who made good their promiſe unto them, both in aſſiſting them in the action of Warre, and in reſtoring unto them the Land that they had been poſſeſſed with by the Romans. The Auxiliaries from *Ireland* ſtayed ſtill in *Scotland*, and had allowed unto them the Countrey of *Galloway* for their reward; and becauſe they were of the ancient *Brigants* of *Ireland*, ſome of the late Writers have ſaid, That

That the *Brigantes* of *Albion* had their abode in *Galloway*. No ſooner is *Fergus* Crowned in the fatall Chair, and ſetled in his Kingdom, but he takes to his firſt care to reſtore the puritie of Divine Service, which had been eclipſed in theſe bounds for ſeverall yeers; and to this effect, he calls ſome of the diſperſed *Culdees* of his Country, whom he ſettles in their ancient abodes; namely, in the Iſle of *Iona*, where he furniſhed them with a Library of Books which he had gathered beyond Sea, as the Story tells us.

This return of *Fergus* into *Scotland*, ſon of *Ethod*, Brother to late *Ewen*, fell out about the yeer 420. The regaining by the Scots of their native Countrey, under the command of *Fergus* the ſecond, will not ſeem ſtrange unto them who have read what they did under the commands of *William Wallace*, and how under the conduct of *Robert Bruce*, they recovered their liberty from the thraldom wherewith they were then oppreſſed.

Ewen, ſon to *Fergus* the ſecond, by the counſell and ayd of his Grand-father by his Mother *Grame*; did not onely keep his Fathers ancient Kingdom, but alſo did enlarge the Limits thereof, having paſſed the next Wall of the *Romans*, which by *Grame* was pulled down in many places, hence it is called *Grames* Dyke; and he poſſeſſed himſelf, and the *Picts* with all the Lands lying an hundred miles Southward, that is, unto *Tyne*, and kept them till the entry of the *Saxons* into the Iſland. Next, he took unto his care not onely to ſeek out the *Culdees* fugitives, which had not yet returned, under his Father, but alſo he ſent for others into the neighbour Countrey of *Britaine*, and aſſigned unto them convenient places for their abode, with a moderate competency of means for their maintenance, that they ſhould be in no wayes burdenſome to the people, now looking to have ſome reſpite from their preſſures and grievances. And ſuch was the happineſſe of theſe dayes, that a very ſmall proportion did content the Church-men, ſetting wholly their mindes to the conſcionable diſcharge of their calling, which they did, Preaching Gods Word carefully, truely, and ſimply, inſtructing

Scotia tunc temporis sanctissimorum fertilis virorum.

ſtructing the people in the fear of God, and ſo gaining their ſouls to their Maker and Redeemer. By this their carriage, they gained very much reſpect among the people, who honoured them, as Fathers, Inſtructers, and Guiders to Heaven, under God; the vertuous civill Magiſtrate was the ſecondary cauſe of this good behaviour of Church-men, who by his authority kept them in order, and by his own example taught them to diſcharge their duty faithfully, and live diſcretly; But ſo ſoon as the civill Magiſtrate left them to themſelves, then they neglecting their calling, ſet their minde upon ambition and avarice, and conſequently upon all evill, thinking of nothing leſſe, then of that they were called to.

Here we are to obſerve, That as the Scots did conſtantly withſtand the ancient Romans, and kept themſelves ſo free of their yoak, that they neither acknowledged their Authority, nor received any Law from them, although it was not without great ſtruggling and hazard, yea, almoſt to their utter ruine, as it fell out under *Ewen* the firſt; but after ſome few yeers, the Scots under the conduct of *Fergus* the ſecond, and *Ewen* the ſecond, not onely regained what they had loſt by the Romans and *Picts*, but alſo conquered a great deal of ground beyond their laſt Limits, as we have newly ſaid. So the Scots in Church affairs, for many yeers together, had nothing to do with the Biſhop of *Rome*, neither made they acknowledgement unto him in any way, neither did they receive any Laws from him; for as they had the Goſpel planted among them, without his help, to wit, by the Diſciples of Saint *John* the Apoſtle, ſo they kept themſelves unto the Conſtitutions and Canons, ſetled by the ſame firſt Planters of the Goſpel amongſt them; but by ſucceſſe of time, they became to be infected by their neighbour Nations, with the poyſon of the Pelagian Hereſie. *Celeſtine* then Biſhop of *Rome*, takes occaſion to ſend unto the *Britons*, a learned man called *Palladius*, to help the Orthodox *Britons* to convince the Hereſie of *Pelagius*, then ſpreading it ſelf amongſt them, which was done accordingly.

Ewen

Ewen the ſecond, King of Scots, hearing how the *Britons*, by the help of *Palladius*, had repreſſed the *Pelagianiſme*, being moſt deſirous to purge the Church of his Kingdom alſo, where this *Pelagian* errour had crept in, ſends for *Palladius*; who with ſmall difficulty aſſiſted the Orthodox, to diſabuſe thoſe who had been carryed away by *Pelagianiſme*, and thereafter in a very ſhort time, by ſubtill inſinuations, gained ſo far upon the well-meaning Scots, that they conſented to take new Governours of their Church, who were to have a Degree and Pre-eminence above their brethren, to wit, the Prelat-Biſhops. Hitherto the Church of *Scotland* had been governed by Monks and Prieſts, without any ſuch dignity or pomp. I call their new Governours, Prelat-Biſhops, to diſtinguiſh them from their former Overſeers and Superintendents of the *Culdees*, who are ſometime by Writers called Biſhops, as they were indeed; but they had no Pre-eminence or rank of Dignity above the reſt; neither were they of any diſtinct Order from the reſt of their Brethren. That at this time by *Palladius* was brought into *Scotland* theſe new kinde of Biſhops, it appears by the relations of the Authors following, thus.

Palladius is thought to be the firſt who made Biſhops (that is, of this new order) in *Scotland*; for till then the Churches were without Biſhops, governed by Monks; with leſſe vanity truely and outward pomp, but with greater ſimplicity and holineſſe.

Buc. *l.* 3. *in* Eugen. 1 *Celitur* Palladius *primus Epiſcopos in Scotia creaſſe, nam ad id uſque tempus Eccleſiæ abſque Epiſcopis per Monachos regebantur; minus quidem cum faſtu & externa pompa, ſed majore ſimplicitate & ſanctimonia.*

Before him, ſaith *Hector Boece*, *Palladius* was the firſt of all that did bear the holy Magiſtrature among the Scots, being made Biſhop by the great Pontif or Biſhop; for till then, by the ſuffrage of the people, the Biſhops were made of the Monks and *Culdees*.

Lib. 7. *Cap.* 118. *Erat* Palladius *primus omnium qui ſacrum inter Scotos egere Magiſtratum, a ſummo Pontifice Epiſcopus creatus, quum antea populi ſuffragiis ex Monachis elegerentur.*

John Mair ſpeaks thus, *Before Palladius, by Prieſts and Monks, without Biſhops, the Scots were inſtructed in the faith.*

Lib. 2. *cap.* 2. *Ante* Palladium *per Sacerdotes & Monachos, ſine Epiſcopis Scoti in fide eruditebantur.*

Lib. 4. in Eugenio 2. *Apud nos non niſi Monachorum ſuffragiis Epiſcopi deſignabantur.*

John Leſley ſaith this, *Among us* (Scots) *the Biſhops were onely deſigned by the ſuffrage of Monks.*

Lib 3. Cap. 8. Ante Palladii *adventum habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac Sacramentorum adminiſtratores presbyteros ſolummodo, vel Monachos, ritus ſequentes Eccleſiæ primitivæ.*

John of *Fordon*, in his Scots Chronicle, ſaith, *Before the in-coming of* Palladius, *the Scots had for Teachers of the Faith, and Miniſters of the Sacraments, Presbyters onely, or Monks, following the Rites or Cuſtoms of the Primitive Church.* Mark the later words; for according to this saying goes the judgment of the beſt Divines, who write the truth without any reſpect. Whoſe minde *John Semeca* declareth thus, *In the firſt Primitive Church the Office of Biſhops and Prieſts was common to the one and the other; and both the names were common, and the Office common, to one and the other: But in the ſecond Primitive Church, the names and the Offices began to be diſtinguiſhed.*

In gloſſa Decreti, Diſtinct. 93. Cap. Legimus. In prima primitiva Eccleſia commune erat Epiſcoporum & Sacerdotum officium, & nomina erant communia, & officia communia: ſed in ſecunda primitiva Eccleſia cœperunt diſtingui & nomina & officia.

Centur. 14. Cap. 6. Ante Palladium *Scoti habebant ſuos piſcopos ac Miniſtros ex Verbi divini Miniſterio plebiũ ſuffragio electos, juxta morem Aſianorum: ſed hæc Romanis Aſianorum oſoribus non placebant.*

Baleus of the *Briton* writers, *Before* Palladius *the Scots had their Biſhops and Miniſters, according to the Miniſterie of the ſacred Word, choſen by the ſuffrage of the people, after the cuſtom of thoſe of* Aſia: *But thoſe things did not pleaſe the Romans, who hated the Aſiaticks.*

Ad annum 424. Scoti primum Epiſcopum a Celeſtino *acceperunt.*

Baronius in his Annalls ſaith this, *The Scots gat their firſt Biſhop from* Celeſtine *Pontif Roman.*

Ad annum 436. Ad Scotos Pontifex Celeſtinus Palladium *miſit Epiſcopum.*

Proſper in his Chronic. *The Pontif* Celeſtine *ſendeth unto the Scots* Palladius *to be their Biſhop.*

Ad Scotos in Chriſtum credentes ordinatur a Papa Celeſtino Palladius, *& primus Epiſcopus mittitur.*

Item, *Unto the Scots then believing in Chriſt* Palladius *is ordained by Pope* Celeſtine, *and ſent thither the firſt Biſhop.*

Lib. 1. Palladius *ad Scotos in Chriſtum credentes a Pontifice Romana Eccleſia* Celeſtino *primus mittitur Epiſcopus.*

Beda, in the Hiſtory of *England*, Palladius *was ſent firſt Biſhop unto the Scots, by* Celeſtine, *Pontif of the Roman Church.*

By

By theſe Authorities we ſee, That the Scots, before *Palladius*, had no Biſhops at all; or at leaſt, their Biſhops were not of any diſtinct Order from other Prieſts and Culdees, by whom they were ordained, and of whom they were choſen, as we have touched before: and ſo they were not as thoſe Biſhops have been with us, in theſe later times.

Next, let us obſerve, That the Scots Biſhops, ſince *Palladius*, muſt acknowledge themſelves clients of the Roman Antichriſt, ſeeing of him they have their beginning and dependance: although in words, yea, in ſome part of Doctrine, they ſeem to diſclaim him, yet in many parts they ſhew themſelves to be of his Family, namely, in Government; for they, with him, Lord over the Inheritance of Chriſt, and, forſooth, take unto themſelves the name of Lords Spirituall, as if they were Lords of the Spirits of men, contrary to Gods Word, wherein we are taught, That the Father and Maker of Spirits, is the onely Lord over them: or at leaſt, Lords of Spirituall things, againſt the expreſſe words of the Apoſtles, who acknowledge themſelves to be onely Miniſters of the Spirit, and ſpirituall things, reputing it the greateſt honour in the world to be ſo. And *Peter*, who after he had ſtiled himſelf no more then co-Presbyter with the reſt of the Presbyters, he forbids them to Lord over the ſort of Chriſt. Then, ſince in the firſt Primitive Church the Functions of Biſhop, and Paſtor, and Presbyter were undiſtinguiſhed, and any one of the names indifferently denoted the Office, it muſt be confeſſed, That the change of Government which hath entred into the Church is not immediately from Chriſt and his Apoſtles, neither by Precept nor Example, but contrary to Chriſts Will and Intention, declared in his Word; and according to the inventions of men, ſerving to the exorbitant affections of avarice, ambition, and luſt; to the ſatisfaction of which, they have domineered over the Flock of Chriſt, like tyrants, devoured the ſubſtance thereof, like ravening Wolves: yea, what is worſe, they have not onely been negligent and careleſſe to diſtribute unto the people the Word of God, but alſo with their might and power have hindered and ſtopped others to

make known unto Gods people the pure light of his Goſpel, the ordinary means of ſalvation; and conſequently, ſo farre as in them lieth, by thus ſtarving the people of this heavenly Food, ſend them to hell. Such were theſe Spirituall Lords; who, as they have encroached upon the Spirituall Lordſhip of Chriſt Jeſus over his Flock, and uſurped his Authority; yea, and oppoſed it flatly, under the name of Spirituall Authority and Juriſdiction; ſo have they boldly and cunningly invaded the Prerogative of civill Magiſtrates, by their Courts and Regalities within the Dominions of Princes where they live: Yea, in ſundry places they uſurp the full Authority of Princes, and in others they flatly oppoſe it. And all this hath been done, not onely of old, by thoſe who were called Romiſh Biſhops, but alſo in our dayes by Biſhops; who in ſome things make a ſhew that they diſclaim their Father the *Pontif Roman*, whom in their heart they love and reſpect, as their actions do witneſſe.

See the Breviate of the Prelats by *Hunter*. 1637.

Although by *Palladius* Prelacy was brought in the Church of *Scotland*, and by that means the Government was changed; and thereafter immediately by degrees other alterations crept into the Church, yet thoſe times after *Palladius*, till the ſixth Age, I mean, till *Auguſtine* theMonk, may be ſaid to be golden times, and pure, in regard of the following dayes, wherein Church-men, without any reſtraint, abandoned themſelves to ambition, avarice, and luſt, neglecting altogether their Function; for in theſe fourth and fifth Ages they were many godly and learned men, who were diligent in diſcharging the true Duty of a Paſtor, as *Colombe*, *Libthac*, *Ethernan*, *&c.* Then *Knitogerne*, who by nickname was called *Mongo*; becauſe his Maſter *Servian* ſpeaking unto him, uſed ordinarily this expreſſion, *Mon ga*, which in corrupt French is as much to ſay, as *My boy*.

Palladius having brought into the Church of *Scotland* Hierarchie, as we have ſaid, takes to his next care to provide for the maintenance of this new Degree and Order; which was obtained without great difficulty, both of Prince and people, under pretext of Piety; but with bad ſucceſſe, as by the wofull experience of following times we have found.

Theſe

Theſe new Biſhop-Prelats, having pretty well ſetled their own condition for maintenance, which although it did exceed much the allowance of former Ages to Churchmen, yet it was very moderate in regard of the following times: Next, they obtained great Lands and Revenues from Prince and People, for other Presbyters and Miniſters, who formerly had been very little burdenſome to the people; for by their own induſtry and work of their hands, did provide for themſelves, neceſſaries for the moſt part; by this means, the Prelats tie the other Presbyters and Miniſters to them, and ſecondarily bring in, by little and little, idleneſſe, and ſlackneſſe in diſcharging their calling, from whence are riſen all the evills we have ſeen ſince in the Church.

After the beginning of the fifth Age, to wit, 521. yeers, in this Iſland began (the old *Saturnalia* of *Rome*, which was firſt kept in honour of *Saturne*; but by the Succeſſors of *Julius Ceſar*, it was ordained to be kept, to the memory of him, and was called *Julia*) to be celebrated unto the honour of Chriſts Birth, in the later end of *December*. The occaſion was this, *Arthur* that renowned Prince wintering at *York* (whereof, he newly had made himſelf Maſter) with his Nobles, bethought himſelf with them, to paſſe ſome dayes in the dead of winter in good chear and mirth, which was done forthwith, as it is given out for devotion to Chriſt, although, that then true Devotion was very little regarded; for as theſe men did exceed the Romans during this Feaſt in Ryot and Licentiouſneſſe; So they continued the Feaſt double the time that the Ethnick Romans were wont to kept it; for the Romans kept it onely five dayes, but theſe kept it ten dayes with their new devotion; yea, thoſe of the richer ſort in time following have kept it fifteene dayes. Thus was the beginning of the prophane idleneſſe and ryot of Chriſtmas, now kept twelve dayes with fooliſh exceſſe and ryot. As theſe Chriſtmas keepers did miſtake the way of honouring Chriſts Birth, by this kinde of ſolemnity; ſo did they miſtake the time of his Birth; for the moſt exact Chronologers tells us, that Chriſt was born in *October*, and not in *December*.

The Scots retain ſtill the old name *Julia*, of this prepoſterous-holy-Feaſt, for they call it corruptly *Jul*: Although they never kept it of old, not being ſubject to the Romans.

Nunc in opprobrium Chriſtianorum hæc feſta celebrantur.

The French and Italians, in this, are nothing behinde with us; for beſide, That they ſhare with us in theſe *Saturnalia*, *Julia*, or Chriſtmas; They go beyond us in ryot and fooleries in their *Bacchanalia*, which they call *Carnaval* or *Mardigras* before Lent; which in old time was kept to the honour of *Bacchus*.

But the corruptions that were brought in our Church from *Rome* in the fourth and fifth Age, were nothing to what was brought in in the ſixth and ſeventh Age, for then was Religion turned upſide down, and ſo changed into Superſtitious Ceremonies, and Idolatry, authorized by falſe miracles, that there was hardly left any trace of true Religion among men in theſe dayes. *Palladius* was the firſt that acquainted us with *Rome*, as we have ſaid, and that brought in Prelacy amongſt us, a little after the beginning of the fourth Age, which he and his Succeſſors by degrees brought unto a great height, both in worldly pomp and means (for the times) by the inconſiderate, debonnarty of the Prince, and ſimplicitie of the people, but not without ſtruggling and reſiſtance, by pious and wiſe men, for many yeers; it was the work of Church-men, ſet a foot by *Palladius* ſo till the ſixth Age, that is, upon the matter, two hundred yeers, to raiſe themſelves to Power, and Authority, and Means, whereunto they came inſenſibly, ſo much the rather, becauſe they were ſparing for theſe dayes, to invert the main Doctrine of the true Religion. The People and Magiſtrate ſeeing their Religion remaining in its maine, were, without great difficulty, drawn over to give way unto the greatneſſe of the Church-men; But when theſe gallant fellows had wrought their own ends, they did ſhew plainly what was within their hearts; for then they declared themſelves to be enemies both to God and to Man, by their vitious lives, contrary to the Laws of God and man; Their falſe Doctrine, contrary to Gods Word;

their

their Tyrannicall domineering over the people; and withdrawing themſelves from due obedience, unto the lawfull Magiſtrate. In a word, by directly oppoſing God, abuſing men to their utter ruine of ſoul and body, and ſetting up their own inventions for the Laws of God, and men, they were a bringing this height of iniquitie to paſſe, about the matter of two hundred yeers likewiſe, to wit, the ſixth and ſeventh Age, although the workers of iniquity did at laſt bring their miſchievous deſigne to an end, by the permiſſion of God, irritated againſt men for their ſins, who not adhearing unto him, were abandoned ſo, that they became a prey unto Satan and his inſtruments, to follow all iniquity; yet, ſuch was the mercy of God towards men in theſe moſt corrupt times, that the devill and his inſtruments went not ſo cleerly on with their wicked buſineſſe, but they had now and then, from time to time, remoraes and lets in it, by thoſe whom God raiſed up to bear witneſſe to his Trueth; and in theſe dayes, ſundry of the Scots Divines were very ſtout in the keeping of the ancient Tenets and Rites (which they had received from their firſt Apoſtles, Diſciples to Saint *John*, according to the Church of the Eaſt; Witneſſe the great ſtrugling they had about the keeping of *Paſche*, or *Eaſter*-day; for till then, the Scots had kept the day of *Paſche*, upon the fourteen day of the Moon, whatſoever day of the week it fell out on; the Romaniſts called thoſe that kept ſo this day, *quartadecimani*, and condemned them as Hereticks, and they kept the day conſtantly upon the next Sunday following, and not upon a working day; at laſt the Scots were conſtrained to yeeld in this, as in other Rites, unto *Rome*. *Culman*, and divers others Scotiſh men, did ſo ſtoutely oppoſe the Romaniſts in the point of *Eaſter*-day, and in other Tenets, that they choſe, it being given to their choice, either to ſubmit unto *Rome*, or to quit the ſetlings they had in the North of *England*, rather to loſe their Benefices, then to yeild. So ſtanding faſt to the Cuſtomes of the Scots Church, wherein they had been born and bred, they returned home to *Scotland*.

Colmannus & complures alii, qui maluerant optione data loco cedere, quam ritus Romanæ eccleſiæ recipere.

About

About the end of the ſeventh Age, men from *Scotland*, given to ambition and avarice, went frequently to *Rome* for preferment in the Church; and ſeeing it lay much that way then, they did their beſt to advance the deſigne of the Romiſh Party, wherein all the skill of worldly men was employed, both in *Rome*, & among the Scots of that Party; many men went to and fro, between *Rome* and *Scotland*, to bring the Scots to a full obedience unto *Rome*, and conformitie; by name there was one *Boniface* ſent from *Rome* to *Scotland*, a main Agent for *Rome* in theſe affairs; but he was oppoſed openly, by ſeverall of the Scots *Culdees*, or Divines; namely, by *Clemens*, and *Samſon*, who told him freely, That he, and thoſe of his Party, ſtudied to bring men to the ſubjection of the Pope, and ſlavery of *Rome*, withdrawing them from obedience to Chriſt; and ſo in plain termes, they reproached to him, and to his aſſiſtants; That they were corrupters of Chriſts Doctrine, eſtabliſhing a Sovereignty in the Biſhop of *Rome*, as the onely ſucceſſour of the Apoſtles, excluding other Biſhops; That they uſed and commanded Clericall tonſure; That they forbad Prieſts Marriage, extolling Celibat; That they cauſed Prayers to be made for the dead, and erected Images in the Churches; to be ſhort, That they had introduced in the Church many Tenets, Rites and Ceremonies, unknown to the ancient and pure times, yea, contrary to them. For the which, and the like, the ſaid *Clemens*, and thoſe that were conſtant to the Truth, with him were excommunicated at *Rome* as Hereticks, as you have in the third Volume of the *Concels*: although the true reaſons of their excommunication be not there ſet down.

In the eighth Age, the poor people were ſo blindly inſlaved and intoxicat with the Cup of *Rome*, that they thought it a truely holy Martyrdome to ſuffer for the intereſt of *Rome*; yet, although moſt men had left God, to worſhip the Beaſt, in theſe dayes God raiſed up ſundry great Lights in our Church, as *Alcuin*, *Rabanus Maurus* his Diſciple, *John Scot*, and *Claudius Clemens*. In this we ſhall remarke the conſtant goodneſſe of God towards his people, who

who made his Light ſhine in ſome meaſure thorow the greateſt and thickeſt darkneſſe, by raiſing up theſe men, who did bear witneſſe to the Truth, both by word and writing; ſo that God did not altogether leave off his people. The Biſhop of *Rome* cauſed to declare *Alcuin* (for his Book of the *Euchariſt*) many yeers after his death an Heretike. So *Rome* perſecutes the Saints of God, even after their death.

In the ninth Age, both Prince and People, by dolefull experience, did finde the idleneſſe, pride, ambition, avarice and ryot of Church-men, occaſioned by the indulgence of Prince and People; wherefore, at *Scone* under King *Conſtantine* the ſecond, there was had a convention of States for reforming the diſorders in the Church. In this Aſſembly it was ordained, That Church-men ſhould reſide upon their charge; have no medling with ſecular affairs; that they ſhould inſtruct the people diligently, and be good examples in their converſations; that they ſhould not keep Hawks, Hounds, and Horſes, for their pleaſure; that they ſhould carry no Weapons, nor be pleaders of civill Cauſes, but live contented with their own proviſions: in caſe of failing in the obſervance of theſe points; For the 1, time, they were to pay a *pecuniary mulct* or fine; for the 2, they were to be deprived from *Officio* and *Beneficio*. Thus you ſee, in theſe moſt blinde and confuſed times, That reſolute Princes and People did oppoſe manifeſtly the Popes omnipotency, and higheſt Sovereignty. In the later part of the ſame Age, King *Gregory* was moſt indulgent to Church-men; he was ſo farre from curbing and keeping them under, that he granted them many things they had not had before. Then in a convention of States holden at *Forſane*, it was ordained, That all Church-men ſhould be free of paying Taxes and Impoſt; from keeping watch, and going to warfare. *Item*, They ſhould be exempt from all Temporall judicature. *Item*, All Matrimoniall Cauſes were given over to the judgement of Church-men; as alſo Teſtaments, Legative Actions, and all things depending upon ſimple faith and promiſe. Likewiſe, the right of Tithes, with liberty to make Lawes,

Canons, and Conſtitutions; to try without the aſſiſtance of the temporall Judge, Heretikes, Blaſphemers, Perjured Perſons, Magicians, &c. Laſtly, it was ordained, That all Kings following, at their Coronation, ſhould ſwear, to maintain Church-men in theſe their Liberties and Priviledges.

In theſe dayes lived a Learned man, called *John Scot*, ſirnamed *Ærigiena*, becauſe he was born in the Town of *Aire*; he publiſhed a Treatiſe, *De corpore & ſanguine Domini in Sacramento*, wherein he maintained the opinion and doctrine of *Bertram*; whereby he offended highly the Sea of *Rome*.

In the tenth Age things grew worſe and worſe, The Church-men did ſo blinde the King *Conſtantine* the third, That they perſwaded him to quit the Royall Crown, and take the Clericall Tonſure of a Monk, which he did at Saint *Andrews*; There were ſome Prieſts in theſe dayes, who did ſtrive to have liberty to take lawfull Wives, but in vain. A little thereafter, there were new diſputes for Prieſts marriage; one *Bernet* a Scots Biſhop, ſtood much for that cauſe in a nationall Councell In this Age, although that avarice and ambition, had corrupted, and perverted Religion generally, yet there were conſtantly ſome godly men, who albeit they could not openly ſtop and oppoſe the torrent of theſe times, given to Idolatry and Superſtition, did inſtruct and teach the people, That Chriſt was the onely propitiation for ſin, and that Chriſts blood onely did waſh us from the guilt of ſin.

In the eleventh Age, *Malcome* gave away a part of the Crown Lands among his Nobles, for their good ſervice againſt the *Danes*; the Nobles in recompence thereof, did grant unto the Crown the ward of theſe Lands, with the benefit that was to ariſe by the marriage of the Heir. Untill the later part of this Age, the Biſhops of *Scotland*, although they had raiſed their Order unto a great power and riches, yet they were not diſtinguiſhed in Dioceſſes, ſo till then indifferently, whereſoever they came, they did Miniſtrate their Function, without lording over one particular

ticular place, or calling themſelves Lords of any place. The Dioceſſes wherein *Scotland* was divided at firſt, were theſe, Saint *Andrews*, *Glaſgo*, *Murray*, *Catnes*, *Murthlac*, or *Aberdene*. The Biſhops of *Rome* taking upon them in theſe dayes to be above Kings, and to conferre in matters of Honour, upon Kings, how, and where they pleaſed; and ſo by this means, to put a farther tye of Vaſſalage and ſubjection upon Princes. To this effect, in the yeer 1098. ordained King *Edgar* to be anointed with externall Oyl by the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, a rite, which till that day, had not been in uſe among our Kings: yet they were as much the anointed of the Lord before, as they have been ſince, and as any other Princes, who before them had this externall anointing from the Sea of *Rome*; although the Romiſh Writers do make a greater eſteem of theſe Kings anointed by them, then of others, becauſe they conceive them to be more their own. Here note by the way, That all Princes whatſoever in Scripture-Language, are ſaid to be the Anointed of the Lord; and ſo *Cyrus* was named, although he was never anointed with externall Oyl. Next, although the firſt Kings of *Iſrael* were anointed, as *Saul*, *David*, and *Solomon*, with ſome of the following Kings; namely, where there was any oppoſition feared of ſetling them in the Royall Throne; for further Confirmation were anointed. Read diligently the Hiſtory of the Kings, and you ſhall not finde that each one, or every one of them was anoynted externally, although they were all the Anoynted of the Lord. Next, you ſhall note, That the Oyl wherewith *Samuel* anoynted *Saul* and *David* (and ſo the Oyl wherewith other Kings were anoynted) was not an Oyl conſecrated, as that wherewith the High-Prieſt, *&c.* was anoynted, but common Oyl.

The reaſon of the Scripture-phraſe whereby all Princes are ſaid to be anoynted, is this: Anoynting, in firſt and moſt ancient times, was a ſigne of ſetting apart of a man for the Office of a King. Hence, by progreſſe of time, any man that was ſet aſide by Gods providence to execute the Office of a King, whether he came thereunto by Succeſſion,

or by choice, or by Conqueſt, was called the Anoynted of the Lord, becauſe they had the thing ſignified by Gods appointment, notwithſtanding they wanted the ſigne, to wit, the Oyntment.

Further we ſhall obſerve here, That not onely thoſe whom God hath ſet aſide to be Kings, be called the Anoynted of the Lord; but alſo the people whom he hath ſet aſide or apart for a peculiar end: So the Prophet, ſpeaking of the People of *Iſrael* in Gods Name, uſeth this expreſſion, *Touch not mine Anoynted: For their ſake I have reproved Kings.*

Moreover note, That as the people ſet aſide by God áre ſaid to be his Anoynted, ſo they are alſo called, *A Royall Prieſthood, Kings and Prieſts.* Not that every one of the people is a King or a Prieſt, theſe being particular Callings, no more then they were anoynted; but becauſe they are ſet aſide by God as Prieſts, to offer daily unto him the Sacrifice of Righteouſneſſe, &c. And as Kings were anoynted with Oyl, to ſignifie their ſetting aſide for their peculiar Office; ſo every one of us, being anoynted in Baptiſme by the holy Spirit, is ſet aſide to do juſtice, *&c.* as a King, in our ſeverall ſtation.

Thus much have I, in few words, ſpoken of Kings anoynting, and how the people are ſaid to be anoynted, or to be Prieſts and Kings, becauſe in the beginning of the fifteenth Age, ſundry were condemned as hereticks, for ſaying, That every man is a Prieſt in ſome kinde; and that the anoynting of Kings is now needleſſe, being an invention of *Rome*, to ſubject Princes unto it.

Some yeers after the beginning of the twelfth Age, King *David*, beſide the Biſhopricks formerly erected, did erect the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe*, *Breachen*, *Dunkel*, and *Dumblane*. This debonaire Prince was ſo profuſe towards Church-men, that he gave them a good part of the ancient Patrimony of the Crown: So he and his Succeſſors were neceſſitated to lay Taxes and Impoſt upon the people, more then formerly, to the harm of the Common-wealth. In this alſo he wronged the Church: for the Clergie being rich and powerfull, left their Function, and gave themſelves over to all

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riot and idleneſſe. Till riches made Church-men lazie, this diſtinction in diſcharging the Duty of a Paſtor, or of the ſouls *per ſe*, *aut per alium*, was unknown. While riches did not ſo abound in the Church, Church-men kept more conſcience in the diſcharging of their places.

In this twelfth Age, the Scots, although they had Biſhops ever ſince *Palladius*, who for a long time did diſcharge the Function indifferently in every place where they came to: And although they had of later times diſtinguiſhed the limits of the bounds wherein they were to execute their Calling, by Dioceſſes; yet in that Age, I ſay, they were not come to that height, to have Primates, Metropolitans, and Arch-biſhops. Wherefore their neighbour, the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, having gained the conſent of the Pope, beſtirred himſelf very earneſtly, by the aſſiſtance of his King, to have the Scotiſh Biſhops acknowledge him for the Metropolitane; whereunto the ſtouteſt of the Scotiſh Clergie would not conſent; but they would depend immediately upon the Pope: and to this effect, Legats were ſent from *Rome* to *Scotland*; who being come hither, and ſeeing the reſolution of the Scotiſh Biſhops not to ſubmit to the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; and finding their own benefit thereby, they did exempt and free the Scots Clergie, from the trouble of the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*. There was one *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Catnes* a great ſtrugler for this buſineſſe.

About the later end of this Age, ſundry Prieſts were put from their Office, becauſe they had taken Orders upon Sunday. In that time there was a Synod in *Perth* of Divines, ſuch as they were, who decreed, That Sunday ſhould be kept holy from all work, from Saturday at mid-day, or twelve of the clock, till Munday morning.

In the thirteenth Age, few yeers after the beginning thereof, divers kindes of Monks came into *Scotland*, formerly unknown to the Land; as *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, *Jacobins*, and ſundry other of that ſort of Locuſts. In this Age theſe Vermine of Monks did ſo multiply every where, that at a Councell at *Lyons* it was decreed, *That no more new Orders of Monks*

ſhould be admitted or tolerated. But how the Decree hath been kept, we ſee in our dayes.

Next, the Monks of ſeverall kindes gave themſelves ſo to Begging, that the people were much eaten up by them, and the poor his portion was withdrawn; which occaſioned a great murmure among the Commons. Upon this, there was a Decree made then, *That onely the Minorites, Prædicants, Carmelites, and Hermits of S.* Auguſtine, *ſhould have liberty to beg:* Whence they are called, The four Mendicants; *Les quatre Mendiants.*

Towards the end of this thirteenth Age fell out that great deſolation of the State of *Scotland*, occaſioned by the Controverſie for the Succeſſion of the Crown, betwixt *Baliol* and *Bruce*; *Baliol* being conſtrained by the States of *Scotland* to break the promiſe he had made to *Edward* of *England*, To ſubject the Crown of *Scotland* unto him, for judging the cauſe on his ſide. After much trouble and miſery of War, the State of *Scotland* receives *Robert Bruce*, come of the ſecond Branch, for King, recalling all the ſubjection and Allegiance that they had given to *Baliol*, becauſe of his unworthineſſe to Reign: who, beſide unfitneſſe to bear rule over a Military People, had baſely condeſcended to enſlave that Nation, to whom their Liberty hath been ſo dear to this day, that for it, and the purity of true Religion, which both, by Gods mercy, they now enjoy, they have willingly and cheerfully undergone all hazard of life and means; judging, That if they ſuffered theſe two twins, Liberty and Religion, either to be infringed, or taken from them, they had nothing left them, whereby they might be called men.

The remarkable Hiſtory of King *James* the firſt of *Scotland*, fitteth this purpoſe very well. The Paſſage is this: King *James* the firſt going into *France*, was taken by the Engliſh, and kept priſoner by them for many yeers. In that time the King of *England* goes to *France*, to make Warre; and at his arrivall there, he findes an Army of Scots ready to fight for the *Allies* of *Scotland*, the French King, againſt the Engliſh. Upon this, the King of *England* moves King *James*,

James, whom he had taken along with him, to write unto the Scots, and to charge them, upon their Allegiance, not to draw their Sword againſt the party where he their King was in perſon. The Scots anſwered, That they were ſent into *France* to aſſiſt their *Alliays* againſt the common enemy. As for him who writ unto them, ſince he was a priſoner, and not a free man, they neither owed him Allegiance, nor would they give him any, ſo long as he was in priſon; but if he were ſet at liberty, and were living among them, they would obey him according to the Laws of the Countrey; ſince the Crown was ſetled upon him by the conſent of the States, and ſo they did; for theſe Kingdoms were governed in his name, without any communication with him, during the time of his impriſonment, which was very long; but when he went home, he was received and obeyed as King. From this Princes may learn, that although people do ſubmit themſelves to their Government; the reſignation is not ſo full as to deveſt themſelves of all power in ſuch a way, That the Prince may diſpoſe of them as he thinks right or wrong, he ordinarily being miſled and kept captive, by thoſe that are about him; who for the moſt part, have no regard to the publike good, nor to the credit and eſteem of him, to whom in ſhew they profeſſe themſelves ſo addicted; the people have conſtantly reſerved even unto themſelves by the conſent of all men, yea, of the greateſt Court-paraſites and Sycophants of Princes, that the Prince cannot, nor ought not to enſlave or ſubject the people to any Forreign Power; and where Princes by Puſillanimitie and ill counſell, have eſſayed or attempted ſuch a thing, they have ſmarted for it, witneſſe *Baliol*, who not onely was excluded himſelf from the Crown, but alſo his Poſterity; and it was ſetled upon the next Branch, to wit, *Robert Bruce*, with his deſcendents, where it continues to this day by Gods providence. Then ſince the people have reſerved this power in themſelves, to ſtop the Prince, to put them under any Forreign yoak or ſlavery; is it poſſible, That they have not reſerved a power to right themſelves from domeſtick, and inteſtine ſlavery,

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and miſery, ſlavery being ever one and the ſame ? For what is it to me by whom I ſuffer evil of one and the ſame kinde and degree, whether it be by a neighbour, or a ſtranger, a forreigner, or a con-citizen ? yea, when I ſuffer by him who ſhould be my friend, and ſtand for the ſame Freedom with me, my ſuffering is the greater.

To this purpoſe you have a memorable Paſſage of *William* the Norman ; who, although he had invaded *England* with the Sword, and by it had defeated him who did oppoſe him for the Crown, with all his adherents and party, and in conſequencie of this Victory, had committed many out-rages with a ſtrong hand ; yet the ſame *William* could never aſſure himſelf nor his Poſterity of the Allegeance of the People, till he had ſworn ſolemnly (according to the Rite of the times) for himſelf and his, To govern according to the good and approved Laws of the Land, as the beſt Kings before him had done.

Then the County of *Kent*, in its own name, and in the name of the whole Kingdom, declared, That neither *Kent*, nor any other of the Kingdom, was conquered, but in a peaceable way did ſubmit to *William* the Norman, upon Condition, and with Proviſo, That all their Liberties, and free Cuſtoms in uſe and practice, ſhould be kept. If this was not accompliſhed afterwards, it was ſillineſſe of the People that ſuffered themſelves to be abuſed, and the fault of miſled Princes, that did not keep their promiſe whereunto they were tyed : And ſundry, for the breach of this promiſe, have had occaſion to repent, when it hath been too late.

We ſhall adde one example more, which is, of *Henry* the eighth ; who, *anno* 1525, the ſeventeenth yeer of his Reign, by the advice of his Councell, put a Tax upon the people ; which the people did not onely refuſe to pay, but declared, That the thing was unjuſt and unlawfull. Withall, wherever they met thoſe whom the King had employed for the gathering the money, they uſed them ſo kindely, that they did never come twice to one place for the payment of the Tax. The King ſeeing this, he diſclaims the Impoſition of the Tax, and ſo do the Nobles that convened

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at *London*, by his Command, for that purpoſe, and layes all the fault upon ill counſell, namely, upon *Wolſey*. This was *Henry* conſtrained to do, notwithſtanding his reſoluteneſſe againſt all forreign enemy, chiefly the Pope, with his ſhavelings. By this inſtance, *Henry* acknowledged his power to be limited, and no wayes arbitrary : Againſt the doctrine of our now Cout-paraſites.

Now if the People have this much power in them, as to ſtand for their Temporall Liberty, both againſt forreign and domeſtick ſlavery; far more may they, and ought they, to defend the Spirituall Freedom, which Chriſt, having purchaſed with his Blood, hath left them, as Members of his Church. But all this defence of Liberty and Religion ought to be made ſo, that it be without by-ends, ſiniſtrous reſpects, of hatred, malice, ambition, *&c.* The onely ſcope and main driſt being, To have Gods glory, in the Light of his Goſpel, ſetled and maintained, The People at quiet, The Prince obeyed, in God, and for God (*i.e.*) according to the Law of God, Nature, Nations, and the Countrey or Kingdom, ſo far as poſſibly can be. This being lookt to carefully, there is no gap opened to Rebellion ; which is a fighting againſt Gods Ordinance, and not the juſt and neceſſary oppoſing of the abuſe and corrupting of the good Ordinance of God.

But here a Court-ſlave will ſay, If things be ſo, there is no abſoluteneſſe in Monarchs and Princes?

To anſwer this, we muſt know what is to be meant by *abſolute*, or *abſoluteneſſe*; whereof I finde two main ſignifications. Firſt, *abſolute* ſignifieth perfect, and *abſoluteneſſe*, perfection : Hence we have in Latin this expreſſion, *Perfectum eſt omnibus, numeris abſolutum.* And in our vulgar Language we ſay, A thing is abſolutely good, when it is perfectly good. Next, *abſolute* ſignifieth free from tye or bond ; which in Greek is ἀπολελυμένον. Now, ſay I, if you take *abſolute* for perfect, that Prince or Magiſtrate is moſt abſolute, that is moſt perfect, who governs moſt abſolutely, or moſt perfectly. The abſoluteneſſe or perfection of Government conſiſts in its conformity to the perfect Rule which is written in the

Law of God, printed in the heart of man, received generally of all wiſe People, and in practice by all particular well-poliſhed Common-wealths. Next, I ſay, if you take *abſolute* for free from tye or bond, That no Prince nor Magiſtrate is free; for every Magiſtrate or Prince, as well as the private man, is bound to keep the Law of God, of Nature, *&c.* not onely in particular things, for his own ſingular carriage, but alſo in publike buſineſſes, for the good and ſociety of men, or of the people: for God hath given his Law, and Nature her Dictates to all, to the obſervance of which all men are tyed. Yea, farther, they are not onely bound in their ſeverall Conditions, and tyed to the performance thereof in their own perſons; but alſo are bound to further it with all their might, and take away all things that may lett and ſtop this performance, or deterre and withdraw men from it. Read *Levit.* 19. 17. where every man is commanded to rebuke his neighbour, and ſtop him from ſinning. Read *Deut.* 17. 19, 20. where the King is commanded to have continually the Copie of the Law before him for his Rule and Guide. What is in 1 *Sam.* 8. 10. is what a King is likely to do, and not what he ought or ſhould do. This is cleer; for in the place now named, in *Deuteronomy*, the King is told what he ought to do; but that he is ſaid to do in *Samuel*, is contrary to the Ordinance of God. Confer the places, and you will eaſily ſee this truth. Next, a Prince is ſaid to be abſolute, that is, not in any kinde ſubaltern to another, and whoſe ſubjects acknowledge (under God) no other but him. Hence you may ſee, That the Popiſh Kings and Princes are not abſolute; for, beſide the great number of people within their Dominions who are immediate ſworn vaſſalls to the Pope, I mean, the Shavelings; The Prince himſelf takes Oath, at his Reception, To uphold the over-ruling Government of the Pope, under the masked name of Spirituality; and the ſimple abuſed Prince ſhall have for a reward, to make up all, a little holy Oyl to anoynt him, and bear the Title of moſt Chriſtian or Catholike Princes. Farther, I ſay, That the Prince, who although in ſome things hath caſt off the yoke of this god upon

upon earth (for ſo is the Pope now and then called) but keeps up a part of his tyranny in the Church of God over his people, wants and loſes ſo much of his abſoluteneſſe, for this tye upon him from a forreign Prince, the Pope. But here the Pope ſheweth the height of his cunning; for he ſeeing that Princes are told frequently, That they are either abſolute, or ought to be ſuch, bethinks himſelf to keep up his ſuper-eminency above Princes, as his vaſſalls, and yet make the Princes finde an abſoluteneſſe; which he acts by his Emiſſaries, and their inferiour inſtruments, for their own private ends, whom he makes inculcate in the ears of Princes, That their abſoluteneſſe conſiſteth in doing with the Life, Liberty and Fortunes of the People, as ſeems good in their eyes, without any regard to the good of humane Society, which is the true End of all Government: But with this Proviſo, That thoſe who have relation to him immediately, be exempted: and theſe are not onely his ſhavelings, who are openly obedient to his commands and orders, *&c.* but alſo thoſe, yea, in Kingdoms where his name is in a kinde rejected, who keep up his tyrannicall Laws and Ordinances, as we have felt of late, namely, in theſe Dominions wherein we live, to our woſull experience; for they, to uphold and encreaſe their power, have caſt both Prince and People into great troubles, making the Prince believe, That without them he hath no being.

But to ſhew thee that Princes may uſe the people committed to their Charge like beaſts, and yet nevertheleſſe are not abſolute, caſt thy eyes in the neighbour Countreys onely upon the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Duke of *Florence*; who, although they be Sovereigns in a kinde over the people, and deal moſt hardly with them, taking their Lives and Fortunes away at their pleaſure, yet they are not acknowledged to be abſolute Princes; for they are vaſſalls of the Empire, and their chief titles are to be Officers thereof: So the Duke of *Savoy* is qualified Vicar of the Empire, *&c.*

If you conſider the Prince, and people committed to his Charge, as having relation one to another, I ſay, they are both bound one to another by Duty; the Prince firſt bound

to rule and govern according to the Law of God, of Nature, of Nations, and Municipall Laws of the Countrey and the People is bound to obey him accordingly : but if the Prince command any thing againſt theſe, his commands are not to be obeyed, God being onely he, to whoſe commands Obedience is ſimply due, and to be given ; but to men, onely obedience with limitation, and in externall things, according to the Laws ſo oft above named, at the leaſt not againſt them, or oppoſite to them. The Chimæra, or rather Solæciſme in reaſon of paſſive Obedience, is not to be thought on among rationall men, it being the invention of Court-paraſites, a meer nothing, or *non ens*, for Obedience conſiſteth in action, as all other vertues do, and not in ſuffering. Farther, whoſoever, for not obeying a wicked command of a Superiour, ſuffereth, if he can ſtop it, or ſhun it, is an enemy to his own being, wherein he offends againſt nature ; for you ſee every naturall thing ſtriveth to conſerve it ſelf againſt what annoyeth it ; then he ſins againſt the Order of God, who in vain hath ordained us ſo many lawfull Means for the preſervation of our Being, if we ſuffer it to be deſtroyed, having power to help it. But then it will be demanded ; What, is there no abſoluteneſſe in humane Authority ? I anſwer, ſimple abſoluteneſſe there is none under God ; For all humane Authority is limited by the Laws aforeſaid, and extends no farther then externall things ; yet comparatively humane Authority is ſaid to be abſolute, when it is free from any Forreigne Superiour Power. So when *Henry* the eighth, having caſt off the Romiſh yoak, and putting down the vaſſallage of theſe his Dominions unto the Pope, cauſed divers Books to be written of the abſolute Empire or Authority of the Prince ; although, after the freeing himſelf from the Pope, he had not, nor did not pretend to have any more abſolute power over the people, then he had before ; but albeit this Prince did much for the regaining the abſolute Authority to the Crown again, in chaſing away the Romiſh Pontiff, yet, he did it not fully, in ſo farre as he kept ſtill the Romiſh Rites, and the Hierarchy,

Read a Treatiſe, written in *Latine*, 1546. and dedicated to the King by *John Dickinſon, De Supremo & abſoluto Principis Imperio.*

Read *William Wraghton* his Treatiſe, called the *Romiſh Fox*, written in *Engliſh*, and dedicated to King *Henry*, 1543.

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or Prelacy, wherein the Romiſh Fox lurking, hath kept himſelf in theſe Countreys unto this day; and now having acted the Fox long enough, he is acting the Woolf by dedeſtroying the people of God; if the Succeſſors of King *Henry* had not kept in the Romiſh Superſtitious Rites and Hierarchy, they, and we all had had better times, then we have all taſted of. Although King *Henry* for his Vices, be blame worthy to all poſterity, yet I muſt ſay, in all humane appearance, That if the Prelat-Biſhops, to whom he truſted the reforming of the abuſes of the Church, had been as forward, as he was willing, there had been a better Reformation then was in his time, witneſſe this inſtance, *The People deſired freedome to read the Scripture, the then Biſhops refuſed this unto the People.* Whereupon the King was petitioned in the name of the People, the King grants their Petition; the Biſhops hearing of the Kings grant, thus limit it, not daring to deny it flatly, *That all Gentlemen ſhould have liberty to read the Scripture, ſince it was the Kings pleaſure*; but for others, the permiſſion was ſtopped: As if Yeomen and Tradeſmen, had not as much intereſt in Gods Word, as Gentlemen. Then remarke all thoſe that were put to death for the teſtimony of the Truth in *Henry* the eighth his dayes, were perſecuted by the Biſhops of the time, although the blame lieth upon the Prince; for albeit they had in compliance to the King renounced the Pope by word of mouth, yet in effect they kept up his tyranny, by his doctrine (with ſmall alteration changed) his Rites and Ceremonies, Canons and Laws, Prelacie or Hierarchie maintained: And ſeeing the King ſo oppoſite to the Pope, they condeſcended that the King ſhould bear the blaſphemous Title of the Pope, *Head of the Church*, although with reluctancy: and ſo it proved; for notwithſtanding all the Statutes that were made in favour of this Title taken from the Pope, and attributed to the King, the Biſhops with cunning and ſubtill proceedings, kept a foot the power of the Pope; and ſo ſoon as they ſaw the occaſion of Queen *Marie* her Reigne, they freely and eaſily brought all back again to *Rome*, without Maske or Limitation: and ever ſince,

their ſucceſſors, although by the courſe of affairs (they) have been obliged to diſclaim the Pope his authority, yea, and his doctrine in ſome meaſure; yet they, ever ſince, to this day, have expreſſed their inclinations, and done their endeavours to return thither again, as we all know by dolefull experience. But here it may be demanded, What drift or policie can it be in the Biſhops, to deſire to be ſubject to *Rome*, rather then to their Prince, and Laws of the Countrey? The anſwer is, The propenſitie of us all, to follow evill rather then good, is known, namely, When the evill hath the mask of worldly dignitie, pomp, power, and pleaſure, which hinders it to be ſeen in its own colours. Now the Biſhops and all the rabble of that corrupt Clergy, are given to Temporall, howſoever unlawfull advantages, as their ambition, avarice, and luſt, from the very beginning hath ſhewn; which exorbitant paſſions lead men headlong, without meaſure, when once way is given unto them, unleſſe they meet with ſome lett or ſtop, which is both leſſer and ſlower, when it is a farre off, namely, when it cometh from one who is poſſeſſed with the ſame diſtempers, and himſelf of the ſame order of men with the Delinquent; and ſo the Biſhops of this Iſland, had rather have to do with the Pope, then with the Prince.

Firſt, Becauſe of mutuall infirmity the Pope proveth more indulgent then any Prince.

Next, The Prince is too neer them, and ſo it is beſt for them to be ſo free of the Prince his Juriſdiction, that they may be able not onely to neglect him, but alſo to oppoſe him. For all, let that example of the *Canterbury*-prelat ſerve; who made the King for the time to hold the Stirrup when he gat up upon his horſe. The Story is known.

Read *Matthew Paris* in *Henry* the third.

I called a little before the Title of *Head of the Church*, uſed by the Pope, and then given to *Henry*, *blaſphemous*. To lay aſide all other things that may be alleadged againſt this Title, I ſhall onely ſay this; The Church is the Spouſe of Chriſt: No Spouſe can be ſaid to have any other Head, but him whoſe Spouſe ſhe is. Now if the Church ſhould acknowledge her ſelf to be the Spouſe of any other but of Chriſt,

Chriſt, ſhe were a profeſſed Whore and Adultereſſe. By no means then a Prince is to be called, *The Head of the Church*: For although the civill Magiſtrate is obliged, according to his rank and place, to ſee the Miniſters of the Church do the work of the Lord, truely, diligently, and carefully, and to make them do it according to the Will of God declared in his Word; yet for all this, he is nothing but a ſervant, overſeer, or graff, and not the *Head*, which is a Title belonging onely to Chriſt; wherefore, Princes or Magiſtrates, that by ſlaviſh flatterers had this Title given unto them at the firſt, had done well to reject it, as their Succeſſors, who have followed, had done well likewiſe, (according to God his Will) if they had not ſuffered this Title to have been continued unto them, namely, in the publike prayers, where the time-ſerving inconſiderate Miniſter prayeth, in the name of the Church, for her *Head*; if the *Head* of the Church needs to be prayed for, then the influences of the Head, upon the Church, will be but poor and weak, &c. But of this enough for this place.

Moreover, The flattering Preachers, unrequired in the publike prayers in the name of the Church, call the Prince forſooth, *The Breath of our Noſtrils*, taking for his ground, the words of *Jeremy*, in his Lamentations, *Chap.*4. *verſ.* 20. Which words, by the Current of the Ancients, and Septuagint, are to be underſtood of Chriſt Jeſus; True it is, The *Rabbins* have interpreted the words of one of the Kings of *Judah*, to wit, *Joſias*, or *Zedekias*; and hence ſome of the later Expoſitors have explained theſe words, *That firſt and literally they may be applyed to one of the Kings of* Judah, *who were all figures of Chriſt to come, but principally, and mainly the words are to be underſtood of Chriſt Jeſus, by the conſent of all*; So to attribute theſe words to any Prince earthly, cannot be without offence to Chriſt; For who can be ſaid properly, and well, *To be the Breath of our Noſtrils*, but he, who inſpireth into us life, that is God. In like manner, the inconſiderate Miniſters of the Goſpel, abuſing the Text of the eightieth *Pſalm*, which, by the conſent of all, is underſtood of Chriſt truely, and of *David*, as a figure

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of Christ to come, call the King, *The man of thy right hand*, this in no wayes, without Blasphemie, can be attributed unto any earthly Prince; for none is to be said a figure of Christ, as *David*, and his Successors were by a particular dispensation. But if misapplying, and mistaking of Texts of Scripture will do businesse, since Magistrates are said to be gods, you may as well call the Prince god, as the *Roman* Emperour was of old by some so called, and now the Pope, by his Court-parasites: which Titile of god, no Prince will suffer to be given unto him; Surely, as it is a very great crime, not to give due respect, reverence, and obedience unto him, whom God hath set over us for our good, according to his wise Ordinance; so on the other side, it is a huge sin to Idolize the Prince, making him a god, when he is but a weak, and infirme man, servant of God. This second fault is committed chiefly by the Sycophants and Parasites, who have no other Church, nor Chappell, but the Court, and make Petition to none, but to the King, whom to please, they wholly study, that they may catch somewhat to satisfie their inordinate desires. And the first is committed, namely, by their prelaticall Clergy, who withdraw from the Prince a great part of his due, when they study to exempt themselves from his Obedience, and take from him any inspection upon them, namely, concerning the discharge of their calling, although by Gods Ordinance it be a main part of his Office, to see God served, and worshipped, according to his Will revealed in his sacred Word.

Domino Deo qui nostri.

We have a little above seen, how that by the flattery of some Court-preachers, the custome is brought into the Church, to give unto the Prince, not onely swelling, but blasphemous Titles in the publike Prayer, that is made by the Minister in the name of the Church; but although, this be too great an evill, and requireth Reformation, yet the flattery of some Preachers hath not stayed here; for they, according to their custome, having addicted themselves to any one, whom they conceive may help them to preferment, stick not in the pulpit, where all relation should be laid

laid aſide, ſave that of a Miniſter of Gods Word, to publiſh themſelves, yea, in their Prayers, to be varlets to this man, or that man; and, what is worſe yet, in the Prayer they call their Maſters and Lords Vertuous, Pious, and Religious, when it is known to all, That for the moſt part they have little Vertue, leſſe Piety, and no Religion at all. To have pointed at theſe things, ſhall ſuffice for this place. If any man will be contentious for theſe practices, I anſwer him, That the wel-Reformed Churches have no ſuch Cuſtoms; for among the other abuſes whereof they have been purged, by the care and diligence of the faithfull Vine-dreſſers, under Gods bleſſing, they have been pruned of this rotten Bud of ſlaviſh flattery, as a corruption much oppoſite and contrary to the dignity and power of the Goſpel. But let us return, after this long Digreſſion.

In theſe dayes (that is, in the thirteenth Age) lived *Michael Scot*, renowned for his Learning in Phyſick, Aſtronomy, *&c.* He is remembred by *Picus Mirandula*, and *Cornelius Agrippa*, very honourably. Alſo then lived *Thomas Lermouth*, commonly called, The *Rythmer*; whoſe Predictions are extant to this day: But no wiſe man can make any thing of them, more then of *Merlin* his Propheſies, who lived long before him; although ſundry have pleaſed their fanſies with idle Expoſitions of theſe two mens dreams.

Towards the end of this thirteenth Age, the good Roman Pontif *Boniface* the eight, making uſe of the havie moans and complaints that ſome of *Scotland*, namely, of the Biſhops and other Clergie-men, with their clients, made againſt King *Edward* of *England*, who then did cruelly afflict the Countrey, claims a right unto the Crown of *Scotland*, as reſigned unto him by the States: And upon this he writes an inſulting Letter, and full of threatnings, unto *Edward*, that he was ſo malapert as to do any wrong to his vaſſalls and ſubjects, where he had none, truely, ſave the Biſhops, and Shavelings, with their clients. Whether the Clergie did make this offer of ſubjection unto the Pope, or whether he did falſly invent this lye, we cannot tell, but it is betwixt the Pope and his ſhaved creatures; ſuch maſter, ſuch men. Let this

You may ſee Pope *Boniface* his Letter to King *Edward*, and to the Biſhop of *Canterbury* for the time, in *John Fordon* his *Scoti-Chronikon*.

teach us, how the Popes are, and have been, and will be ever conſtantly ready watching at all occaſions, to draw all things to their Croſſe. But this owning of the Scots by the Pope for his peculiar people did not laſt long; for in a very ſhort time thereafter, notwithſtanding the great ignorance of theſe dayes, the Scots ſhewed themſelves refractaries to his holy Orders; and he, in revenge, did thunder the fire-bolts of his Excommunication againſt theſe rude fellows, putting them to the Interdict, all to ſmall purpoſe; for by theſe Bolts they were but very little daſhed.

We have heard how that in former times the Church of *Scotland* was ſerved by Culdees, and they ruled by their Presbyteries or Elders, having a Moderator, or Prefect of themſelves, and of their own chuſing: This was for many yeers. When *Palladius* brought in Prelacie, a new holy Order, into the Church of *Scotland*, unknown to the preceding Ages, it was with this Reſtraint, That Biſhops ſhould be choſen by the Culdees, and of them: But when Biſhops had once gotten certain Dioceſſes and Limits alotted unto them, they ſet up a new Presbytery of their own, or Councell of Canons or Regulars, which they called Chapters; by whom they intended to be choſen in following times. The Culdees ſeeing this, did oppoſe it with their main ſtrength, namely, under King *David*, who did take up the buſineſſe thus (being carried away by the Prelats) That ſo many of the Culdees as would be Canons, ſhould have hand in the chuſing of the Biſhops. But the Biſhops, to elude this Ordinance of the Prince, obtained a Mandate from the Pope, That no Culdee ſhould be received in the Convent of Canons, but by the conſent of the Prior, and moſt part of the Canons. By theſe means the Culdees were kept out, and deprived of their voyce in chuſing of the Biſhop. In the time of the troubles of *Baliol* and *Bruce*, one *William Cumin*, Prefect of the Culdees, thinks it fit for to beſtir himſelf, to trie what he could regain upon the Canons; and ſo he oppoſeth the Election by the Canons of one *William Lamberton* to the Sea of S. *Andrews*: The buſineſſe being come to a great height, by Appeal was drawn

to

to *Rome*, where, after much debate *pro forma*, time and moneys employed, the holy Father *Boniface* the eight pronounces ſentence, in favour of his dear Clients the Canons; and ſo *Lamberton* is made Biſhop, and conſecrated by the Pope *Boniface*. This fact turned ſo to the diſgrace of the *Culdees*, that after that time we reade no more of them; ſo the Name and Order by little and little came to be quite extinguiſhed, about the beginning of the thirteenth age.

In the beginning of the fourteenth age, the Order of the Templers was put down, whether for their juſt demerits, or for private ends and hatred, we leave it to the Hiſtories of theſe times, Pope *Clement* the fift by his Bull did caſhier them, the Bull beginning thus, *Quanquam de jure non poſſumus, tamen pro plenitudine poteſtatis dictum Ordinem reprobamus, &c.* After which all Chriſtian Princes did cauſe them to be apprehended in their ſeverall Dominions, and put them from their eſtates, which was then given to Hoſpitallers and Knights of Saint *John*, after they had ſtood about two hundred yeers, inſtituted by *Baldonin* King of *Jeruſalem*, for defence of that Citie and Temple, and the ſafe conveying of all ſuch as did travell thither: They are alſo called *Red friers*, becauſe their Gownes were Red. In this fourteenth age did flouriſh the great Scholaſtick *Johannes*, called *Scotus* from his Nation, and *Duns* from the place of his Birth, for he was born in the Town of *Duns* in the *Mers*; he was a great Oppoſer of *Thomas* of *Aquin* his Doctrine; his Sectaries were called *Scotiſts*, his Epitaph was thus:

Scotia me genuit, Anglia ſuſcepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.

In the beginning of the fifteenth age there was a great Schiſme in the Romiſh Church, Pope againſt Pope; yea, ſometimes there were three Popes at one time fighting one againſt another, and excommunicating one another; this Schiſme laſted about thirty yeers, and by the Councell of *Conſtance Martin* the fift was made Pope, and the reſt defeated: There was one *John Fogo*, a Monke of *Milros*, who in *Scotland* defended the Election of *Martin* by the Councell, againſt *Benedict*, alias, *Peter de Lune*.

During this forenamed Schiſme, many (taking occaſion of the openneſſe of the times) began boldly and freely to ſpeak againſt the bad Doctrine, Government and Lives of the Church-men, and that not only in private diſcourſe, but they alſo preached it publikely, as *John Wickliffe* in *England*, *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, who ſpoke before the people freely of the Tyrannie of the Government of the Clergie, the corruption of their Doctrine, and wickedneſſe of their lives. In thoſe dayes alſo there were ſome in *Scotland*, who feared not to make known to the people the Truth of God, as namely *James Resby* and *Paul Craw* (among others) who ſuffered Martyrdom for the Truth. About this time the Carthuſians were brought from *England* into *Scotland*, and had built unto them a Monaſterie at *Perth*. In this Age the Univerſitie of Saint *Andrews* was ſet up, chiefly by the means of *Henry Wardlaw* Biſhop of the place, that in ſome kinde the Schools of Learning might not bee altogether wanting, which formerly had flouriſhed for ſo long a time among the *Culdees*, and of later yeers had quite decayed; this good did *Wardlaw*: As his Predeceſſor *William Trail* had built the Caſtle of the ſame City; So his Succeſſour *James Kennedy* built the old Colledge likewiſe, called Saint *Salvator* his Colledge; *Patrick Grahame*, that came after him, was the man that brought into *Scotland* the Title of Primate, Metropolitane, and Archbiſhop, by Bull of *Sextus quartus*. From the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel, till *Palladius*, the Church of *Scotland* was happy without Biſhops. From *Palladius* to King *Malcolme* his days the Biſhops had no diſtinct Dioceſſes or Pariſhes from King *Malcolme*: till *Patricke Grahame* they were without Archbiſhops; this Title and higher rank of Authoritie did not ſucceed well with *Grahame*, for the other Biſhops could ſuffer no Superiour under the Pope, namely ſo neer them, hitherto having rejected all the pretentions of the Archbiſhop of *York*; The inferior Clergie alſo were afraid of the increaſe of the Authority of the Man whom they conceived auſtere and rigid, and ſo by the Faction of the corrupt Court and diſordered Clergy, poor *Grahame* loſt the Title he had procured, with the Benefice, and one *Shevez* got his ſpoyl; and what

what a ſweet Bird *Shevez* was, the Stories of that time doe ſufficiently manifeſt.

Robert Blacater ſeeing the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* now a Metropolitane and Archbiſhop, obtains from *Alexander* the ſixt a Bull, whereby he is made Archbiſhop alſo, and hee had under him the Biſhops of *Galloway*, *Argyle* and *Iſles*; which new dignitie angred the Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, above the loſſe of his Vaſſals; for to have a Companion in equall dignity ſet up beſide him was hard; but he muſt digeſt the Pill, ſince the Pope will have it ſo.

Laſtly, *David Beaton* brought in the Title of Cardinall into *Scotland*, who hath beene the onely man that hath born that Title in this Countrey, and how it did ſpeed with him, the following Hiſtorie will tell you.

As in the beginning of the fifteenth age the Schiſme for the Papacie opened thorow Chriſtendom many mens mouthes, and buſied their Pennes to ſet forth the corruption of the Church, and the Vices of the Clergie; even ſo in the beginning of the ſixteenth age, thoſe that fought for the Biſhoprick of Saint *Andrews*, by their diſſention gave occaſion to many in *Scotland* to ſpeak in publike and private of the corruption of Church-mens Lives, Government and Doctrine in *Scotland*; which coming to the Popes ears, preſently he ſent unto the King, *James* the fourth, a Sword, with the Title of *Protector of the Faith*; as if all Chriſtian Princes were not in dutie bound to protect the Faith in Chriſt; but the Faith which the Pope would have the King to protect, was his erroneous Doctrine, and Tyrannicall Authoritie.

Some few yeers after this, *Henry* the eighth was declared by the Pope, *Defender of the Faith*, and had the Sword likewiſe. *James* the 4 of *Scotland* being dead, now by the corrupt Courtiers the yong inconſiderate King *James* was made beleeve, That the confetring of this new Title by the Pope, did bring unto him a great preheminence; yea, the Court Sycophants did not ſtick to call it, *A new Royaltie*, when in effect it was nothing elſe but a new note of his Vaſſallage to *Rome*; and by the accepting of the Sword he did engage himſelf to make warre for *Rome*; and ſo he did indeed, for ſundry men

after this, during his ſhort Reign, were perſecuted, and ſuffered death for the Truth of Chriſt. This is the ſecond remarkable Badge of ſlavery put upon our Princes by the Pope; the former was their Anointing by him, as wee have ſeen before.

Here be pleaſed with me to remark, That of all the Biſhops of *Scotland* before the Reformation, namely, ſince they were made Lords of certain places, and had particular Dioceſſes, you cannot finde one who had any care of the true Charge of Paſtor; for their whole ſtudie was, to raiſe their power, and to encreaſe their means for the upholding of their power: and, to effectuate this more eaſily and fully, they kept both Prince and people in dark ignorance of Gods Will and Word. But becauſe they muſt ſeem to do ſomwhat for the name ſake of Biſhops, they cauſed to build walls of Temples and Chappels, ſet up images and pictures richly dreſſed, to content the eyes, and brought into the Church Inſtruments of Muſick, and artificiall Singing with great skill, to content the ear; Alſo they brought in ſweet perfume and incenſe for the ſmell; ſo the moſt ſubtill ſenſes were thus ſatisfied. And, to make a ſhew to keep under the ſenſes which are more groſſe, there muſt be ſome kinde of Faſting enjoyned to the people, and chaſteneſſe to the Church-men. But how, and to what purpoſe theſe two laſt have been kept, all men know. But kept or not, all is one, all theſe Ordinances which the Biſhops ſet up for Religion, have been diſcovered by Gods mercy, to be not onely without Warant in Gods Word, but plainly contrary to the ſame. Of all the Biſhops of *Scotland* in time of Reformation, there was onely one or two who embraced the Truth, all the reſt were either profeſſed perſecutors of Gods Children, and open enemies of the Truth, or elſe they were given altogether ſo to ſatisfie their bellies and luſts, that they had no care of Religion; witneſſe *George Creichton* (in the name of all the reſt) Biſhop of *Dunkell*, who confeſſed truly, That he had lived a long time Biſhop, and never knew any thing of the Old or New Teſtament.

Impietie, Ignorance and Wickedneſſe came to ſuch height among

among the Church-men of all ranks, degrees and profeſſions, that God being, after ſo long patience, in a manner vexed with them, did ſtirre up the people to chaſe them from the ſervice of his Houſe, and to put others in their places, as you will ſee in this following Hiſtorie, whereunto I referre you. And I ſhall cloſe up this diſcourſe with one or two paſſages, worthy to be known; whereby you may ſee the learning of the Church-Doctors in thoſe dayes, and how they did imploy the knowledge they had to abuſe the poor people. The firſt Paſſage is this: One *Richard Marſhall* Prior of the *Blackefriers* at *Newcaſtle* in *England*, preached in Saint *Andrews*, That the *Pater-noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God onely, and not to the Saints: The Doctors of Saint *Andrews* offended at it, made a *Gray frier*, called *Tottis*, preach againſt *Marſhall* his Tenet; which hee did thus, (taking his Text out of the fift of Saint *Matthew*, *Bleſſed are the poore in ſpirit*) Seeing we ſay, *Good day, Father*, to any old man in the Street, we may call a Saint, *Pater*, who is older then any alive; And ſeeing they are in Heaven, we may ſay to any of them, *Our Father which art in heaven:* And ſeeing they are holy, we may ſay to any of them, *Hallowed be thy name:* And ſince they are in the Kingdom of Heaven, we may ſay, *Thy kingdom come:* And ſeeing their will is Gods Will, we may ſay to any of them, *Thy will be done.* But when the Gray Fryer preaching came to the fourth Petition, *Give us this day our dayly bread*, he was hiſſed at, and ſo was conſtrained not onely to leave off Preaching, but alſo to leave the City for ſhame. Yet among the Doctors then aſſembled, the Diſpute continued about the *Pater*; for ſome would have it ſaid to God *formaliter*, and to the Saints *materialiter*; others, to God *principaliter*, to the Saints *minus principaliter*; others, *primariò* to God, *ſecundariò* to the Saints; others would have it ſaid to God taking it *ſtrictè*, and to the Saints taking it *latè*: Notwithſtanding all theſe Diſtinctions, the Doctors could not agree upon the buſineſſe. A fellow, called *Tom*, ſervant to the Sub-Prior of Saint *Andrews*, one day perceiving his Maſter much troubled with ſome buſineſſe, and as he conceived weighty, ſaid to him, *Sir, what*

is the matter of this your trouble ? The Maſter anſwered, *We cannot agree about the ſaying of the* Pater. The fellow replied, *To whom ſhould it be ſaid, but to God alone ?* The Maſter anſwers again, *What ſhall we do then with the Saints ?* The fellow duplies, *Give them* Ave's *and* Credo's *enough, that may ſuffice them, and too well too.* If this was good Divinity, God knows. The ſecond paſſage likewiſe is very well worth the knowing, and to this purpoſe very fit, which fell out about the ſame time with the former, that is, about the firſt beginning of the Reformation. A little before the death of *George Wiſchard*, there came home from *Rome* a fellow charged with very many holy Reliques, and new things of great vertue, as he gave out ; but the things were not to be had, nor any benefit by the ſight or touching of them, without moneys. Now upon a holy day, in a village neer *Hadington*, this Romiſh Pedler did open his pack, to try if he could vent any of his Wares among the Countrey people. Among other commodities, the good Merchant did ſhew unto the people there was a Bell of much value, by reaſon of its great vertue ; which he gave out to be this, That if any two parties had any difference, which could not be otherwiſe decided but by Oath, the truth of the Oath was to be made known by this Bell : for (ſaid he) when any one ſweareth, laying his hand on this Bell, if he ſwear true, he ſhall after the Oath ſworn remove his hand eaſily from from the Bell, without any change to the Bell : But if he that ſweareth having his hand upon the Bell ſweareth falſly, his hand will ſtick to the Bell, and the Bell will rive aſunder. Now we muſt tell you, That already there was a rift in the Bell, which this Romipete did affirm had happened by a falſe Oath of one that had ſworn having his hand upon the Bell. At this tale the poor ſimple people were aſtoniſhed, and fell in admiration. But among them was one *Fermer*, who had ſome light of the Truth of God ; he drawing neer the Romiſh Merchant, deſired to have the Bell in his hand, to ſee it neerly. This deſire was granted unto him. Then he takes the Bell, and looks on it, expreſſing great admiration at firſt ; but immediately thereafter, he asked at the Romipete,

if

if he would ſuffer him to ſwear in preſence of the company, having his hand upon the Bell, for he had minde to take an Oath upon a weighty buſineſſe. The man could not refuſe him. Then ſaid the Farmer to the company, Friends, before I ſwear, you ſee the rift that is already in the Bell, and how big it is, and that I have nothing upon my fingers to make them ſtick to the Bell. With this he ſheweth them his hand open: then laying his hand upon the Bell, he did ſwear this; *I ſwear, in the preſence of the living God, and before theſe good people, That the Pope of Rome is Antichriſt, and that all the rabble of his Clergie, Cardinalls, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prieſts, Monks, with the reſt of the crew, are Locuſts, come from hell, to delude the people, and to withdraw them from God: Moreover, I promiſe, They will return to hell.* Incontinent he lifted up his hand from the Bell before them all, and ſaid, *See, friends, that I have lifted up my hand freely from the Bell, and look unto the rift in the Bell, it is one and the ſame, without change; this ſheweth, according to the ſaying of this Merchant, That I have ſworn truth.* Then this poor fellow went away, and never was more ſeen in *Scotland*, nor any other of his kinde, who brought Reliques, or other like toyes from *Rome*.

Many more of this kinde might be alleadged, but let theſe ſuffice, to demonſtrate the miſerable ignorance from which God in his mercy hath delivered us; To whom be praiſe and glory, for this and all other benefits.

With this I end the Preface, that you may come to the Hiſtory it ſelf.

1553. *Patrick Hamilton* was three and twenty yeers of Age when he ſuffered. After his death, his brother German *James Hamilton* of *Levinſton* was accuſed likewiſe; but the King did cauſe to convey him ſecretly out of the way. Alſo *Katherine Hamilton*, his ſiſter, was accuſed, and being queſtioned upon Works; ſhe anſwered, That *none was ſaved by his works.* Then *John Spencer* ſpake to her of the works of *congruo* and *condigno*; to which ſhe anſwered, *Work here, work there; what kinde of working is all this? no works can ſave me, but Chriſt's.* At this, the King, being preſent, laughed, and after conveyed her away ſecretly. One *Henry Foreſt*, a Monk of the Order of *Benet* and *Collet*, as they ſpoke then, was alſo accuſed of hereſie; but without ſufficient proof. Then he was ſent to *Walter Ange*, (whom *Buchanan*, in his Satyre againſt the Gray Friers, called *Langius*) to be confeſſed: *Langius* having asked him, by way of confeſſion, *What he thought of* Patrick Hamilton? He anſwered, That *he was a good man, and that his Articles were to be maintained.* *Lange* diſcovers this ſimple mans confeſſion; and this confeſſion being taken for a ſufficient proof, the poor man was condemned to be burnt, and ſo he was, immediately after they had degraded him, according to their Cuſtom. As they were leading him to the Execution-place, he complained of the Fryer who had betrayed him, and ſaid, *Let no man truſt the falſe Fryers, after me; they are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men.* They burnt him at the North Style of the Abbey Church in Saint *Andrews*, that the Hereticks of *Angus* might ſee the fire.

1558. One *Andrew Oliphant* accuſed with heat *Walter Mill*, an ancient man, and formerly a Prieſt, and ſaid to him, being at his devotion, *Riſe up, Sir Walter.* He anſwered, when he had ended his prayer, *My name is Walter: I have been too long one of the Popes Knights* (for all Prieſts are Sirs.) *Andrew Oliphant* ſaid to him, *Thou keepeſt my Lords too long here, therefore haſte.* He anſwered, *I muſt obey God before men.*

Being

Being queſtioned by *Oliphant* concerning Prieſts Marriage, he anſwered, *It was Gods Ordinance, That every man that had not the gift of chaſtity, ſhould marry: but you abhor it, vowing chaſtity, which you cannot keep, but take other mens wives and daughters.* Then, being asked if there were not ſeven Sacraments, he anſwered, *Let me have two, take you the reſt to your ſelves.* Being asked about the Maſſe, he anſwered, *A Lord ſendeth, and calleth many to his dinner; and when all is ready, he cauſeth ring the Bell, the gueſts come into the hall; but he turning his back upon them, eateth all himſelf: And ſo do you.* Then he added, *The Scripture is not to be underſtood carnally; Chriſt hath put an end to all carnall Sacrifices, by offering once for all his body upon the Croſſe.* Many other Queries were put to him, to which he anſwered ſtoutly. Being deſired to recant, he told them, That he was corn, and not chaff. *I will*, ſaid he, *neither be blown by the winde, nor bruiſed with the Flail, but I will abide both: I will not recant the Truth.* Being commanded to go to the ſtake by *Oliphant*, he anſwered, *By the Law of God I am forbidden to put hand on my ſelf, therefore put thou me to it with thy hands, and then thou ſhalt ſee my reſolution.* After he had ſaid his Prayer, he gat leave, with difficulty, to ſpeak to the people ſtanding by: In his Speech he told them, *That although he was a great ſinner, yet it was for Gods Truth, contained in his Word of the Old and New Teſtament, that he ſuffred, and that God, in the abundance of his mercy towards him, did honour him ſo far, as to make him ſeal his Truth with his life, among other of his Servants.* He added, *Dear friends, as you would eſcape eternall death, be no more ſeduced with lies of Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Prieſts, Monks, Friers, and the reſt of the Antichriſtian rabble, but onely truſt in God.* This was the laſt man that died for Religion in *Scotland*: And by his death was given the very dead blow to Popery; for by his death the people of all ranks and conditions were ſo moved, that they made open profeſſion of the Truth, without any more dallying; and preſently was, upon this occaſion, made a Covenant or Bond of mutuall defence, To defend one another by Arms, againſt the Tyranny of the Biſhops, and their Parties.

Errata.

Errata.

The Life. Page 2. line 7. *dele* he. P. 5. l. 38. r. ordinarily. P. 6. l. 24. r. would.

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THE

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THE HISTORIE OF THE *REFORMATION* Within the Realme of SCOTLAND, from the yeer 1422. Till the 20. day of *Auguſt.* 1567.

THE FIRST BOOK.

IN the Records of *Glaſgow* is found mention of one whoſe name was *Iames Resby*, an Engliſhman by Birth, Scholler to *Wickliff*; He was accuſed as an Heretike, by one *Lawrence Lindors* in *Scotland*, and burnt for having ſaid, That the Pope was not the Vicar of Chriſt, and that a man of wicked life was not to be acknowledged for Pope. This fell out, *Anno* 1422. Farther our Chronicles make mention, That in the dayes of King *Iames* the firſt, about the yeer of God 1431. was deprehended in the Univerſity of Saint *Andrewes*, one named *Paul Craw*, a *Boheme*, who was accuſed of Hereſie, before ſuch as then were called Doctors of Theologie. His accuſation conſiſted principally, That he followed *John Hus* and *Wickliff*, in the opinion of the Sacrament; Who denied that the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine were changed by vertue of any words; Or that Confeſſion ſhould be made to Prieſts; or yet Prayers to Saints departed: While that God gave him grace to reſiſt them, and not to conſent to their impiety; He was committed to the ſecular Judge (for our Biſhops following *Pilate*, who both did condemne, and alſo waſh his hands) who condemned him to the fire, in the which he was conſumed in the ſaid City of Saint *Andrews*, about the time afore written. And to declare themſelves to be the generation of Satan, who from the beginning hath been enemy to the Truth, and he that deſireth the ſame to be hid from the knowledge of men, They put a ball of Braſſe in his mouth, to the end he ſhould not give Confeſſion of his Faith to the people; neither yet that they ſhould underſtand the defence which he had againſt their unjuſt accuſation and condemnation. Both theſe godly men *Resby* and *Craw*, ſuffered Martyrdome for Chriſt his Truth, by *Henry Ward-law*, Biſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, whom the Prelates place amongſt their Worthies.

Robert the third. 1422.

Iames the firſt. 1431. *Paul Craw* burnt with a ball of Braſſe in his mouth.

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James 4. 1494.

But that their wicked practiſe did not greatly advance their Kingdom of darkneſſe, neither yet was it able utterly to extinguiſh the Trueth; for albeit, that in the dayes of King *James* the ſecond and third, we finde ſmall queſtion of Religion moved within this Realm; yet in the time of King *James* the fourth, in the ſixth yeer of his Reign, and in the twenty two yeer of his age, which was in the yeer of God 1494. were ſummoned before the King and his great Counſell, by *Robert Blacader*, called, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*: The number of thirty perſons remaining, ſome in *Kyle Stewart*, ſome in *Kingſtyle*, and ſome in *Cunninghame*: Among whom were *George Campbell* of *Ceſnok*, *Adam Reade* of *Barskyning*, *John Campbell* of *Newmyls*, *Andrew Schaw* of *Polkemac*, *Helene Chalmer*, Lady *Pokellie*, *Iſabelle Chambers*, Lady *Stairs*.

30 Perſons accuſed.

The Profeſſors of the Truth at the firſt beginning of the Reformation were called in our Iland *Lollards* from one godly man in this Iland named *Lollard*, who was one of the firſt Teachers of the Trueth: what other names they had elſewhere, ſee the Hiſtory of the *Albigeis*, *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3. Where you may ſee what accuſations, and calumnies was made againſt theſe poor people. Conferre this 4 Article with the 16. Article.

These were called the Lollards of *Kyle*, they were accuſed of the Articles following, as we have received them out of the Regiſter of *Glaſgow*.

1. *Firſt, That Images are not to be had* in the Kyrk, *nor to be worſhipped.*

2. *That the Reliques of Saints are not to be worſhipped.*

3. *That Laws & Ordinances of men, vary from time to time, and that by the Pope.*

4. That it is not lawfull to fight *for the Faith, nor to defend the Faith by the* Sword, if we be not driven to it by neceſſity, *which is above all Law.*

5. *That Chriſt gave power to Peter,* as alſo to the other Apoſtles, *and not to the Pope his pretended Succeſſour, to binde and looſe within the Kyrk.*

6. *That Chriſt ordained no Prieſts to conſecrate as they do in the Romiſh Church, theſe many yeers.*

7. *That after the Conſecration in the Maſſe, there remains Bread, and that there is not the naturall Body of Chriſt.*

8. *That Tythes ought not to be given to Eccleſiaſticall men, as they were then called,* to wit, *wholly*, but a part to the poor, widow, or orphans, & other pious uſes.

9. *That Chriſt at his coming hath taken away power from Kings to judge.* This Article we doubt not to be the venomous accuſation of the enemies, whoſe practiſe hath ever been to make the doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt ſuſpect to Kings and Rulers: As if God thereby would deprive them of their Royall Seats; While on the contrary nothing confirms the power of Magiſtrates more then doth Gods Truth. But to the Articles.

10. *That every faithfull man and women is a Prieſt,* in that ſence that they are called by the Apoſtle Saint *John*, *Apoc.* 1. 6. 5. 10. 20. 6.

The Pope did bethink himſelf at laſt to ſubject Princes unto him, by this tye of invented unction.

11. *That the Unction of Kings, ceaſed at the coming of Chriſt*; and truely it was but late ſince Kings were anointed, *namely in* Scotland, *for* Edgar *was the firſt anointed King in* Scotland, about the yeer 1100.

12. *That the Pope is not the ſucceſſour of* Peter, *but where he ſaid, Go behinde me Satan.*

13. *That the Pope deceives the people by his Buls, and his Indulgences.*

14. *That the Maſſe profiteth not the ſouls, who in theſe dayes were ſaid to be in Purgatory.*

15. *That the Pope and the Biſhops deceive the people by their Pardons.*

16. *That Indulgences ought not to be granted to fight againſt the Saracens.*

17. *That the Pope exalts himſelf againſt God, and above God.*

18. *That the Pope cannot remit the pains of Purgatory.*

19. *That the bleſſings of the Biſhops (of dumb Dogs they ſhould have been ſtiled) are of no value.*

20. That

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20. *That the Excommunication of the Kyrk is not to be feared*, if there be no true cauſe for it.

21. *That in no caſe it is lawfull to ſwear*, to wit, idly, raſhly, and in vain.

22. *That Prieſts may have wives, according to the conſtitution of the Law*, and of the Primitive Chriſtian Church.

23. *That true Chriſtians receive the body of Jeſus Chriſt every day by Faith.*

24. *That after Matrimony be contracted, and conſummate, the Kyrk may make no Divorcement.*

25. *That Excommunication bindes not*, if unjuſt.

26. *That the Pope forgives not ſins, but onely God.*

27. *That Faith ſhould not be given to Miracles*; to ſuch namely as the Romiſh were then, and are to this day.

28. *That we ſhould not pray to the glorious Virgin* Mary, *but to God onely*, ſince he onely hears us, and can help us.

29. *That we are no more bound to pray in the Kyrk then in other places* *.

30. *That we are not bound to beleeve all that Doctors of the Kirk have written.*

31. *That ſuch as worſhip the Sacrament in the Kyrk* (we ſuppoſe the Sacrament of the Altar) *commits Idolatry.*

32. *That the Pope is the head of the Kirk of Antichriſt.*

33. *That the Pope and his Miniſters are murtherers of ſouls.*

34. *That they which are called Princes and Prelates in the Church, are Theeves, and Robbers.*

By theſe Articles which God of his mercifull providence cauſed the enemies of his truth to keep in their regiſters, may appear how mercifully God hath looked upon this Realm, retaining within it ſome ſpark of his lyght, even in the time of greateſt darkneſſe. Neither ought any man to wonder, albeit that ſome things be obſcurely, and ſome things doubtfully ſpoken. But rather ought all faithfull to magnifie Gods mercy, who without publike Doctrine gave ſo great light. And further, we ought to conſider that ſeeing that the enemies of Jeſus Chriſt gathered the foreſaid Articles, thereupon to accuſe the perſons aforeſaid, that they would deprave the meaning of Gods ſervants ſo far as they could; as we doubt not but they have done, in the heads of Excommunication*, Swearing*, and of Matrimony*: In the which it is no doubt but the ſervants of God did damne the abuſe only, and not the right Ordinance of God: for who knows not that the Excommunication in theſe dayes was altogether abuſed? That Swearing aboundeth without puniſhment or remorſe of conſcience: And that Divorcements was made, for ſuch cauſes as worldly men had invented. But to our Hiſtory. Albeit that the accuſation of the Biſhop and of his Complices was very grievous, yet God ſo aſſiſted his ſervants, partly by inclining the Kings heart to gentleneſſe (for divers of them were his great familiars) and partly by giving bold and godly anſwers to their Accuſators; that the enemies in the end were fruſtrate of their purpoſe. For while the Biſhop in mockage ſaid to *Adam Reade* of *Barskeiming*; *Reade*, beleeve ye that God is in heaven? He anſwered; Not as I do the Sacraments ſeven: Whereat the Biſhop thinking to have triumphed, ſaid; Sir, lo, he denies that God is in heaven? Whereat the King wondring, ſaid; *Adam Reade!* What ſay ye? The other anſwered; Pleaſeth your Majeſty to hear the end betwixt the churle and me: and therewith he turned to the Biſhop and ſaid; I neither think nor beleeve, as

* *Although the Temple be ſet a part for divine ſervice, yet we are not tyed to the place as the Jews were, yea, not ſo much as the Romaniſts would have us to be, according to that of S. Joh. 21. 22. 23. for where ſoever 2 or 3 are gathered together in my Name, I am in the midſt of you.*

* *Witneſſe the Princes and people, that the Pope put to the Interdict without cauſe, to ſay nothing of private perſons.*

* *So that many do think it a liberty of Religion to ſwear and curſe.*

* *Witneſſe the divorce of Mary Stuart, daughter to James 2. from her lawfull husband* Tho. Boyde, *and married to* James Hamilton: *Alſo of* Mary, *mother to* James 5. *who married after K.* Iam. *the fourths death,* Archibald Douglas *Earle of* Angus, *& was divorced from him, and married to* Henry Stuart, *Lord* Meffen.

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as thou thinkeſt that God is in heaven; but I am moſt aſſured, that he is not onely in heaven, but alſo in the earth: But thou and thy faction declare by your works, that either ye think there is no God at all, or elſe that he is ſo ſet up in heaven, that he regards not what is done upon the earth: for if thou firmly beleevedſt that God were in the heaven, thou ſhouldeſt not make thy ſelf check-mate to the King, and altogether forget the charge that Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God gave to his Apoſtles, which was, To Preach his Goſpel, and not to play the proud Prelates, as all the rabble of you do this day: And now, Sir, ſaid he to the King, judge ye, whether the Biſhop or I beleeve beſt that God is in heaven. While the Biſhop and his band could not well revenge themſelves, and while many taunts were given them in their teeth. The King willing to put an end to further reaſoning, ſaid to the ſaid *Adam Reade*; Wilt thou burn thy bill? He anſwered; Sir, the Biſhop and ye will. With theſe and the like ſcoffs, the Biſhop and his band were ſo daſhed out of countenance, that the greateſt part of accuſation was turned to laughter. After that Diet, we finde almoſt no queſtion for matters of Religion, the ſpace neer of thirty yeers; for not long after, to wit, in the yeer of God 1500. the ſaid Biſhop *Blaktar* departed this life, going in his ſuperſtitious devotion to *Jeruſalem*: Unto whom ſucceeded Maſter *James Betone*, ſon to the Laird of *Balfor* in *Fife*, who was more carefull of the world, then he was to Preach Chriſt, or yet to advance any Religion, but for the faſhion onely, and as he ſought the world it fled him not: For it was well known that at once he was Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews*, Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, *Aberbrothe*, *Kylwinning*, and Chancellour of *Scotland*: For after the unhappy field of *Flowdonne*, in the which periſhed King *James* the fourth, with the greateſt part of the Nobility of the Realm, the ſaid *Betonne* with the reſt of the Prelates, had the whole Regiment of the Realm. And by reaſon thereof held and travelled to hold the truth of God in thraldome and bondage, till that it pleaſed God of his great mercy in the yeer of God 1527. to raiſe up his ſervant Maſter *Patrick Hammilton*, at whom our Hiſtory doth begin: Of whoſe progenie, life, and erudition, becauſe men of fame and renown have in divers works written; we omit all curious repetition, ſending ſuch as would know further of him then we write to *Francis Lambert*, *John Frith*, and to that notable work lately ſet forth by *John Fox*, Engliſh man, of the lives and deaths of Martyrs within this Iſle in this our age.

Adam Reade, his bold and godly anſwer.

Note.

1500.

1513.

1527. Brothers ſon to *Iames Hamilton* Earle of *Arran* and ſiſters ſon to *Iohn Stuart* Duke of *Albani*.

This ſervant of God Maſter *Patrick Hamilton*, being in his youth provided to reaſonable honours and living (he was intituled Abbot of *Fern*) as one hating the world and the vanitie thereof, left *Scotland*, and paſſed to the Schools in *Germany*; for then the fame of the Univerſitie of *Wittenberg* was greatly divulgate in all Countreys: where by Gods providence he became familar with thoſe lights and notable ſervants of Chriſt Jeſus of that time, *Martin Luther*, *Philip Melanchthon*, and the ſaid *Francis Lambert*, did ſo grow and advance in godly knowledge, joyned with fervencie and integrity of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeal of Gods glory did ſo eat him up, that he could not long continue to remain there, but returned to his countrey where the bright beams of the true light, which by Gods grace was planted in his heart, began moſt abundantly to burſt forth, as well in publike as in ſecret; for he was (beſides his godly knowledge) well learned

in

in Phyloſophie, he abhorred Sophiſtrie, and would that the Text of *Ariſtotle* ſhould have been better underſtood, and more uſed in the Schools than then it was; for Sophiſtrie had corrupted all, as well in Divinitie, as in humanitie. In ſhort proceſſe of time, the fame of his reaſons and Doctrine troubled the Clergie, and came to the ears of Biſhop *James Betonne*, of whom before we have made mention, who being a conjured enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and one that long hath had the whole regiment of this Realm, bare impatiently that any trouble ſhould be made to the Kingdom of darkneſſe, whereof within this Realm he was the head. And therefore he ſo travelled with the ſaid Maſter *Patrike* that he gat him to Saint *Andrews*, where after the conference of divers dayes he had his freedom and liberty. The ſaid Biſhop and his bloody Butchers, called Doctours, ſeemed to approve his Doctrine, and to grant that many things craved Reformation in the Eccleſiaſticall regiment. And amongſt the reſt, there was one that ſecretly conſented with him almoſt in all things, named, Frier *Alexander Campbell*, a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupt by the world, as after we will hear: when the Biſhops and Clergie had fully underſtood the minde and judgement of the ſaid Maſter *Patrick*, and fearing that by him their kingdom ſhould be endamaged, they travailed with the King, who then was young, and altogether addict to their commandment; that he ſhould paſſe in Pilgrimage to Saint *Dotheſſe* in *Roſſe*, to the end that no interceſſion ſhould be made for the life of the innocent ſervant of God, who ſuſpecting no ſuch cruelty as in their hearts was conceived, remained ſtill, (a lambe amongſt the wolves) till that upon a night he was intercepted in his chamber, and by the Biſhops Band was caried to the Caſtle, where that night he was kept, and upon the morrow after brought forth to Judgement, he was condemned to die by fire for the teſtimony of Gods Truth. The Articles for the which he ſuffered, were but of Pilgrimage, Purgatory, prayer to Saints, and for the dead, and ſuch trifles. Albeit that matters of greater importance had been in queſtion, as his Treatiſe which in the end we have added, may witneſſe. Now that the condemnation of the ſaid M. *Patrike* ſhould have greater Authority, they cauſed the ſame to be ſubſcribed by all thoſe of any eſtimation that with them were preſent; and to make their number great, they took the ſubſcription of children, if they were of the Nobility; for the Earle of *Caſſilles*, which laſt deceaſed in *France*, then being but twelve or thirteene yeers of age, was compelled to ſubſcribe his death, as himſelf did confeſſe. Immediately after dinner the fire was prepared before the old Colledge, and he led to the place of Execution, and yet men ſuppoſed that all was done but to give nnto him terrour, and to have cauſed him to have recanted, and have become recreant to thoſe bloodie beaſts; but God for his own glory; for the comfort of his ſervant, and for manifeſtation of their beaſtly tyrannie, had otherwiſe decreed; for he ſo ſtrengthned his faithfull Witneſſe, that neither the love of life, nor yet the fear of that cruell death, could move him a jote to ſwerve from the truth once profeſſed. At the place of execution, he gave to his ſervant who had been chamberlain to him of a long time, his Gown, his Coat, Bonnet, and ſuch like garments, ſaying, Theſe will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; after this, of me thou canſt receive no commoditie, except the example of my death:

Anno

A Dominican Frier.

Note how Church-men rules the good nature of the Prince.

Anno death, which I pray thee bear in minde, for albeit it be bitter to the fleſh, and fearfull before men, yet is it the entrance unto eternall life, which none ſhall poſſeſſe that denies Chriſt Jeſus before this wicked generation. The innocent ſervant of God being bound to the ſtake, in the midſt of ſome coales, ſome timber, and other matter appointed for the fire, a traine of powder was made, and ſet on fire, which gave to the bleſſed Martyr of God, a blaiſe, and ſcorched his left hand and that ſide of his face, but neither kindled the wood nor yet the coales, and ſo remained the appointed to death in torment, till that men ran to the Caſtle again for more Powder, and fire wood more able to take fire, which at laſt being kindled, with loud voice, cried; *Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit; How long ſhall darkneſſe overwhelm this Realme? And how long wilt thou ſuffer this tyrannie of men?* The fire was ſlow, and therefore was his torment the more: But moſt of all was he grieved by certain wicked men, amongſt whom *Campbel* the black Frier (of whom we ſpake before) was principall, who continually cryed, *Convert Heretick, Call upon our Lady*, ſay, *Salve Regina, &c.* To whom he anſwered, *Depart, and trouble me not, thou meſſenger of Satan.* But while that the aforeſaid Frier ſtill roared, one thing in great vehemence he ſaid unto him; *Wicked man, thou knoweſt the contrary, and the contrary to me thou haſt confeſſed; I appeale thee before the tribunall ſeat of Chriſt Jeſus.* After which, and other words, which well could not be underſtood nor marked becauſe of the tumult, and vehemencie of the fire. The witneſſe of Jeſus Chriſt gate victory, after long ſufferance, the laſt of February, in the yeere of God 1527. The ſaid Frier departed this life within few dayes after, in what eſtate, we referre to the manifeſtation of the generall Day. But it was plainly known, that he died in *Glaſgow* in a phrenzie, and as one deſpaired.

Frier *Campbell* apoſtate.

Now that all men may underſtand what was the ſingular erudition, and godly knowledge of the ſaid M. *Patrike Hamilton*, we have inſerted this his little pithie Work, containing his Affertions and Determinations, concerning the Law, the Office of the ſame; concerning Faith, and the true Fruits thereof; firſt by the ſaid Maſter *Patrike* collected in Latine, and after tranſlated into vulgar Language.

Of the Law.

THe Law is a Doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evill, as the Commandments here contained do ſpecifie.

The ten Commandments.

THou ſhalt worſhip but one God. 2. Thou ſhalt make thee no Image to worſhip it. 3. Thou ſhalt not ſwear by his Name in vain. 4. Hold the Sabbath day holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou ſhalt not kill. 7. Thou ſhalt not commit adultery. 8. Thou ſhalt not ſteal. 9. Thou ſhalt bear no falſe witneſſe. 10. Thou ſhalt not deſire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

Mino. Deut. 6. Matth. 22. He that loveth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the Commandments of God. *Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy minde: this is the firſt and great Commandment. The ſecond is like unto this, Love thy neighbour as thy ſelf; in theſe two Commandments hang all the Law and Prophets.* He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour: *If any man ſay, I love God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a lyer: He that loveth not his brother whom*

Minor. 1. Joh. 4.

whom he hath ſeen, how can he love God whom he hath not ſeen? He that loveth his neighbour as himſelfe, keepeth the whole Commandments of God. *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do unto you, even ſo do unto them, for this is the Law and the Prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the Law; Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, Thou ſhalt not kill, Thou ſhalt not ſteal, Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſſe againſt thy neighbour, Thou ſhalt not deſire*, and ſo forth? If there be any other Commandment, all are comprehended under this ſaying, *Love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.* He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the Commandments of God, *Rom.* 13. *Gal.* 5. *He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour*, 1 Joh. 4. *Ergo*, He that loveth God, keepeth all his Commandments. He that hath the faith, loveth God; *My Father loveth you, becauſe ye love me, and believe that I came of God.* He that hath the faith, keepeth all the Commandments of God; he that hath the faith, loveth God, and he that loveth God, keepeth all the Commandments of God. *Ergo*, He that hath faith, keepeth all the Commandments of God. He that keepeth one Commandment, keepeth them all. For without faith it is impoſſible to keep any of the Commandments of God; and he that hath faith, keepeth all the Commandments of God. *Ergo*, He that keepeth one Commandment of God, keepeth them all.

Anno 1

Concluſio.
Matth 7. Rom. 13.
Galat 5.
Maior. Rom. 13. *Minor.*
Joh. 19.
Concluſio.
Chriſt is the end and fulfilling of the Law to every one that believeth Rom. 10. 14.

He that keepeth not all the Commandments of God, he keepeth none of them; he that keepeth one of the Commandments of God, he keepeth all: *Ergo*, He that keepeth not all the Commandments, he keepeth none of them. It is not in our power without grace to keep any of Gods Commandments. Without grace it is impoſſible to keep one of Gods Commandments, and grace is not in our power. *Ergo*, It is not in our power to keep any of the Commandments of God. Even ſo may you reaſon concerning the holy Ghoſt and faith. The Law was given us to ſhew us our ſin. *By the Law cometh the knowledge of ſin; I knew not what ſin meant, but through the Law. I knew not what luſt had meant, except the Law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not luſt.* Without the Law ſin was dead, that is, It moved me not, neither wiſt I that it was ſin, which notwithſtanding was ſin, and forbidden by the Law. The Law biddeth us do that which is impoſſible for us; for it bids us keep all the Commandments of God, and yet it is not in our power to keep any of them. *Ergo*, It biddeth us do that which is impoſſible for us. Thou wilt ſay, Wherefore doth God command us that which is impoſſible for us? I anſwer, To make thee know, That thou art but evill, and that there is no remedy to ſave thee in thine own hand; and that thou maiſt ſeek remedy at at ſome other: For the Law doth nothing but command thee.

Rom. 3. Rom. 7.

Of the Goſpel.

THe Goſpel is as much to ſay in our Tongue, as good Tydings, like as every one of theſe Sentences be.

Chriſt is the Saviour of the world.
Chriſt is our Saviour.
Chriſt died for us.
Chriſt died for our ſins.
Chriſt offered himſelf for us.
Chriſt bare our ſins upon his back.
Chriſt bought us with his Blood.

Goſpel, *quaſi* Godſpel, that is Gods word, but ordinarily it is taken from that part which we call Evangel, that is, Good tidings, otherwiſe, Goſpel, *quaſi* Goodſpel, that is, Good words, and ſo, Good tidings.

Chriſt

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Chriſt waſht us with his Blood.
Chriſt came into the world to ſave ſinners.
Chriſt came into this world to take away our ſins.
Chriſt was the Price that was given for us and our ſins.
Chriſt was made Debtor for our ſins.
Chriſt hath paid our Debt, for he died for us.
Chriſt hath made ſatisfaction for us, and for our ſins.
Chriſt is our Righteouſneſſe.
Chriſt is our Wiſedom.
Chriſt is our Sanctification.
Chriſt is our Redemption.
Chriſt is our Satisfaction.
Chriſt is our Goodneſſe.
Chriſt hath pacified the Father of Heaven.
Chriſt is Ours, and all His.
Chriſt hath delivered us from the Law, from the devill, and hell.
The Father of heaven hath forgiven us for Chriſts ſake.
Or any ſuch other as declare unto us the mercies of God.

The nature of the Law, and of the Goſpel.

The Law { Sheweth us our ſin. / Sheweth us our condemnation. / Is the word of ire. / Is the word of deſpair. / Is the word of diſpleaſure.

The Goſpel { Sheweth us a remedy for it. / Sheweth us our Redemption. / Is the Word of Grace. / Is the Word of Comfort. / Is the Word of Peace.

A Diſputation betwixt the Law and the Goſpel.

The Law ſaith, { Pay thy Debt. / Thou art a deſperate ſinner. / Thou ſhalt die.

The Goſpel ſaith, { Chriſt hath paid it. / Thy ſins are forgiven thee. / Be of good comfort, thou art ſaved.

The Law ſaith, { Make amends for thy ſin. / The Father of heaven is wrath with thee. / Where is thy righteouſneſſe, goodneſſe and ſatisfaction? / Thou art bound and obliged unto me, the devil and hell.

The Goſpel ſaith, { Chriſt hath made it for thee. / Chriſt hath pacified him with his Blood. / Chriſt is thy righteouſneſſe, goodneſſe, & ſatisfaction. / Chriſt hath delivered thee from them all.

Of Faith.

FAith is to believe God, like as *Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſſe.* He that believed God, believed his Word. To believe in him, is to believe his Word, and accompt it true that he ſpeaketh: he

Gen. 15. Joh. 5.

he that believeth not Gods Word, he compteth him falſe, and a lyar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfill his Word, and ſo he denieth both the might of God, and himſelf. Faith is the gift of God: Every good thing is the gift of God. Faith is good; *Ergo*, Faith is the gift of God; The gift of God is not in our power: Faith is the gift of God, *Ergo*, Faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God; all that cometh not of faith, is ſin; for without faith, can no man pleaſe God. Beſides that, he that lacketh faith, he truſteth not God; he that truſteth not God, truſteth not in his Word; he that truſteth not in his Word, holdeth him falſe, and a lyar; he that holdeth him falſe and a lyar, he believeth not that he may do that he promiſeth, and ſo denieth he that he is God: O how can a man, being of this faſhion, pleaſe God! No manner of wayes, yea ſuppoſe he did all the works of man and Angel. Anno Jam 1. Rom 14. Heb 11.

All that is done in faith, pleaſeth God. Right is the Word of God, and all his works in faith: Lord thine eyes look to faith; that is as much to ſay, as, Lord thou delighteſt in faith: God loveth him that believeth in him, how can they then diſpleaſe him? He who hath faith, is juſt and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good fruit. *Ergo*, all that is done in faith, pleaſeth God. Moreover, he that hath faith, beleeveth God; he that believeth God, believeth his Word; he that believeth his Word, wotteth well that he is true and faithfull, and cannot lie; but knoweth well that he both may and will fulfill his Word. How can he then diſpleaſe him? For thou canſt do no greater honour unto God, than to count him true. Thou wilt then ſay, That theft, murder, adultery, and all vices pleaſe God: No verily, for they cannot be done in faith, for a good tree beareth good fruit. He that hath faith, wotteth well that he pleaſeth God, for all that is done in faith, pleaſeth God, faith is a ſureneſſe: *Faith is a ſure confidence of things which are hoped for, and a certainty of things which are not ſeen: The ſame ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the children of God.* Moreover, he that hath the faith, wotteth well that God will fulfill his Word: *Ergo*, faith is a ſureneſſe. Heb 11. Rom 8. Rom 4.

A man juſtified by faith.

Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſſe, we ſuppoſe therefore that a man is juſtified (ſaith the Apoſtle) without the works of the Law. He that worketh not, but believeth in him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted unto him for righteouſneſſe. The juſt man liveth by faith, *Abac.* 2. *Rom.* 1. We know that a man that is juſtified, is not juſtified by the works of the Law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by the deeds of the Law. Rom 4. Abac. 2. Rom. 1.

Of the faith of Chriſt.

THe faith of Chriſt is, To believe in him, that is, To believe in his Word, and to believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evill. Thou wilt aſk me, What Word? I anſwer, The Goſpel: he that believeth in Chriſt, ſhall be ſaved. He that believeth the ſon, hath everlaſting life; *Verily verily I ſay unto you, He that believeth in me, hath everlaſting life. This I write unto you, that believing in the Name of the Son of God, ye may know that ye have eternall life. Thomas, becauſe thou haſt ſeen me, thou believeſt, but happy are they that have not ſeen, and yet believe in me.* All the Joh. 6. 1 Joh. 5.

Anno

Prophets to him bear witneſſe, That whoſoever believeth in him, ſhall have remiſſion of their ſins. *What muſt I do that I may be ſaved?* the Apoſtle anſwereth, *Believe in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and thou ſhalt be ſaved. If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jeſus is the Lord, and believe in thine heart, That God raiſed him up from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſafe. He that believeth not in Chriſt, ſhall be condemned. He that believeth not the ſon, ſhall never ſee life, but the ire of God abideth upon him. The holy Ghoſt ſhal reprove the world of ſin, *becauſe* (ſaith Chriſt) *they believe not in me.* They that believe in Jeſus Chriſt, are ſons of God. Ye are all the ſons of God, becauſe ye believe in Jeſus Chriſt. He that believeth in Chriſt the ſon of God, is ſafe. *Peter* ſaid, *Thou art Chriſt the ſon of the living God.* Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto him, *Happy art thou, Simon the ſon of Jonas, for fleſh and blood hath not opened unto thee that, but my father which is in heaven.* We have believed and known that thou art Chriſt, the ſon of the living God. I believe that thou art Chriſt the ſon of the living God, which ſhould come into the world. Theſe things are written that ye might believe that Jeſus Chriſt is the ſon of God, and that in believing ye might have life. I believe that Jeſus is the ſon of the living God. He that believeth God, believeth the Goſpel. He that believeth God, believeth his Word, and the Goſpel is his Word. Therefore he that believeth God, believeth his Goſpel. As Chriſt is the Saviour of the world, Chriſt is our Saviour; Chriſt bought us with his Blood, Chriſt waſhed us with his Blood, Chriſt offered himſelf for us, Chriſt bare our ſins upon his back. He that believeth not the Goſpel, believeth not God; he that believeth not Gods Word, believeth not himſelf; and the Goſpel is Gods Word. *Ergo*, He that believeth not the Goſpel, believeth not God himſelf. And conſequently, they that believe not, as is above written, and ſuch other, believe not God. He that believeth the Goſpel ſhall be ſaved; *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Goſpel unto every creature, he that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved; but he that believeth not, ſhall be condemned.*

Act. 10.
Rom. 10.
Joh. 3.
Gal. 3.
Matth. 19.
Joh. 9.
Joh. 20.
Mark 16.
Matth. 28.

A Compariſon betwixt Faith and Incredulity.

Faith { Is the root of all good,
Maketh God and man friends,
Bringeth God and man together.

Incredulity { Is the root of all evill,
Maketh them deadly foes,
Bringeth them aſunder.

All that proceedeth from Faith, pleaſeth God.
All that proceedeth from Incredulity, diſpleaſeth God.
Faith onely maketh a man good and righteous,
Incredulity maketh him unjuſt and evill.

Faith onely maketh a man { The Member of Chriſt,
The Inheritor of heaven.
The Servant of God.

Faith

Anno

Faith
- ſheweth God to be a ſweet Father.
- holdeth ſtiffe by the word of God.
- counteth God to be true.
- knoweth God.
- loveth God and his neighbour.
- onely ſaveth.
- extolleth God and his works.

Incredulitie
- maketh man a member of the devill.
- maketh him inheritour of hell.
- maketh him the ſervant of the devill.
- maketh God a terrible Judge.
- cauſeth man wander here and there.
- maketh him falſe and a liar.
- knoweth him not.
- loveth neither God nor neighbour.
- onely condemneth.
- extolleth fleſh and her own deeds.

Of Hope.

HOpe is a truſtie looking for of things that are promiſed to come unto us, as we hope the everlaſting joy which Chriſt hath promiſed unto all that beleeve in him; we ſhould put our hope and truſt in God onely, and in no other thing. It is good to truſt in God, and not in man. He that truſteth in his own heart, he is a fool; *It is good to truſt in God, and not in Princes: They ſhall be like unto Images that make them, and all that truſt in them: He that truſteth in his own thoughts doth ungodly: Curſed be he that truſteth in man: Bid the rich men of this world that they truſt not in their unſtable riches, but that they truſt in the living God: It is hard for them that truſt in money to enter into the kingdom of God.* Moreover, we ſhould truſt in him ſurely, that can help us, yea we ſhould truſt in him onely. Well is him that truſteth in God, and wo to them that truſt him not. Well is the man that truſteth in God, for God ſhall be his truſt: He that truſteth in him ſhall underſtand the truth. *They ſhall all rejoyce that truſt in thee, they ſhall all ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them.* Pſal. 118. 1. Tim. 6.

Of Charitie.

CHaritie is the love of thy neighbour: The rule of Charity is, To do as thou wouldeſt were done unto thee; for Charitie eſteemeth all alike, the rich and the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankfull and unthankfull, the kinſman and ſtranger. *This may be underſtood of circumſtance of worldly men, and not of them of God for the nerer that men draw to God, we are bound the more to love them.*

A compariſon betwixt Faith, Hope, and Charitie.

FAith cometh of the word of God: Hope, cometh of Faith; And Charity ſpringeth of them both: Faith beleeves the word; Hope truſteth after that which is promiſed by the word; and Charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that ſhe hath to God, and gladneſſe that is within her ſelf. Faith looketh to God and his word: Hope looketh unto his gift and reward: Charity looketh unto her neighbours profit; Faith receiveth

Anno God. Hope receiveth his reward: Charity looketh unto her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God onely; Hope to his reward; and Charity to her neighbour.

Of good Works.

Galat. 3. NO manner of works make us righteous: We beleeve that a man shall be justified without works. No man is justified by the deeds of the Law, but by the Faith of Jesus Christ, and we beleeve in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the Faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the Law. If righteousnesse come by the Law, then Christ died in vain: That no man is justified by the Law, it is manifest, for a righteous man liveth by his Faith; but the Law is not of Faith. Moreover, since Christ the maker of heaven and earth, and all that therein is, behoved to die for us: We are compelled to grant, that we were so far drowned in sins, that neither the deeds, nor all the creatnres that ever God made or might make, might help us out of them: *Ergo*, No deeds nor works can make us righteous: No works make us unrighteous; for if any work made us unrighteous, then the contrary works would make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous; *Ergo*, No works make us unrighteous.

Works make us neither good nor evil.

IT is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous. *Ergo*, No works neither make us good nor evil; for righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil, another. Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man. But a good man maketh good works, and an evil man evil works; good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil. But a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works, for an evil tree cannot bear good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit. A good man is good before he do good works, and an evil man is evil before he do evil works; for the tree is good before it bear good fruit, and evil before it bear evil fruit. Every man is either good or evil; either make the tree good, and the fruit good also; or else make the tree evil, and the fruit likewise evil. Every mans work is either good or evil; for all fruit is either good or evil. Either make the tree good, and the fruit also, or else make
Matth 12. the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil. A good man is known by his
Matth. 7. works, for a good man doth good works, and an evil, evil works: Ye shall know them by their fruits: for a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree. *Beware of false Prophets which come unto you in sheeps cloathing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruit.*

None of our works either save us nor condemne us.

IT is proved that no works make us either righteous or unrighteous, good or evil: but first we are good, before that we do good works and evil before

before we do evil works: *Ergò*, No work either ſaveth us nor condemneth us. Thou wilt ſay, Then maketh it no matter what we do? I anſwer thee; Yes. For if thou do evil, it is a ſure argument that thou art evil, and wanteſt Faith: If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt Faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. Yet good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: So that man is good before he do good works; and evil before he do evil works. The man is the tree; the works are the fruit. Faith maketh the good tree; Incredulity the evil tree: Such a tree ſuch a fruit; ſuch man works. For all that is done in Faith pleaſeth God, and are good works: And all that is done without Faith diſpleaſeth God, and are evil works. Whoſoever thinketh to be ſaved by his works, denieth that Chriſt is our Saviour; and that Chriſt died for him; and finally all things that belongeth to Chriſt. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightſt ſave thy ſelf with thy works? Or to what end ſhould he have died for thee, if any works of thine might have ſaved thee? What, is this to ſay Chriſt died for thee? Is it not that thou ſhouldſt have died perpetually, and that Chriſt to deliver thee from death died for thee; and changed thy perpetuall death into his own death? for thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee, before ever thou waſt born, when thou hadſt done neither good nor evil. Now ſince he hath paid thy debt, thou dieſt not, no thou canſt not, but ſhouldeſt have been damned, if his death were not. But ſince he was puniſhed for thee thou ſhalt not be puniſhed. Finally, he hath delivered thee from condemnation, and deſireth nothing of thee, but that thou ſhouldeſt acknowledge what he hath done for thee; and bear it in minde; and that thou wouldeſt help others for his ſake both in word and deed, even as he hath helped thee, for nought, and without reward. O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodneſſe and gentleneſſe towards us? he is a good and a gentle Lord, and he doth all things for nought. Let us, I beſeech you, follow his footſteps, whom all the world ought to praiſe and worſhip. Amen.

Anno

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He that thinketh to be ſaved by his works, calleth himſelfe Chriſt.

FOr he calleth himſelfe a Saviour, which appertaineth to Chriſt onely. What is a Saviour? But he that ſaveth. And thou ſayeſt, I ſave my ſelfe, which is as much to ſay, as, I am Chriſt; for Chriſt is onely the Saviour of the world. We ſhould do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven or remiſſion of ſins through them. For whoſoever beleeveth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins through works, he beleeveth not to get that for Chriſts ſake. And they who beleeve that their ſins are not forgiven them; and that they ſhall not be ſaved for Chriſts ſake, they beleeve not the Goſpel; for the Goſpel ſaith, Thou ſhalt be ſaved for Chriſts ſake; Sins are forgiven you for Chriſts ſake. He that beleeveth not the Goſpel, beleeveth not God: And conſequently, they that beleeve to be ſaved by their works; or to get remiſſion of ſins by their own deeds, beleeve not God; but account him a liar, and ſo utterly deny him to be God. Thou wilt ſay, Shall we then do no good works? I ſay not ſo: But I ſay, we ſhould do no good works, to the intent to get the kingdom of heaven, or remiſſion of ſins; for if we beleeve to get the inheritance of heaven

Quære.
Anſwer.

Anno

through good works, then we beleeve not to get it through the promiſe of God. Or if we think to get remiſſion of our ſins, by good works, we believe not that they are forgiven us by Chriſt, and ſo we count God a liar; for God ſaith, Thou ſhalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Sons ſake. You ſay, It is not ſo, but I will gain it through mine own works. So I condemn not good works, but I condemn the falſe truſt in any works, for all then works that a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicate or impoyſoned, and become evil. Wherefore do good works, but beware thou do them not to get any good through them, for if thou do, thou receiveſt the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt unto thee, and makeſt thy ſelf fellow with God, becauſe thou wilt take nothing from him for nought. What? needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder heart will give us all things that we need, then we take it of him. So that if we want any thing, let us blame our ſelves. Preſſe not then to the inheritance of heaven, through preſumption of thy good works; for if thou doeſt, thou counteſt thy ſelf holy and equall unto him, becauſe thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; And ſo ſhalt thou fall as *Lucifer* fell from heaven for his pride. Thus ends M. *Patricks* Articles. And ſo we return to our Hiſtory. When thoſe cruell wolves had (as they ſuppoſed) clean devoured the prey, they found themſelves in worſe caſe then they were before; for then within S. *Andrews*, yea, almoſt within the whole Realm (who heard of that fact) there was none found who began not to inquire, wherefore M. *Patrike Hamilton* was burnt, and when his Articles were rehearſed, Queſtion was holden, if ſuch Articles were neceſſary to be beleeved, under the pain of damnation. And ſo within ſhort ſpace, many began to call in doubt, that which before they held for a certain verity, inſomuch that the Univerſity of S. *Andrews* and S. *Leonards* Colledge, principally by the labours of Maſter *Gawin Logy*, the Noviſes of the Abbey, and by the ſub-Prior, began to ſmell ſomewhat of the verity, and to eſpie the vanity of the received Superſtition; yea, within few yeers after began both black and gray Friers publikely to Preach againſt the pride and idle life of Biſhops, and againſt the abuſes of the whole Eccleſiaſticall eſtate; amongſt whom was one called *Will. Arithe*, who in a Sermon preached in *Dundie*, ſpake ſomewhat more liberally againſt the licentious life of the Biſhops, then they could well bear. He ſpake further againſt the abuſe of curſing and of Miracles. The Biſhop of *Brechain*, having his Paraſites and Jack-men in the Towne, buffeted the Frier, and called him Hereticke. The Frier impatient of the injury received, paſt to S. *Andrews*, and did communicate the heads of his Sermon with Maſter *John Mair*, whoſe word then was holden as an Oracle, in matters of Religion; and being aſſured of him, that ſuch Doctrine might well be defended, and that he would defend it, for it contained no Hereſie. There was one day appointed to the ſaid Frier, to make repetition of the ſame Sermon: and advertiſement was given to all ſuch as was offended at the former, to be preſent. And ſo in the Pariſh Church of S. *Andrews* upon the day appointed, appeared the ſaid Frier, and had amongſt his Auditors, M. *Iſſohn Mair*, M. *George Lockart*, the Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, M. *Patricke Hepburn* Prior of Saint *Andrews*, with all the Doctours, and Maſters of the Univerſities.

1. Note.

Note.

Here you ſee verified, *Cinis Martyrum, ſemen Eccleſiæ.*

M. *Gawyn Logy.*

Munks Preach Biſhops devices

M. *Iohn Mair*, whoſe Hiſtory of *Scotland* we have, &c. He wrote upon the 4 Evangeliſts, &c.

The

The theme of his Sermon was; *Verity is the ſtrongeſt of all things.* His diſcourſe of curſing was That if it were warily uſed, it were the moſt fearfull thing upon the face of the earth; for it were the very ſeparation of man from God; but that it ſhould not be uſed raſhly, and for every light cauſe, but onely againſt open and incorrigible ſinners: but now, ſaid he, the avarice of Prieſts, and the ignorance of their Office, hath cauſed it altogether to be vile-pended. For the Prieſt (ſaith he) whoſe Duty and Office is to pray for the people, ſtandeth up on Sunday, and cryeth, *Anne* has loſt her Spindle; There is a Flail ſtollen behinde the barne; The goodwife on the other ſide of the gate hath loſt a horne ſpoon; Gods curſe and mine I give to them that knoweth of thy goods, and reſtoreth them not. How the people mocked their curſing, he further told a merry tale, How after a Sermon that he made at *Dumfermeling*, he came to a houſe where goſſips were drinking their Sundayes penny; and he being drie, asked drink; Yes Father (ſaid one of the goſſips) ye ſhall have drinke, but ye muſt firſt reſolve one doubt which is riſen among us, to wit, What ſervant will ſerve a man beſt at leaſt expences? The good Angel, ſaid I, who is mans keeper, who maketh good ſervice without expences. Tuſh, ſaid the goſſip, we mean no ſuch high matters; we mean, What honeſt man will do greateſt ſervice for leaſt expences. And while I was muſing (ſaid the Frier) what that ſhould mean, ſhe ſaid, *I ſee, father, that the greateſt Clerks are not the wiſeſt men.* Know ye not how the Biſhops and their Officials ſerve us husbandmen, Will they not give to us a letter of curſing for a plack, to laſt for a yeare, to curſe all that look over our ditch, and that keep our Corne better nor the ſleeping boy that will have three ſhillings of Fee, a ſhirt, and a pair of ſhooes in the yeer. And therefore if their curſing do any thing, we hold the Biſhops the cheapeſt ſervants in that behalf, that are within the Realme. As concerning Miracles, he declared what deligence the ancients took to try true miracles from falſe. But now, ſaid he, the greedineſſe of Prieſts not onely receive falſe miracles, but alſo they cheriſh and hire knaves for that purpoſe, that their Chappels may be the better renowned, and Offerings may be augmented. And thereupon are many Chappels founded, as that if our Lady were mightier, and that ſhe took more pleaſure in one place than in another; As of late dayes our Lady of *Karſgreng* hath hopped from one green hillock to another: But honeſt men of Saint *Andrewes* (ſaid he) if ye love your wives and daughters, hold them at home, or elſe ſend them in good honeſt company; for if ye knew what miracles were wrought there, ye would neither thank God nor our Lady. And thus he meerly tanted their Prieſts of whoredome and adultery uſed at ſuch devotion.

Anno

Arbtha his Sermon.

False Miracles.

Another Article was judged more hard; for he alleadged the common Law, That the Civill Magiſtrate might correct the Church-men, and deprive them of their Benefices for open vices. Another day the ſame Frier made another Sermon of the Abbot of *Unreaſon*, unto whom, and whoſe Laws; he compareth Prelats of that age; for they were ſubject to no Laws, no more than was the Abbot of *Unreaſon*. And among other things, he told ſuch a merry jeſt: There was, ſaid he, a Prelate, or at leaſt a Prelats Peere, a true ſervant to the King of Love, who upon a night after

Sup-

Anno Supper, asked of his Gentlemen, by the faith that they ought to the king of Love, that they truely declare how many ſundry women every one of them had, and how many of them were mens wives. One anſwered, He had lien with five, and two of them were married. The other anſwered, I have had ſeven, and three of them are married. It came laſt to my Lord Abbot himſelf, who making it very nice for a little ſpace, gave in the end a plain confeſſion, and ſaid, I am the youngeſt man, and yet have I had the round dozen, and ſeven of them are mens wives. Now ſaid the Frier, This god and king of Love, to whom our Prelates do homage, is the maſter devill of hell, from whom ſuch fruits and works do proceed. This Frier was known by his proper tokens to have been Prior *Patrike Hepburne*, now Biſhop of *Murray*, who to this day hath continued in the profeſſion that he hath made to his god and king of love.

It was ſuppoſed, notwithſtanding this kinde of preaching, that this Frier remained Papiſt in his heart: For the other Friers fearing to loſe the *Benediction* of the Biſhops, to wit, Their *Malt and their Meale*, and their other appointed Penſions, cauſed the ſaid Frier to flie to *England*, where for defence of the people and Papiſtry, he was caſt into priſon at King *Henries* commandment. But ſo it pleaſed God to open the mouth of *Balaams* own Aſſe to cry out againſt the vitious lives of the Clergie of that age.

Shortly after this, new conſultation was taken there that ſome ſhould be burnt; for men began liberally to ſpeak. A merry Gentleman named *John Lindſey*, familiar to Biſhop *James Betonne*, ſtanding by when conſultation was had, ſaid, My Lord, If ye burne any more, except ye follow my counſell, ye will utterly deſtroy your ſelves; if ye will burne them, let them be burnt in hollow Cellars; for the ſmoke of Maſter *Patrike Hammilton* hath infected as many as it blew upon. Thus it pleaſed God that they ſhould be tanted in their own face. But here followeth the moſt merry of all: One *Alexander Furrour*, who had been impriſoned ſeven yeers in the Tower of *London*, Sir *John Dungwaill* (according to the charity of Church-men) entertained his wife, and waſted the poor mans ſubſtance; for the which cauſe at his returning, he ſpake more liberally of Prieſts, then they could bear: And ſo was he declared to be accuſed for hereſie, and called to his anſwer to Saint *Andrewes*, he leapt up merrily upon the Scaffold, and caſting a gambade, ſaid, Where are the reſt of the Players? Maſter *Andrew Olyphant* offended therewith, ſaid, It ſhall be no Play to you, Sir, before ye depart, and ſo began to reade his Accuſation; the firſt Article whereof was, *That he deſpiſed the Maſſe.* His anſwer was, *I heare more Maſſes in eight dayes, than three Biſhops there ſitting ſay in a yeare.* Accuſed ſecondly of *the contempt of the Sacraments. The Prieſts*, ſaid he, *were the moſt common contemners of Sacraments, and ſpecially of Matrimony.* And that he witneſſed by many of the Prieſts there preſent, and named the mans wife with whom they had medled, and eſpecially Sir *Iohn Dungwaill*, who had ſeven yeers together abuſed his own wife, and conſumed his ſubſtance; and ſaid, becauſe I complain of ſuch injuries, I am here ſummoned and accuſed as one that is worthy to be burnt: For Gods ſake, ſaid he, will ye take wives of your own, that I and others whom ye have abuſed, may be revenged upon you. Then Biſhop *Gawin Dumbar*, named the old Biſhop of *Aberdein*, thinking to juſtifie himſelf

Alexander Furrour his Examination before the Biſhops.

ſelf before the people, ſaid, Carle, thou ſhalt not know my wife. The ſaid *Alexander* anſwered, My Lord, ye are too old, but with the grace of God I ſhall drink with your daughter or I depart, and thereat was ſmiling of the beſt, and loud laughter of ſome, for the Biſhop had a daughter married with *Andrew Balfour* in that Town. Then the Biſhop bade away with the carle. But he anſwered, Nay, I will not depart this hour, for I have more to ſpeak againſt the vices of Prieſts, than I can expreſſe this whole day. And ſo after divers purpoſes, they commanded him to burn his Bill. And he demanding the cauſe, they ſaid, Becauſe ye have ſpoken theſe Articles whereof ye are accuſed. His anſwer was, The great devill beare them away that firſt and laſt ſaid them; and ſo he took the Bill, and chawing it, he ſpat it in Maſter *Andrew Olyphants* face, ſaying, Now burn it or drown it, whether ye wil, ye hear no more of me. But I muſt have ſomewhat of every one of you, to begin my pack againe, which a Prieſt and my wife, a Prieſts whore, have ſpent. And ſo every Prelat and rich Prieſt, glad to be quit of his evill, gave him ſomewhat, and ſo departed he, for he underſtood nothing of Religion. But ſo fearfull it was then to ſpeak any thing againſt Prieſts, that the leaſt word ſpoken againſt them, yea, albeit it was ſpoken in a mans ſleep, was judged Hereſie, and that was practiſed upon *Richard Carmichell*, yet living in *Fyfe*, who being young, and Singer in the Chappel Royal of *Sterelin*, happened in his ſleep to ſay, The devill take away the Prieſts, for they are a greedy pack. He therefore accuſed by Sir *George Clapperton*, Dean of the ſaid Chappel, was compelled forthwith to burne his Bill. But God ſhortly after raiſed up againſt them ſtronger Champions: For *Alexander Seton*, a black Frier, of good learning and eſtimation, began to blame the corrupt doctrine of Papiſtry. For the ſpace of a whole Lent, he taught the Commandment onely, ever beating in the ears of his auditors, That the Law of God had of many yeers not been truely taught: for mens Tradition had obſcured the purity of it. Theſe were his accuſtomed Propoſitions; 1. Chriſt Jeſus is the end and perfection of the Law. 2. There is no ſin, where Gods Law is not violated. 3. To ſatisfie for ſins, lies not in mans power; but the remiſſion thereof cometh by unfained Repentance, and by faith apprehending God the Father mercifull in Jeſus Chriſt his Son. While oftentimes he puts his auditors in minde of this and the like Heads; he maketh no mention of Purgatory, Pardons, Pilgrimage, prayer to Saints, nor of ſuch trifles. The dumb Doctors, and the reſt of that forſworne rabble began to ſuſpect him, and yet ſaid they nothing publikely, till Lent was ended. And he paſſed to *Dundie*: And then one in his abſence, hired to that purpoſe, openly condemned the whole Doctrine that before he had taught. Which coming to the ears of the ſaid Frier *Alexander*, then being in *Dundie*, without delay he returned to Saint *Andrewes*, cauſed immediately to toll the Bell, and to give ſignification that he would preach, as that he did indeed, in the which Sermon he affirmeth (and that more plainly than at any other time) whatſoever in all his whole Sermons he had taught before, the whole Lent paſt; adding, That within *Scotland* there were no true Biſhops, if that Biſhops ſhould be known by ſuch notes and vertues as S. *Paul* requires in Biſhops. This delation flew with wings to the Biſhops ears, who with-

Anno

Alexander Seton, a black Frier.

Note.

Anno out further delay ſent for the ſaid Friar *Alexander*, who began ſharply to accuſe that he had ſo ſlanderouſly ſpoken of the dignitie of Biſhops, as to ſay, That it behoved a Biſhop to be a Preacher, or elſe he were but a dumb dog, and fed not the flock, but fed his own bellie. The man being witty, and minding that which was his moſt aſſured defence, ſaid, My Lord, The reporters of ſuch things are manifeſt liars. Whereat the Biſhop rejoyced, and ſaid, Your anſwer pleaſeth me well; I never could think of you that ye would be ſo fooliſh as to affirm ſuch things: Where are the knaves that have brought me this tale? Who comparing and affirming the ſame that they did before, he ſtill replyed, That they were liers. But while the witneſſes were multiplied, and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the Biſhop, and ſaid, My Lord, ye may hear and conſider, what ears theſe Aſſes have, who cannot diſcern betwixt *Paul*, *Eſay*, *Zachary*, and *Malachy*, and Frier *Alexander Seton*. In very deed, My Lord, I ſaid, That *Paul* ſaith, It behoveth a Biſhop to be a Teacher; *Eſay* ſaid, That they that fed not the flock are dumb dogs; and *Zachary* ſaith, They are idle Paſtors: I of mine own head affirmed nothing, but declared what the Spirit of God before pronounced: At whom, my Lord, if ye be not offended, juſtly ye cannot be offended at me. And ſo yet again, my Lord, I ſay, That they are manifeſt liars that reported unto you that I ſaid, That ye and others that preach not, are no Biſhops, but belly-gods. Albeit after that the Biſhop was highly offended, as well at the ſcoffe and bitter mock, as at the bold liberty of that learned man, yet durſt he not hazard for that preſent, to execute his malice conceived. For nought only feareth he the learning, and bold ſpirit of the man, but alſo the favour that he had, as well of the people, as of the Prince, King *James* the fifth, with whom he had good credite, for he was at that time his Confeſſor, and had exhorted him to the fear of God, to the meditation of Gods Law, and unto purity of life. But the ſaid Biſhop, with his complices, foreſeeing what danger might come to their eſtate, if ſuch familiarity ſhould continue betwixt the Prince and a man ſo learned, and ſo repugning to their affections, laboureth by all means to make the ſaid Frier *Alexander* odious unto the King, and eaſily found the means by the gray Friers (who by their hypocriſie deceived many) to traduce the innocent as an Heretick. This accuſation was eaſily believed of the young Prince; who being much given to the luſts of the fleſh, abhorred all counſell that repugned thereto. And becauſe he did remember what a terrour the admonitions of the ſaid *Alexander* was unto his blinded conſcience, without reſiſtance he ſubſcribed to their accuſation, affirming that he knew more then they did in that matter. For he underſtood well enough that he ſmelled of the new Doctrine, by ſuch things as he had ſhewed to him under Confeſſion. And therefore he promiſed that he ſhould follow the counſell of the Biſhops in puniſhing of him, and of all others of that Sect. Theſe things underſtood by the ſaid *Alexander*, as well by the information of his friends and familiars, as by the ſtrange countenance of the King unto him; provideth the next way to avoid the fury of a miſled Prince, and ſo in his habit he departeth the Realme; and coming to *Berwicke*, wrote back again to the King his Complaint and Admonition;

Note.

James the fifth.

Note.

nition; The very Tenour and Copy whereof followeth, and is this. Anno

Alexander Stum his Letter.

MOſt gracious Soveraigne Lord, under the Lord and King of all, of whom onely thy Highneſſe and Majeſtie haſt power and authority, to exerciſe Juſtice within this thy Realme under God, who is King and Lord of all Realms, and thy Majeſtie, and all mortall kings are but onely ſervants unto that onely immortall Prince, Chriſt Jeſus, &c. It is not, I wot, unknowne to thy gracious Highneſſe, how that thy Majeſties ſometime ſervant and Orator (and ever ſhall be to my lives end) is departed out of thy Realm, unto the next adjacent of *England*; nevertheleſſe, I believe the cauſe of my departing is unknown to thy gracious Majeſty: Which onely is, Becauſe the Biſhops and Church-men of thy Realm have had heretofore ſuch authority upon thy ſubjects, that apparently they were rather King, and thou the ſubject; which unjuſt Regiment is of it ſelf falſe, and contrary to holy Scripture, and Gods Law. Then thou art the King and Maſter, and they thy ſubjects, which is very true, and teſtified expreſly by the Word of God. And alſo becauſe they will give no man of any degree or ſtate (whom they often call Hereticks) audience, time, nor place to ſpeak and have defence, which is againſt all Law, both the old Law (called the Law of *Moſes*) and the new Law of the Goſpel. So that if I might have had audience and place to ſpeak, and have ſhewed my juſt defence, conformable to the Law of God, I ſhould never have fled to any other Realm, ſuppoſe it ſhould have coſt me my life. But becauſe I believed that I ſhould have no audience, nor place to anſwer (they are ſo great with thy Majeſtie) I departed not doubting, but moved of God, unto a better time, that God illuminate thy Majeſtie, even to give every man audience (as thou ſhouldſt and mayſt, and is bound by the Law of God) who are accuſed to the death. And to certifie thy Highneſſe that theſe are no vain words, but of deed and effect, here I offer me to thy Majeſtie to come in thy Realme again, ſo that thy Majeſtie will give me audience, and hear what I have for me of the Law of God: and cauſe any Biſhop or Abbot, Friar or Secular, which is moſt cunning (ſome of them cannot reade their Mattins, who are made Judges of Hereſie) to impugne me by the Law of God; and if my part be found wrong, thy Majeſtie being preſent and Judge; I refuſe no pain worthy or condigne for my fault. And if that I convince them by the Law of God, and that they have nothing to lay to my charge; but the law of man, and their own inventions to uphold their own glory and pridefull life, and daily ſcourging of thy poor ſubjects, I refer my ſelf to thy Majeſtie as Judge, Whether he hath the victory that holds him at the Law of God, which cannot fail, or be falſe, or they that holds them at the Law of man, which is very oft plain contrary, and againſt the Law of God; and therefore of neceſſity falſe, and full of lies. For all things that is contrary to the veritie (which is Chriſt and his Law) is of neceſſity a lie. And to witneſſe that this comes of all my heart, I ſhall remain at *Berwike* while I get thy Majeſties anſwer, and ſhall without fail return, having thy hand write, that I may have audience, & place to ſpeak. No more I deſire of thee, whereof if I had been ſure, I ſhould never

Anno have departed; and that thou mayſt know the truth thereof, if fear of the juſtneſſe of my Cauſe, or dread of perſecution for the ſame, had moved me to depart, I could not ſo pleaſantly revert, onely diſtruſt was the cauſe of my departing. Pardon me to ſay that which lieth to thy Majeſties charge. Thou art bound by the Law of God (ſuppoſe they falſly lie, ſaying it pertaineth not to thy Majeſtie to intermeddle with ſuch matters) to cauſe every man in any caſe accuſed of his life, to have their juſt defence & their accuſers produced conform to their own law. They blinde thy Matie eyes, that knows nothing of thy law: but if I prove not this out of their own law, I offer me to the death. Thy Matie therefore by experience, may daily learn (ſeeing they neither fear the King of Heaven, as their lives teſtifie, neither thee their Naturall Prince, as their uſurped power in their actions ſhews) why thy Highnes ſhould be no longer blinded. Thou maiſt conſider that they pretend nothing elſe, but onely the maintenance and upholding of their barded mules, augmenting of their inſatiable avarice, and continuall overthrowing and ſwallowing up thy poore ſubjects; neither preaching nor teaching out of the Law of God (as they ſhould) the rude ignorant people, but contend who may be moſt high, moſt rich, and neereſt thy Majeſty; to put thy Temporal Lords and Lieges out of thy counſell and favour, who ſhould be, and are moſt tender ſervants to thy Majeſty in all time of need, to the defence of thee and thy Crown: And where they deſire thy Majeſty to to put out thy Temporal Lords and Lieges, becauſe they deſpiſe their vitious life, What elſe intend they, but onely thy death and deſtruction, as thou maiſt eaſily perceive: ſuppoſe they colour their falſe intent and minde with the purſuit of hereſie; for when thy Barons are put downe, What art thou but the king of Land, and not of men, and then of neceſſity muſt be guided by them: and there (no doubt) where a blinde man is guide, muſt be a fall in the mire. Therefore let thy Majeſty take boldnes and authority, which thou haſt of God, and ſuffer not their cruell perſecution to proceed, without audience given to him that is accuſed, and juſt place of defence: and then, no doubt, thou ſhalt have thy ſubjects hearts, and all that they can or may do in time of need, tranquility, juſtice, and policy, and finally, the Kingdom of the heavens. May it pleaſe you to give one Copy of this to the Clergie, and keep the Original, and thy Majeſtie ſhall have experience, if I go againſt one word that I have ſpoken. I ſhall daily make my hearty devotion for thy Majeſtie, and for the proſperity and welfare of thy body and ſoul. I doubt not but thy gracious Highneſſe will give anſwer to this Letter, unto the Preſenter of it unto thy Highneſſe. At *Berwike*, by thy Highneſſe ſervant and Orator. *Sic ſubſcribitur*, *Alexander Seton.*

This Letter was delivered to the Kings own hands, and of many read; but what could greatly avail, where the pride and corruption of Prelats commanded what they pleaſed; and the flattery of Courtiers foſtered the unadviſed Prince in all diſſoluteneſſe, by which means they made him obſequious unto them. From the death of that conſtant Witneſſe of Jeſus Chriſt, M. *Patrike Hammilton*, God diſcloſing the wickedneſſe of the wicked, as before we have heard. There was one *Forreſt* of *Linlytquow* taken, who

There was another Frier *Forreſt* hanged in *Smithfield*, 1538.

who after long impriſonment in the ſaid Tower of S. *Andrews* was adjudged to the fire, by the ſaid Biſhop *James Betonne* and his Doctors, for no other crime, but becauſe he had a new Teſtament in Engliſh. Further of that Hiſtory we have not, except that he died conſtantly, and with great patience at S. *Andrews*. After whoſe death the flame of Perſecution ceaſed, till the death of M. *Norman Gurlaw*, the ſpace of ten yeeres, or thereabout, not that the bloody beaſts ceaſed by all means to ſuppreſſe the lyght of God, and to trouble ſuch as in any ſort were ſuſpected to abhorre their corruption; but becauſe the Realme in theſe times was troubled with inteſtine and cruell warres, in the which much blood was ſhed; firſt at *Melroſſe*, betwixt the *Dowglas* and *Balclench*, in the yeere of God 1526. the 24. day of July: Next at *Lynlythcow*, betwixt the *Hamiltons* and the Earle of *Lenox*, who was ſiſters ſon to the Earle of *Arran*, where the ſaid Earle with many others loſt his life, the thirteenth day of September, in the ſame yeere: And laſt, betwixt the King himſelf and the foreſaid *Dowglas*, whom he baniſhed the Realme, and held him in exile during his whole dayes. By reaſon of theſe, we ſay, and of other troubles, the Biſhops and their bloody bands could not finde the time ſo favourable unto them as they required, to execute their Tyrannie.

Anno

Note.

For 10 yeers the perſecution ceaſeth.

In this middle time, ſo did the wiſedome of God provide, that *Henry* the eight, King of *England*, did aboliſh from his Realme the name and authority of the Pope of *Rome*, commanded the Bible to be read in *Engliſh*, ſuppreſſed the Abbeys and other places of Idolatry, with their Idols, which gave great hope to divers Realmes, that ſome godly Reformation ſhould thereof have enſued: And therefore from this out Countrey did divers learned men, and others that lived in feare of Perſecution, repaire to that Realme, where albeit they found not ſuch purity as they wiſhed (and therefore divers of them ſought other countreys) yet they eſcaped the tyrannie of mercileſſe men, and were reſerved to better times, that they might fructifie within his Church in divers places and parts, and in divers vocations. *Alexander Setonne* remained in *England*, and publikely (with great praiſe and comfort of many) taught the Goſpel in all ſincerity certain yeers. And albeit the craftineſſe of *Gardner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and of others, circumvented the ſaid *Alexander*, ſo that they cauſed him at *Pauls* Croſſe, to affirme certaine things that repugned to his former Doctrine: yet it is no doubt but that God potently had aſſiſted him in all his life, and that alſo in his death (which ſhortly after followed) he found the mercy of his God, whereupon he ever exhorted all men to depend. *Alexander Alaſius*, Maſter *John Fyſe*, and that famous man Doctor *Machabeus* departed unto Dutchland, where by Gods providence they were diſtributed to ſeverall places. *Makdowell* for his ſingular prudence, beſides his Learning and Godlineſſe, was elected borrow-Maſter in one of their ſteads. *Alaſius* was appointed to the Univerſitie of *Lipſia*, and ſo was Maſter *John Fyſe*, where for their honeſt behaviour and great erudition they were holden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour, credit, and eſtimation Doctour *Machabeus* was, with *Chriſtian*, king of *Denmark*, *Cawpmanhowen* and famous men of divers nations can teſtifie. This did God provide for his ſervants, and did fruſtrate the expe-

1534.
1538.

The civil troubles give ſome reſt to Gods flock for a time.

Note.

Macdowel.

Alaſius.

John Fyſe.

Machabeus.

Note.

Anno ſtation of theſe bloody beaſts, who by the death of one (he meanes M. *Patrick Hamilton*) in whom the lyght of God did clearly ſhine, intended to have ſuppreſſed Chriſts Trueth for ever within this Realme, but the contrary had God decreed: for his death was the cauſe (as is ſaid) that many did awake from the deadly ſleep of ignorance; and ſo did Jeſus Chriſt the onely true Lyght ſhine unto many, for the way taken of one. And albeit that theſe notable men did never after (M. *John Fyfe* onely excepted) comfort their countrey with their bodily preſence, yet made he them fructifie in his Church, and raiſed them up Lyghts out of darkneſſe, to the praiſe of his own mercy, and to the juſt condemnation of them that then ruled; To wit, of the King, Counſell, and Nobility, yea, of the whole people, who ſuffered ſuch notable perſonages without crimes, counted to be unjuſtly perſecuted, and ſo exiled; others were after even ſo dealt withall, but of them we ſhall ſpeak in their own place.

No ſooner gate the Biſhops opportunity (which alwayes they ſought) but ſo ſoon renewed they the battell againſt Jeſus Chriſt. For the aforeſaid leprous Biſhop in the yeere of God 1534. cauſed to be ſummoned Sir *William Kyrk*, *Adam Dayis*, *Henry Kernes*, *John Stewart* of *Leyth*, with divers others, ſuch as Maſter *William Johnſton* Advocate, Maſter *Henry Henderſon*, Schoole-maſter of *Edenburgh*, of whom ſome compeered in the Abbey Kyrk of *Halyrud-houſe*, and ſo abjured; and publikely burnt their Bills: others compeered not, and therefore was exiled. But in judgement were produced two, to wit, *David Straton*, a Gentleman, and Maſter *Norman Gowrlay*, a man of reaſonable erudition, of whom we may ſhortly ſpeak. In Maſter *Norman* appeared knowledge, albeit joyned with weakneſſe; But in *David Straton* could onely be eſpied for the firſt, a hatred againſt the pride and avariciouſneſſe of Prieſts, for the cauſe of his delation was, he had made to himſelfe one Fiſh-boat to go to the ſea; The Biſhop of *Murray*, then being Prior of Saint *Andrews*, and his agents, urged him for the tythe thereof; His anſwer was, If they would have tythe of that which his ſervants wan in the ſea, it were but reaſon that they ſhould come and receive it where they got the ſtocke, and ſo as it was conſtantly affirmed, he cauſed his ſervants to caſt the tenth fiſh in the ſea again: Proceſſe of curſing was laid againſt him for not paying ſuch tythes, which when he contemned, he was ſummoned to anſwer for *Hereſie*. It troubled him vehemently, and therefore he began to frequent the company of ſuch as were godly; for before he had been a man very ſtubborne, and one that deſpiſed all reading (chiefly of thoſe things that were godly) but miraculouſly, as it were, he appeareth to be changed, for he delighteth in nothing but in hearing of reading (for himſelfe could not reade) and was a vehement exhorter of all men to concord and quietneſſe, and the contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of the Laird of *Dun Areskin*, whom God in thoſe daies had marvellouſly illuminated: upon a day as the Laird of *Lawriſton* that yet liveth, then being a young man, was reading unto him in the New Teſtament, in a certain quiet place in the fields, as God had appointed, he chanced to read theſe Sentences of our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt; *He that denieth me before men, or is aſhamed of me in the midſt of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the preſence of my Father, and*

1534. This yeere was Lawes made againſt the Reformation, the Pope having ſent to *Scotland* a Legat the yeere before.

6 Accuſed for Hereſie.

Note.

and before his Angels. At which words, he ſuddenly being as one revived, caſt himſelfe upon his knees, and extending both hand and viſage conſtantly to the heaven a reaſonable time, at length he burſt forth in theſe words; *O Lord, I have been wicked, and juſtly mayeſt thou withdraw thy grace from me: but Lord, for thy mercies ſake, let me never deny thee, nor thy Trueth, for fear of death or corporall paine.* The iſſue declared that his prayer was not vain; for when he with the aforeſaid Maſter *Norman*, was produced in judgement in the Abbey of *Halyrud-Houſe*, the King himſelfe (all clad in red) being preſent, great labour was made, that the ſaid *David Straton* ſhould have recanted, and burnt his Bill: But he ever ſtanding at his defence, alleadging that he had not offended, in the end was adjudged to the fire, and then when he perceived the danger, asked grace at the King (which he would willingly have granted unto him) the Biſhops proudly anſwered, That the Kings hands were bound in that caſe, and that he had no grace to give, to ſuch as by their Law were condemned. And ſo was he with the ſaid Maſter *Norman*, after dinner, upon the ſeven and twentieth day of Auguſt, in the yeere of our Lord 1534. aforeſaid, led to a place beſides the *roode of greene ſide:* and there they two were both hanged and burnt, according to the mercy of the Papiſticall Church. To that ſame diet were ſummoned as before we have ſaid, others of whom ſome eſcaped into *England*, and ſo for that preſent eſcaped the death. This their tyranny, notwithſtanding, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increaſe within this Realme, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference which in thoſe dangerous dayes was uſed to the comfort of many; but chiefly by Merchants and Mariners, who frequenting other countreys, heard the true Doctrine affirmed, and the vanity of the Papiſticall Religion openly rebuked: Amongſt whom were thoſe of *Dondie* and *Lieth* principals, againſt whom was made a very ſtrait inquiſition, by *David Beton*, cruell Cardinall. And divers were compelled to abjure and burne their Bills, ſome in Saint *Andrews*, and ſome at *Edinburgh*. About the ſame time, Captaine *Iohn Borthwick* Provoſt of *Lithcow*, was burnt in figure, but by Gods providence eſcaped their furie. And this was done for a ſpectacle, and triumph to *Mary* of *Lorraine*, lately arrived from *France*, as wife to *Iames* the fifth King of Scots: what plagues ſhe brought with her, and how they yet continue, ſuch as are not blinde may manifeſtly ſee. The rage of theſe bloody beaſts proceeded ſo farre, that the Kings Court it ſelfe eſcaped not that danger; for in it divers were ſuſpected, and ſome accuſed. And yet ever did ſome lyght burſt out in the midſt of darkneſſe; for the trueth of Chriſt Jeſus entred even into the Cloiſters as well of Friars and Monks as of Channons. *Iohn Lyn*, a gray Frier, left his hypocriticall habit, and the den of thoſe murtherers, the gray Friers. A black Frier, called Frier *Killor*, ſet forth the Hiſtory of Chriſts paſſion in forme of a Play, which he both Preached and practiſed openly in *Sterlin*, the King himſelfe being preſent upon a Good-Friday in the Morning, in the which all things were ſo lively expreſſed, that the very ſimple people underſtood and confeſſed, That as the Prieſts and obſtinate Phariſees perſwaded the people to refuſe Chriſt Jeſus, and cauſed *Pilate* to condemne him;

So

Anno

2 Gentlemen *Straton* and *Gowdy* burnt.

See how the Biſhops did intrench upon the good diſpoſition of the King, and his Soveraigne.

1534.

Burning of the Bill was a ſigne of recantation.

1537. *Liſly* writes this done 1540. *Iohn Berthwick* fled into *England*, from whence *Henry* ſent him into *Germany* to the Proteſtant Princes.

Anno

So did the Biſhops, and men called Religious, blinde the people, and perſwade Princes and Judges to perſecute ſuch as profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus his bleſſed Goſpel. This plain ſpeaking ſo inflamed the hearts of all that bare the Beaſts mark, that they ceaſed not, till the ſaid Friar *Killor*, and with him Frier *Beaverege*, Sir *Duncane Symſon*, *Robert Foreſter* Gentleman, and Deane *Thomas Forrat*, Channon regular, and Vicar of *Dolour*, a man of upright life, who altogether were cruelly murthered in one fire upon the Caſtle hill the laſt of February, in the yeere of our Lord 1538. This cruelty was uſed by the aforeſaid Cardinall, the Chancellour, the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and the inceſtuous Biſhop of *Dumblane*. After that this cruelty was uſed in *Edinburgh* upon the Caſtle hill, to the effect that the reſt of the Biſhops might ſhew themſelves no leſſe fervent to ſuppreſſe the lyght of God, then he of S. *Andrews* was, were apprehended two of the Dioceſſe of *Glaſgow*; The one named *Feronimus Ruſſell*, a gray Frier, a young man, of a meeke nature, quicke ſpirit, and good Learning; And one *Alexander Kennedie*, who paſſed not eighteen yeers of age, one of excellent wit in vulgar Poeſie. To aſſiſt the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* in that cruell judgement, or at leaſt to dip his hands in the blood of the Saints of God, were ſent Maſter *John Lawdar*, Maſter *Andrew Olyphant*, and Frier *Meitman*, ſervants of Satan, apt for that purpoſe; The day appointed to the cruelty approached; The two poore Saints of God were preſented before thoſe bloody butchers, grievous were the crimes that were laid to their charge: *Kennedie* at the firſt was faint, and gladly would have recanted: but while the place of repentance was denied unto him, the ſpirit of God, which is the ſpirit of all comfort, began to work in him; yea, the inward comfort began to burſt forth, as well in viſage, as in tongue and word, for his countenance began to be cheerfull, and with a joyfull voice upon his knees he ſaid; *O eternall God, how wonderfull is that love and mercy that thou beareſt unto mankinde, and unto me the moſt caitife and miſerable wretch above all others; For, even now, when I would have denied thee, and thy Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt my onely Saviour, and ſo have caſt my ſelf into everlaſting damnation; Thou by thine own hand haſt pulled me from the very bottome of hell, and made me to feele that heavenly comfort, which takes from me that ungodly feare wherewith before I was oppreſſed. Now I deſie death, do what ye pleaſe; I praiſe my God, I am ready.* The godly and learned *Feronimus*, railed upon by theſe godleſſe Tyrants, anſwered; *This is your houre, and power of darkneſſe, Now ſit ye as Judges, and we ſtand wrongfully accuſed, and more wrongfully to be condemned; but the day ſhall come, when our innocencie ſhall appeare, and that ye ſhall ſee your own blindneſſe, to your everlaſting confuſion. Go forward, and fulfill the meaſure of your iniquity.* While that theſe ſervants of God thus behaved themſelves, a variance ariſeth betwixt the Biſhop and the beaſts that came from the Cardinall; For the Biſhop ſaid, *I thinke it better to ſpare theſe men, then to put them to death:* Whereat the idiot Doctors offended, ſaid, *What will ye do my Lord? will ye condemne all that my Lord Cardinall and the other Biſhops and we have done? If ſo ye do, ye ſhew your ſelfe enemy to the Church and us, and ſo we will repute you, be ye aſſured.* At which words, the faithleſſe man afraid, adjudged the innocents to die, according to the deſire of the wicked. The meeke and gentle *Feronimus Ruſſell* comforted

Foure burnt.

1538.

1539.

Ieronie Ruſſell.

Alex. Kennedie.

Kennedie his thanks to God.

His ſpeech to the Judges.

Note.

Anno

comforted the other with many comfortable ſentences, oft ſaying unto him, *Brother, fear not, more mighty is he that is in us, than he that is in the world: the pain that we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort, and ſhall be light; but our joy and conſolation ſhall neuer have end: and therefore let us contend to enter in, unto our Maſter and Saviour, by the ſame ſtrait way which he hath taken before us: Death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed already by him for whoſe ſake we ſuffer.* With theſe and the like comfortable ſentences they paſſed to the place of execution, and conſtantly triumphed over death and Sathan, even in the midſt of the flaming fire. And thus did thoſe cruell beaſts intend nothing but murther in all the quarters of this Realme: for ſo far had they blinded and corrupted the inconſiderate Prince, that he gave himſelf to obey the tyrannie of thoſe bloodie beaſts: and he made a ſolemne Vow, That none ſhould be ſpared that was ſuſpect of Hereſie, yea, although it were his own ſon. To preſſe and puſh him forward in this his fury, he lacked not flatters enow; for many of his Minions were penſioners to Prieſts: Amongſt whom, *Oliver Synclare*, yet remaining enemy to God, was principall. And yet did not God ceaſe to give that blinded Prince documents that ſome ſudden puniſhment was to fall upon him, if he did not repent, and amend his life; and that his own mouth did confeſſe: For after that Sir *James Hamilton* was beheaded (juſtly or unjuſtly we diſpute not) this Viſion came unto him, as to his familiars himſelf did declare) the ſaid Sir *James* appeared unto him, having in his hands a drawn ſword, with the which he ſtroke from the King both the arms, ſaying to him theſe words, *Take that, till thou receive a finall payment for all thy impiety.* This Viſion with ſorrowful countenance, he ſhewed on the morrow, and ſhortly thereafter died his two ſons, both within the ſpace of 24 hours, yea, ſome ſay within the ſpace of ſix hours. In his own preſence *George Steill*, his greateſt flatterer, and greateſt enemy to God that was in his Court, dropped off his horſe, and died not ſaying one word that ſame day, that in audience of many, the ſaid *George* had refuſed his portion of Chriſts Kingdom, if the prayers of the Virgin *Mary* ſhould not bring him thereto. How terrible a Viſion the ſaid Prince ſaw lying in *Lintlightow* that night that *Thomas Scot*, Juſtice Clerk, died in *Edinburgh*, men of good credite can yet report: For afraid at midnight, or after, he called aloud for Torches, and raiſed all that lay beſide him in the Pallace, and told that *Thomas Scot* was dead; for he had been at him with a company of devills, and had ſaid unto him theſe words; *O wo to the day that ever I knew thee or thy ſervice; for ſerving of thee, againſt God, againſt his ſervants, and againſt Juſtice, I am adjudged to endleſſe torment.* How terrible voyces the ſaid *Thomas Scot* pronounced before his death, men of all eſtates heard; and ſome that yet live can witneſſe his voice ever was, *Juſto Dei judicio condemnatus ſum*; that is, I am condemned by Gods juſt Judgement. He was moſt oppreſſed for the delation and falſe accuſation of ſuch as profeſſed Chriſts Evangel, as M. *Thomas Mairioribanckes*, and M. *Heus Rig*, then advocates, did confeſſe to M. *Henry Balnaves*, who from the ſaid *Thomas Scot* came to him, as he and M. *Thomas Ballenden* were ſitting in Saint *Giles* Church, and asked him forgiveneſſe of the ſaid *Thomas*. None of theſe terrible forewarnings could either change or alter the heart of the infortunate and miſled Prince, but

Sir *James Hamilton* ſaid, That God had juſtly brought him to that, becauſe he had offended often, to gain the King favour, by unjuſt ways. *Note.*

Anno ſtill he did proceed in his accuſtomed wayes. For in the midſt of theſe evils, he cauſed to put hands on that notable man M. *George Buchanan*, to whom for his ſingular erudition and honeſt behaviour, was committed the charge to inſtruct ſome of his naturall children: But by the mercifull providence of God he eſcaped (albeit with great difficulty) the rage of thoſe that ſought his life; and remaines alive to this day in the yeere of God 1566. to the glory of God, to the great honour of this nation, and to the comfort of thoſe that delight in letters and vertue. That ſingular Worke of *Davids* Pſalms, in Latin Meeter and Poeſie, beſides many others, can witneſſe the rare graces of God given to that man, which that Prince by inſtigation of the gray-Friers and of his other flatterers, would altogether have devoured, if God had not provided remedy to his ſervant by eſcaping (the keepers being aſleep he went out at the window) This cruelty and perſecution, notwithſtanding the monſters and hypocrites, the gray-Friers, day by day came farther in contempt, for not onely did the learned eſpie and deteſt their abominable hypocriſie, but alſo men in whom no ſuch graces or gifts were thought to have been, began plainly to paint the ſame forth to the people. As this Ryme which here we have inſerted for the ſame purpoſe, made by *Alexander* Earle of *Glevearne* to this day 1566 alive can witneſſe, intituled, *An Epiſtle directed from the holy Hermite of* Larites, *to his Brethren the gray-Friers.*

George Buchanan by the Kings command, then angry with the Friers, did write this Satyre againſt them, who thereafter having made their peace with the King, would not be appeaſed with *George Buchanan* whom the king gave over to their importunity and ſo he was put in priſon.

The Earle of *Glevearne* his verſe upon the Gray Friers.

I Thomas *Hermite in Larite*
Saint Francis *brother heartily greete,*
Beſeeching you with firme intent
To be watchfull and diligent
For thir Lutherans riſſen of new
Our ordour dayly doth purſew
Theſe ſmacks do ſet their whole intent
To read this Engls' new Teſtament
And ſayth we have them cleane deſceivd
Therefore in haſte they muſt be ſtopped
Our ſtately hypocriſie they pryſe
And do blaſpheme us on this wiſe
Saying that we are heretiks
And falſe loud lying Matin tykes
Cummerers and quellers of Chriſts Kyrk
Such laſie ſcemlers that will not wirk
But idlely our living winnes
Devouring Wolfs into Sheepe-skinnes
Hurkland with huids into our neck
With Judas *minde to* Jowcke *and* Bek
Seeking Gods people to devore
The overthrowers of Gods glore
Profeſſors of hypocriſie.
Doctors in Idolatrie
Fiſhears with the feynds nette
The upcloſers of heaven gate

Cancard

Anno

Cancard corrupters of the Creede
Hemlock ſowers among good ſeed
To throw in brambles that do men twiſt
The hye way kennand them from Chriſt
Monſters with the Beaſts marke
Dogs that never ſtintes to barke
Church men that are to Chriſt unkend
A ſect that Sathans ſelfe has ſend
Lurking in holes lyke trator todes
Maintainers of Idolles and falſe godes
Fantaſtike fooles and frenzie flatterers
To turne from the trueth the very teachers
For to declare their whole ſentence
Would much cumber your conſcience
To ſay your fayth it is ſo ſtark
Your cord and looſie cote and ſark
Ye lippin may you bring to ſalvation
And quyte excludes Chriſt his paſsion
I dread this doctrine and it laſt
Shall either gar us worke or faſt
Therefore with ſpeede we muſt provide
And not our profit overſlide
I ſchaip my ſelfe within ſhort while
To curſe our Ladie in Argyle
And there ſome craftie wyſe to worke
Till that we builded have one Kyrk
Since miracles made by your advice
The kitterells thought they had but lyce.
The two parts to us they will bring
But orderly to dreſſe this thing
Aghaiſt I purpoſe for to cauſe gang
By counſeyll of Frear Walter Lang
Which ſhall make certaine demonſtrations
To help us in our procurations
Your holy ordor to decore
That practiſe he provd once before
Betwixt Kyrkcadie and Kinggorne
But Lymmers made thereat ſuch skorne
And to his fame made ſuch digreſsion
Since ſyn he heard not the Kings confeſsion
Though at that time he came with ſpeede
I pray you take good will as deede
And ſome among your ſelves receave
As one worth many of the leave
What I obtaine you through his art
Reaſon wold ye had your part
Your order handles no money
But for other caſualtie

Anno

As beefe, meale butter and cheeſe
Or what elſe you have that you pleaſe
Send your brethren and hebete
As now not els but valete
Be Thomas *your brother at command*
A Culrune ketbed through many a land.

After God had given unto that miſ-informed Prince ſufficient documents, that his warring againſt his bleſſed Goſpel ſhould not proſperouſly ſucceed. He raiſed up againſt him Warres as he did of old againſt divers Princes that would not hear his voice, in the which he loſt himſelf, as we ſhall hereafter heare.

The occaſion of the Warre was this, HENRY *the eighth, King of* England, *had a great deſire to have ſpoken with our King, and in that point travelled ſo long, till that he gat a full promiſe made to his Ambaſſadour, Lord* William Howard: *The place of meeting was appointed* Yorke, *which the King of* England *kept with ſuch ſolemnitie and preparations, as never for ſuch a purpoſe was ſeene in* England *before. Great brute of that journey, and ſome preparation for the ſame was made in* Scotland: *But in the end, by perſwaſion of the Cardinall* David Beton, *and by others of his faction, that journey was ſtayed, and the Kings promiſe falſified.* Whereupon were ſharp Letters of reproach ſent unto the King, and alſo unto his counſell. King *Henry* fruſtrate returneth to *London*, and after his indignation declared, began to fortifie with men his frontiers toward *Scotland*. There was ſent to the borders, Sir *Robert Bowes*, the Earle of *Angus*, and his brother, Sir *George Dowglas*. Upon what other trifling queſtions (as for the debetable land and ſuch) the Warre brake up, we omit to write. The principall occaſion was the falſifying of the promiſes before made. Our King perceiving that Warre would riſe, asked the Prelats and Churchmen, what ſupport they would make to the ſuſtaining of the ſame: for rather would he yet ſatiſfie the deſire of his Uncle, then he would hazard warre where he ſaw not his force able to reſiſt. They promiſed mountains of gold (as Satan their father did to Chriſt Jeſus if he would worſhip him) for rather would they have gone to hell, then he ſhould have met with King *Henry*, for then thought they, *Farewell our Kingdom of Abbots, Monks, &c. And farewell*, thought the Cardinall, *his credit and glory in* France. In the end, they promiſed fifty thouſand crowns by yeere, to be well paid ſo long as the Warre laſted: and further, That their ſervants and other that appertained to them, and were exempted from common ſervice, ſhould nevertheleſſe ſerve in time of neceſſity. Theſe vain promiſes lifted up in pride the heart of the unhappy king, and ſo begins the Warre. The Realme was Quartered, and men were laid in *Jedburgh* and *Kelſo*: All men (fools we mean) bragged of victory, and in very deed the beginning gave us a faire ſhaw: For at the firſt Warden Reade which was made on Saint *Bartholomewes* day, in the yeere of our Lord, 1542. was the Warden Sir *Robert Bowes*, his brother *Richard Bowes* Captaine of *Norhame*, Sir *William Mamebery* Knight, a Baſtard Sonne of the Earle of *Angus*, and *James Dowglas* of *Parkhead*, then Rebels, with a great number of Borderers Souldiers and Gentlemen taken:

The Churchmen ingage the King to warre againſt his Uncle.

The

The Reade was termed *Halderig*. The Earle of *Angus* and Sir *George* his brother, did narrowly escape. Our Papists and Prelats, proud of this victory, encouraged the King, so that there was nothing heard, but *All is ours: They be but Heretickes, if we be a thousand and they ten thousand, they dare not fight*; France *shall enter into one part, and we the other, and so shall* England *be conqueſt within a yeere.* If any man was seene to smile at such vanitie, he was no more but a Traytour and an Hereticke. And yet by these meanes men had greater liberty then they had before, as concerning their conscience, for then ceased the persecution. The Warre continued till midde September: And then was sent down the old Duke of *Norfolke*, with such an Army as a hundred yeeres before had not come into *Scotland*. They were in gathering their Forces, and setting forward of their Preparations and Munitions, which were exceeding great, till midde October and after. And then they Marched from *Barwick* and tended to the waſt, ever holding *Tweid* upon their own side, and never camped from that River the space of a mile, during the whole time they continued in *Scotland*, which was ten or twelve dayes. Forces were sent up and down to *Smallame*, *Stichell*, and such places neere about, but many snappers they gat, some Corn they burnt, besides that which the great hoſt consumed, but small bootie they carried away. The King assembled his Forces at *Fallowe* (for he was advertised that they had promised to come to *Edinburgh*) and tooke the Musters all at an houre, two dayes before *Hallowe* even. There were found with him eighteen thousand able men: Upon the Borders that awaited upon the English Army, were ten thousand good men with the Earle of *Huntlie*, Lords *Erskin*, *Seton*, and *Hume*. These were judged men aneuh to hazard Battell, albeit the other were esteemed fourty thousand. While the King lay at *Fallowe*, abiding upon the *Gunes*, and upon advertisement from the Army. The Lords began to remember how the King had been long abused by his flatterers, and principally by the Pensioners of the Prelats. It was then concluded that they would make some new remembrance of *Lawder brig*, to see if that would for a season somewhat help the state of their Country. But because the Lords could not agree among themselves upon the persons that deserved punishment (for every man favoured his friend) the whole escaped, and the purpose was opened to the King, and by him to the courtiers, who till they came to *Edinburgh* stood in no little fear: but that was suddenly forgot, as we shall after hear. While time is thus protracted, the *English* army, for want of victuals (as was bruted) retired over *Tweid* in the night, and so begin to skale & sunder; wherof the King advertised, desired the Lords and Barons to assist him to follow them into *England*; whose answer was with one consent, *That to defend his person and Realme, they would hazard life, and whatsoever they had: But to invade* England, *neither had they so just Title as they desired, neither yet could they be able to do any thing to the hurt of* England, *considering that they had long before beene absent from their houses, their provision was spent, their horses wearied, and that which was greatest of all, the time of the yeere did utterly reclaime.* This their answer seemed to satisfie the King: for he in words praised their prudent foresight and wise counsell. But the essay made to his Courtiers, and that bold

Anno

Halderig Read.

England called Hereticke, because it renounced the Pope.

Note.

Allhallow tyde

Fallow Reade.

Note.

The Lords answer to the Kings desire.

Anno repulſe of his deſires given to him in his owne face, ſo wounded his high ſtomacke (for long had he runne as himſelfe liſted) that he decreeth a notable revenge, which no doubt he had not failed to have executed, if God by his owne hand had not cut the dayes of his lyfe. He returnes to *Edinburgh*, the Nobility, Barons, Gentlemen, and Commons, to their habitations. And this was the ſecond and third dayes of November.

Without longer delay at the palace of *Halyrud-houſe* was a new councell aſſembled, a councell we meane of his abuſers, wherein were accuſations layd againſt the moſt part of the Nobilitie; *Some were Hereticks*; *Some favourers of* England; *Some friends to the* Dowglas: and ſo could there be none faithfull to the King in their opinion. The Cardinall and Prelats caſt fagotts in the fire with all their force, and finding the King wholly addicted to their devotion, delivered unto him a ſchroll, containing the names of ſuch as they in their inquiſition had convict for Hereticks. For this was the order of Juſtice which theſe holy Fathers kept in condemning of innocent men; Whoſoever would accuſe any of Hereſie, he was heard, no reſpect nor conſideration had, what minde the accuſer bare to the perſon accuſed; Whoſoever was produced for witneſſe, were admitted, how ſuſpitious and infamous ſo ever they were; if two or three had proved any point that by their Law was holden Hereſie, that was an Hereticke: There reſted no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt ſentence: What man could be innocent where ſuch Judges were partie, the world may this day conſider. True it is, by falſe Judgement and falſe Witneſſes have innocents been oppreſſed from the beginning. But this freedome to ſhed innocent blood got never the Devill but in the Kingdome of Antichriſt, *That the innocent ſhould die, and neither know accuſer, nor yet the witneſſe that teſtifieth againſt him.* But how ſhall the Antichriſt be knowne, if he ſhall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Sonne Chriſt Jeſus, in Law, Life, and Doctrine. But this we omit. The ſame ſchroll had the Cardinall and Prelats once preſented to the king before, at that time when he returned from the Navigation about the Iſles, in the yeere 1534. But then it was refuſed by the prudent and ſtout councell of the Laird of *Grainge*, who opened cleerely to the King the practices of the Prelats, and the danger that thereof might enſue: Which conſidered by the King (for being out of his paſſion he was tractable) gave this anſwer in the palace of *Halyrud-houſe* to the Cardinall and Prelats, after that they had uttered their malice, and ſhewed what profit might ariſe to the Crowne, if he would follow their councell: *Packe you Juglers, get you to your charges, and reforme your owne lives, and be not inſtruments of diſcord betwixt my Nobiltie and me; Or elſe, I vow to God, I ſhall reforme you, not as the King of* Denmarke *by impriſonment doeth, neither yet as the King of* England *doth by hanging and heading: but I ſhall reproove you by ſharpe puniſhments, if ever I heare ſuch motion of you againe.* The Prelats daſhed and aſtoniſhed with this anſwer, ceaſed for a ſeaſon to attempt any further by rigour againſt the Nobility. But now being informed of all proceedings by their Penſioners, *Oliver Sincler*, *Roſſe* Laird of *Cragie* and others, who were to them faithfull in all things: they conclude to hazard once again their

Note.

Note.

Note.

An anſwer worthy of a Prince.

By this anſwer you may ſee how good this Prince had bin if the Church men and flatterers had not abuſed him.

their former ſute: which was no ſooner proponed, but as ſoone it was accepted, with no ſmall regreate, by the Kings own mouth, that he had ſo long deſpiſed their counſell: *For* (ſaid he) *now I plainely ſee your words to be true; The Nobility neither deſire my honour nor countenance, for they would not ride a mile for my pleaſure to follow mine enemies: Will ye therefore finde me the meanes how that I may have a roade made into* England *without their knowledge and conſent, that it may be knowne to be mine owne reade, and I ſhall binde me to your counſell for ever.* There were gratulations and clapping of hands; there were promiſes of diligence, cloſeneſſe, and fidelity among them. Finally, concluſion was taken that the Weſt borders of *England*, which was moſt empty of men and Garriſon, ſhould be invaded. The Kings own Banner ſhould be theirs, *Oliver* the great Minion ſhould be Generall-Lieutenant, but no man ſhould be privie (except the counſell that was then preſent) of the enterpriſe, till the very day and execution thereof. The Biſhops gladly tooke the charge of that device. Letters were ſent to ſuch as they would charge, To meet the King at the day and place appointed: The Cardinall with the Earle of *Arran* was directed to go to *Hadington*, to make a ſhew againſt the Eaſt Border, when the others were in readineſſe to invade the Weſt: And thus neither lacked counſell, practiſe, cloſeneſſe, nor diligence, to ſet forward that Enterpriſe; and ſo among theſe conſulters there was no doubt of any good ſucceſſe. And ſo was the ſcroell thankfully received by the king himſelfe, and put into his owne pocket, where it remained to the day of his death, and then was found. In it were contained more then an hundred landed men, beſides other of meaner degree: Among whom was the Earle of *Arran*, notwithſtanding his ſiding with the current of the Court, and his neerneſſe in blood to the King. It was bruted that this roade was deviſed by the Lord *Maxwell*, but the certainrie thereof we have not. The night before the day appointed to the Enterpriſe, the King was found at *Lochmabane*. To him comes companies from all quarters, as they were appointed, no man knowing of another (for no generall Proclamations paſt, but privie Letters) neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpoſe till after midnight when that the trumpet blew. And commanded all men to march forward, and to follow the King (who was conſtantly ſuppoſed to have been in the hoſt) guides were appointed to conduct them towards *England*, as both faithfully and cloſely they did; upon the point of day they approached to the enemies ground, and ſo paſſed the water without any great reſiſtance made unto them. The forward goeth foorth, feare riſes, herſhip might have been ſeen on every ſide. The unprovided people were altogether amazed, for bright day appearing, they ſaw an army of ten thouſand men: Their Beacons on every ſide, ſend flames of fire unto the heaven: To them it was more then a wonder that ſuch a multitude could have been aſſembled and conveyed, no knowledge thereof coming to any of their Wardens. For ſupport they looked not, and ſo at the firſt they utterly deſpaired, and yet began they to aſſemble together, ten in one company, twenty in another, and ſo as the Fray proceeded their Troopes increaſed, but to no number (for *Carlile* fearing to have been aſſaulted, ſuffered no man to iſſue out of their gates) and

Anno

Abuſed Prince by Prelats.

So the evil adviſed Prince gave himſelfe over to the falſe Prop ers, I meane, the Prelats.

The Reade of Holway maſſ by *Oliver* ſur.

Anno and ſo the greateſt number that ever appeared or approached before the diſcomfiture paſt not three or four hundreth men, and yet they made hot skirmiſhing, as in their own ground, in ſuch feats as they are moſt expert, about ten hours: When fires were kindled, and almoſt ſlackned on every ſide, *Oliver* thought time to ſhew his glory, and ſo incontinent was diſplayed the Kings Banner, and he upholden by two Spears, lift up upon mens ſhoulders there with ſound of Trumpet was proclaimed Generall Lieutenant, and all men commanded to obey him, as the Kings own Perſon, under all higheſt pains. There was preſent the Lord *Maxwell*, Warden, to whom the regiment of things in abſence of the King properly appertaineth. He heard and ſaw all, but thought more than he ſpake: There were alſo preſent the Earls of *Glencarne* and *Caſſels*, with the Lord *Flemyng*, and many other Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen of *Lothaine*, *Fife*, *Angus*, and *Mearnes*. In this Mountain did the skirmiſhing grow hotter than it was before, ſhouters were heard on every ſide; ſome Scottiſh-men were ſtricken down, ſome not knowing the ground, were mired, and loſt their horſes: Some Engliſh Horſe of purpoſe were let looſe, to provoke greedie and imprudent men to preſſe at them, as many did, but found no advantage. While ſuch diſorder riſes more and more in the Army, every man cried aloud, My Lord Lievtenant, What will ye do? Charge was given that all men ſhould light, and go to array in order, for they would fight: Others cried, Againſt whom will ye fight? yonder men will fight none other wayes than ye ſee them do, if ye will ſtand here while the morrow. New purpoſe was taken, That the Footmen (they had there with them certain Bands of Souldiers) ſhould ſafely retire towards *Scotland*, and the Horſe-men ſhould take their Horſe again, and ſo follow in order. Great was the noyſe and confuſion that was heard, while that every man calleth his own ſluggards; the day was neer ſpent, and that was the cauſe of the greateſt fear. The Lord *Maxwell* perceiving what would be the end of ſuch beginnings, ſtood upon his feet with his friends, who being admoniſhed to take his horſe, and provide for himſelf, anſwered, *Nay, I will rather abide here the chance that it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend me, than to go home, and there be hanged*; and ſo he remained upon his foot, and was taken while the multitude fled, and tooke the greater ſhame. The enemies perceiving the diſorder, increaſed in courage. Before they ſhouted, but then they ſtroke; they ſhot Spears, and dagged Arrows where the Companies were thickeſt; ſome encounters were made, but nothing availeth, the Souldiers caſt from them their Pikes and Culverings, and other Weapons fencible; the Horſe-men left their Spears, and ſo without judgement all men fled. The Sea was filling, and ſo the water made great ſtop; but the fear was ſuch, as happy was he that might get a taker: Such as paſſed the water, and eſcaped that danger, not well acquainted with the ground, fell into the ſlimy moſſe; the entry thereof was pleaſing enough, but as they proceeded, all that took that way, either loſt their horſe, or elſe themſelves and horſe both. To be ſhort, a greater fear and diſcomfiture without cauſe, hath ſeldome beene ſeen; for it is ſaid, That where the men were not ſufficient to take the Bands of priſoners; Some ran to houſes, and rendered themſelves to women:

Wharton was then Warden in theſe parts.

Stratageme.

Note.

women. Stout *Oliver* was without ſtroke taken ſleeing full manfully. And ſo was his glory (ſtinking and fooliſh proudneſſe we ſhould call it) ſuddenly turned to confuſion and ſhame. In that diſcomfiture were taken the two Earls aforeſaid, the Lords *Fleming*, *Somerwell*, and *Olyphant*, and many other Barons and Gentlemen, beſides the great multitude of ſervants. Worldly men ſay, That all this come but by miſorder and fortune, as they term it: But whoſoever hath the leaſt ſpark of the knowledge of God, may as evidently ſee the work of his hand in this diſcomfiture, as ever was ſeen in any of the Battells left to us in Regiſter by the holy Ghoſt: For what more evident Declaration have we that God fought againſt *Benhadad*, King of *Aram*, when he was diſcomfited at *Samaria*, than now we have, that God fought with his own Arm againſt *Scotland* in this former diſcomfiture? There did two hundred and thirty perſons in the Skirmiſh, with ſeven thouſand following them in the great Battell, put to flight the ſaid *Benhadad*, with thirty Kings in his Company. But here there is in this ſhamefull diſcomfiture of *Scotland*, very few more than three hundreth men, without knowledge of any Backe or Battell to follow, put to flight ten thouſand men, without reſiſtance made. There did every man recounter his marrow, till that the two hundred and thirty ſlew ſuch as matched them: But here, without ſlaughter, the multitude fled. There had thoſe of *Samaria* the Prophet of God to comfort, to inſtruct, and to promiſe Victory unto them: But *England* in that purſuit had nothing, but as God ſecretly wrought by his providence in the men that knew nothing of his working, neither yet of the cauſe thereof, more then the wall that fell upon the reſt of *Benhadads* Army knew what it did. And therefore yet again we ſay, That ſuch as in that ſudden dejection beholds not the hand of God fighting againſt pride, for freedome of his own little Flock injuſtly perſecuted, doth willingly and maliciouſly obſcure the glory of God, but the end thereof is yet more notable. The certain knowledge of the diſcomfiture coming to the Kings ears (who waited upon news at *Lochmaban*) he was ſtricken with a ſudden fear and aſtoniſhment, ſo that ſcarcely could he ſpeak, or had purpoſe with any man: The night conſtrained him to remain where he was, and ſo went to bed, but roſe without reſt, or quiet ſleep: His continuall complaint was, *O fled Oliver, is Oliver taken? O fled Oliver*: And theſe words in his melancholly, and as it were carried in a Trance, repeated he from time to time to the very hour of death. Upon the morn, which was Saint *Katherines* day, returned he to *Edinburgh*, and ſo did the Cardinall from *Hadington*. But the one being aſhamed of the other, the brute of their communication came not to publike audience. The King made Inventory of his Treaſure, of all his Jewels, and other ſubſtance. And thereafter aſhamed to look any man in the face, ſecretly departed to *Fife*, and coming to *Hallyardes*, was humanely received of the Lady of *Grange*, an ancient and godly Matron (the Laird at his coming was abſent.) In his company was onely with him *William Kirkaldy*, now Laird of *Grange*, and ſome other that waited upon his Chamber. The Lady at Supper, perceiving him penſive, beganne to comfort him, and willeth him to take the Work of God in good part.

Anno

Note.

Oliver compared to *Benhadad* againſt *Samaria*. 2 King. 20.

300 men put to flight 10000

Others ſay, at *Calder-edge*, near by the place where the defeat was given, called *Solway Moſſe*.

Anno part: *My portion*, ſaid he, *of this world is ſhort, for I will not be with you fifteen dayes.* His ſervants repairing unto him, asked where he would have proviſion made for Chriſtmas, which then approached: he anſwered with a diſdainfull countenance, *I cannot tell, chuſe you the place; but this I can tell you, Or Chriſtmas day you will be maſterleſſe, and the Realme without a King.* Becauſe of his diſpleaſure, no man durſt make contradiction unto him. So after that he had viſited the Caſtle of *Carny*, pertaining to the Earle of *Crawfurde*, where the ſaid Earles daughter, one of his Miſtreſſes was, he returned to *Falkland*, and took bed. And albeit there appeared unto him no ſignes of death, yet he conſtantly affirmed, Before ſuch a day, *I ſhall be dead.* In this mean time was the Queen upon the point of her delivery in *Lynlitquow*, who was delivered the 8 of *December*, in the yeere of God, 1542 yeeres, of *Mary*, that then was born, and now doth raigne for a ſcourge to this Realme, as the progreſſe of her whole life has to this day declared. The certainty that a daughter was born unto him coming to his ears, he turned from ſuch as ſpake with him, and ſaid, *The devill go with it, it will end as it began; it came from a woman, and it will end with a woman.* From *Mary*, daughter to *Robert Bruſe*, married to *Walter Stuart*, he feared that his daughter ſhould be married to one of another Name and Family; but you ſee by Gods providence, the Crown remains in one and the ſame Family and Name to this day, notwithſtanding the many Plots of the pretenders to the Crowne both at home and abroad. After that he ſpake not many words that were ſenſible, but ever harped on his old ſong, *Fie, fled Oliver, is Oliver taken, all is loſt.* In this mean time, in his great extremity, comes the Cardinall (a fit comforter for a deſperate man) he cries in his eare; *Take order, Sir, with your Realme, who ſhall rule during the minority of your daughter: ye have knowne my ſervice, What will ye have done? Shall there not be four Regents choſen? And ſhall not I be principall of them?* Whatſoever the King anſwered, Documents were taken, That ſo it ſhould be, as my Lord Cardinall thought expedient. As many affirme, a dead mans hand was made to ſubſcribe one blank, that they might write above what it pleaſed them beſt; the Cardinall having hired one *Henry Balfour*, a Prieſt, to make a falſe Teſtament; which was done accordingly, but in vain. This finiſhed, the Cardinall poſted to the Queen, lately before delivered, as is ſaid. At the firſt ſight of the Cardinall, ſhe ſaid, *Welcome, my Lord, is not the King dead?* What moved her ſo to conjecture, divers men are of divers judgements. Many whiſper that of old *but* patte *was in the pot*, and that the ſuſpition thereof cauſed him to be inhibite the Queens company. Howſoever it was before, it is plain, That after the Kings death, and during the Cardinalls life, whoſoever guided the Court, he gate his ſecret buſineſſe ſped, of that gracious Lady, either by day or by night. Howſoever the tidings liked her, ſhe mended with as great expedition of that daughter, as ever ſhe did before of any ſon ſhe bare. The time of her Purification was ſooner than the Leviticall Law appoints: but ſhe was no Jew, and therefore in that ſhe offended not. The noyſe of the death of King *James* divulgate, who departed this life the 13 day of *December*, in the yeere of God 1542 aforeſaid, the hearts of men began to be diſcloſed. All men lamented that the Realme was left without

The King foreteils his own death.

Regina Natiuitas.

Mark the Queens mourning for the King.

Others ſtick not to ſay, That the King was haſtned away by a Potion.

Levit. 12.

Regis exitus.

without a male to ſucceed. Yet ſome rejoyced that ſuch an enemy to Gods Truth was taken away. He was called of ſome, A good poore mans King: of others he was termed, A murtherer of the Nobility, and one that had decreed their whole deſtruction. Some praiſed him for the repreſſing of theft and oppreſſion; others diſpraiſed him for being much given to women. The Prelats and Clergie feared a change in the Kings minde, as he had expreſſed himſelf ſome few yeers before. And thus men ſpake even as their affection led them, and yet none ſpake altogether beſides the truth; for part of theſe aforeſaid were ſo manifeſt, that as the vertues could not be denied, ſo could not the vices by any craft be cloked. Yet to ſpeak truth of him, his vices may juſtly be attributed to the times, and his breeding, and not any wickedneſſe in his nature; for he gave many expreſſions of a good nature, namely, in his ſobriety and juſtice, &c. The queſtion of Government was thorow this Realme univerſally moved. The Cardinall proclaimed the Kings laſt Will, and therein were expreſſed four Protectors or Regents, of whom himſelf was the firſt and principall, and with him were joyned the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, and *Murhay*: this was done on Munday, at the Market Croſſe of *Edinburgh*. But the Munday following took the whole Regents remiſſion for their uſurpation: for by the ſtout and wiſe counſell of the Laird of *Grange*, did the Earle of *Arran*, then ſo neer to the Crown, cauſe aſſemble the Nobility of the Realme, and required the equity of their judgements in that his juſt ſuit to the Government of this Realm, during the minority of her to whom he pretended to ſucceed, failing of her, and of her lawfull ſucceſſion. His friends convened, the Nobility aſſembled, the day of deciſion is appointed; the Cardinall and his faction oppoſes them, and are againſt the Government of one man, and eſpecially of any called *Hammilton*: For *who knowes not* (ſaid the Cardinall) *that the Hammiltons are cruell murtherers, oppreſſors of innocents, proud, avaritious, double, and falſe, and finally, the peſtilence in this Common-wealth?* Whereto the Earl anſwered, *Defraud me not of my right, and call me what ye pleaſe: whatſoever my friends have been, yet unto this day hath no man cauſe to complain upon me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evill doing, but by Gods grace ſhall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the Realme can reaſonably require of me; And therefore yet again, my Lords, in Gods Name, I crave that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my juſt Title, before ye have experience of my Government.* At theſe words, were all that feared God, or loved honeſty ſo moved, that with one voyce they cryed, *That Petition is moſt juſt; and unleſſe ye will do againſt Gods Juſtice and Equity, it cannot be denied.* And ſo in deſpight of the Cardinall, and his ſuborned Faction, was he declared Governour, and with publike Proclamation ſo denounced to the people. The Kings Pallace, Treaſure, Jewels, Garments, Horſe, and Plate was delivered unto him by the Officers that had the former charge; and he honoured, feared, and obeyed, more heartily than ever any King was before, ſo long as he abode at God. The cauſe of the great favour that was born unto him, was; That it was bruted that he favoured Gods Word; and becauſe it was well knowne that he was one appointed to have been perſecuted, as the Scroll found in the

Anno

Divers Characters of the late King ariſe preſent a virtue

Character of the Hamiltons.

Note the reaſons why the Earle of *Arran* was thus favoured by the Country.

Anno Kings pocket after his death did witneſſe. Theſe two things, together with an opinion that men had of his ſimplicity, bowed the hears of many unto him in the beginning; who after, with dolour of hearts, were compelled to change their opinions: but hereof we will after ſpeak. The variety of matters that occurred, we omit, ſuch as the order taken for keeping of the young Queen; of the proviſion for the mother; the calling home of the *Douglas*, and other, ſuch as appertain to a Univerſal Hiſtory of the time. For, as before we have ſaid, we minde onely to follow the progreſſe of the Religion, and of the matters that cannot be ſevered from the ſame.

1543 The Earle of *Arran* thus being eſtabliſhed in the Government, godly men repaired unto him, exhorted him to call to minde for what end God had exalted him to be Governour, out of what danger he had delivered him, he being in the bloody Scroll, as we ſaw before; and what expectation all men of honeſty had of him, becauſe they ſaw him a ſoft man, they conceited goodneſſe of him. At their inſtant ſuit, more than of his own motion, was *Thomas Guilliame*, a black Frier, called to be Preacher. The man was of ſound judgement, of reaſonable letters (as for that age) and of a prompt and good utterance. His Doctrine was wholſome, without great vehemency againſt ſuperſtition. Preached alſo ſometime *John Rough*, (who after for the verity of Chriſt Jeſus ſuffered in *England*) albeit not ſo learned, yet more ſimple, and more vehement againſt all impiety. The Doctrine of theſe two provoked againſt them and againſt the Governour alſo, the hatred of all ſuch as more favoured darkneſſe than light; and their own intereſt, more than God. The gray Friers (and amongſt the reſt Frier *Scot*, who before had given himſelf forth for the greateſt Profeſſor of Chriſt Jeſus within *Scotland*, and under that colour had diſcloſed, and ſo endangered many.) Theſe ſlaves of Sathan rowped as they had been Ravens; yea rather they yelled and roared as devills in hell; *Hereſie, hereſie, Guilliame and Rough will carry the Governour to the devill.* The Towne of *Edinburgh*, for the moſt part, was devoured in ſuperſtition. *Edward Hope*, young *William Adamſon*, *Sibilla Lyndſay*, *Patrike Lyndſay*, *Francis Aikman*; And in the Cannongate, *John Mackaw*, and *Nivian Browne*, with few others, had the burit of knowledge in theſe dayes. One *Wilſon*, ſervant to the Biſhop of *Dunckell*, who neither knew new Teſtament nor the old; made a deſpightfull railing Ballad, againſt the Preachers, and againſt the Governour, for the which he narrowly eſcaped hanging. The Cardinall moved both heaven and hell to trouble the Governour to ſtay the Preaching: but yet was the Battell ſtoutly fought for a ſeaſon; for he was taken and put firſt in *Dalkeyt*, after in *Seaton*. But at length, by Bribes given to the ſaid Lord *Seaton*, and to the old Laird of *Lethington*, he was reſtored to Saint *Andrewes*, from whence he wrought all miſchief, as we ſhall after heare. The PARLIAMENT approached which was before *EASTER*, there began queſtion of the aboliſhing of certaine Tyrannicall ACTS made before, at the Devotion of the Prelates, for the maintaining of their Kingdome of Darkeneſſe.

Note Frier Scot.

The Cardinal taken.

To

To wit, *That under paine of Hereſie, no man ſhould reade any part of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, neither yet any Tractate or Expoſition of any place of Scripture*: Such Articles began to come in queſtion we ſay: And men began to enquire, If it were not lawfull to men that underſtood no *Latine*, to uſe the word of their Salvation in the Tongue they underſtood, as it was for the *Latine* men to have it in *Latine*, *Grecians* or *Hebrews* to have it in their Tongues. It was anſwered, That the Church, he means the Prelats, firſt had forbidden all Tongues but the three, *viz. Hebrew, Greek*, and *Latine*. But men demanded, when that Inhibition was given, and what Counſell had ordained it; conſidering that in the dayes of *Chryſoſtome*, he complained, That the people uſed the *Pſalmes* and other holy Books in their owne Tongues: And if ye will ſay they were *Greeks*, and underſtood the *Greek* Tongue; We anſwere, That Chriſt Jeſus commanded his word to be Preached to all Nations; now if it ought to be Preached to all Nations, it muſt be Preached in the Tongue they underſtand. Then if it be lawfull to Preach, and heare it Preached in all Tongues; Why ſhould it not be lawfull to reade it, and hear it read in all Tongues? to the end that the people may *try the ſpirits*, according to the commandment of the Apoſtle. Beaten with theſe and other Reaſons, they denied not but it might be read in the Uulgar Tongue, provided if the Tranſlation were true. It was demanded, What could be reprehended in it? And when much ſearching was made, nothing could be found: But that *Love* ſay they was put in the place of *Charity*: When the Queſtion was asked, What difference was betwixt the one and the other; and if they underſtood the nature of the *Greek* term ἀγαπὴ, they were dumb. Reaſoned for the party of the ſeculars, The L. *Ruthwen*, father to him that prudently gave counſell to take juſt puniſhment upon that knave *David*, for that he abuſed the unhappy K. *Henry Stuart*, in mo caſes then one, a ſtout and a diſcreet man in the cauſe of God, and M. *Henry Balnevies*, an old profeſſour. For the part of the Clergy, one *Hay*, Dean of *Laſtarrik*, and certain old Biſhops with him. The concluſion was, The Commiſſioners of *Broughes*, and a part of the Nobility, required of the Parliament, that it might be Enacted, *That it ſhould be lawfull to every man to uſe the benefit of the Tranſlation which then they had of the Old and New Teſtament, together with the benefit of other Treatiſes containing wholſome Doctrine, untill ſuch time as the Prelats and other Church-men ſhould give and ſet forth unto them a Tranſlation more correct*. The Clergie hereto long repugned. But in the end convinced by Reaſons, and by multitude of voyces in their contrary, they alſo condeſcended; And ſo by Act of Parliament it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their owne Uulgar Tongue, and ſo were all Acts made to the contrary aboliſhed. Anno 1543. An Act of Parliament for reading of the Scripture.

This was no ſmall Victorie of CHRIST JESUS, fighting againſt the conjured enemies of his Veritie; No ſmall comfort to ſuch as before were holden in ſuch bondage, that they durſt not have read, The Lords Prayer; The ten Commandments; nor, The Articles of their Faith in the Uulgar Tongue, but they ſhould have been accuſed of Hereſie. Then might have beene ſeene the *Bible* lying almoſt upon every Gentlemans Table. The New Teſtament was borne about

Anno

Note the hypocriſie of worldlings.

in many mens hands. We grant that ſome (alas) prophaned that bleſſed Word, for ſome that perchance had never read ten Sentences in it had it moſt common in their hand, they would chop their familiars on the cheeke with it, and ſay, This hath lyne under my beds feet theſe ten yeers. Others would glory, O how oft have I been in danger for this Booke, how ſecretly have I ſtollen from my wife at midnight to reade upon it. And this was done we ſay of many to make cowrt, and curry favour thereby: For all men eſteemed the Governour to have been one of the moſt fervent Proteſtants that was in *Europe*. Albeit we ſay that many abuſed that libertie, granted of God miraculouſly, yet thereby did the knowledge of God wonderouſly increaſe, and God gave his holy ſpirit to ſimple men in great abundance: Then were ſet forth works in our owne Tongue, beſides thoſe that came from *England*, that did diſcloſe the pride, the craft, the tyrannie, and abuſes of that *Romane Antichriſt*. The fame of our Governour was ſpread in divers countreys, and many praiſed God for him. King *Henry* the eight ſent unto him his Ambaſſadour M. *Radulph Saidlair*, who lay in *Edinburgh* a great part of the Summer, his Commiſſion and Negotiation was to contract a perpetuall amitie betwixt *England* and *Scotland*. The occaſion whereof God had ſo offered, that to many men it appeared that from heaven he had declared his good pleaſure in that behalfe. For to King *Henry*, of *Jane Seymer* (after the death of Queene *Katherine*, and of all others that might have made his Marriage ſuſpect) was given a ſonne, *Edward* the ſixth of bleſſed memory, elder ſome yeeres then our Miſtreſſe, and unto us was left a Queene, as before we have heard. This wonderfull providence of God cauſed men of greateſt judgement to enter into diſputation with themſelves, Whether that with good conſcience any man might repugne to the deſires of the King of *England*, conſidering that thereby all occaſion of Warre might be cut off, and great commodity might enſue to this Realme. The offers of King *Henry* was ſo large, and his demands ſo reaſonable, that all that loved quietneſſe were content therewith. There were ſent from the Parliament to King *Henry* in Commiſſion, Sir *James Lermont*, and M. *Henry Balnevis*, who long remaining in *England*, ſo travailed, that all things concerning the Marriage betwixt *Edward* the ſixth and *Mary* Queen of *Scots* was agreed upon, except the time of her deliverance to the cuſtody of *Engliſh-men*. Upon the finall concluſion of the which head, were added to the former Commiſſioners, *William* Earle of *Glencarne*, and Sir *George Dowglas*, to whom was given ample Commiſſion and good Inſtructions. In *Scotland* remained M. *Radulph Saidlaire*: advertiſements paſt ſo frequently betwixt, yea, the hands of our Lords liberally were anointed, beſides other commodities promiſed, and of ſome received, for divers Priſoners taken at *Solway moſſe*, were ſent home free upon promiſe of their fidelity, which as it was kept, the iſſue will witneſſe. But in the end ſo well were all once content, (the Cardinall, the Queene, and the faction of *France* ever excepted) that ſolemnely in the Abbey of *Hallyrud-houſe* was the Contract of Marriage made, betwixt the perſons aforeſaid, together with all the Clauſes and Conditions requiſite for the faithfull obſervation thereof, read in publike audience, ſubſcribed,

So long as men follow God, they are bleſſed

Nothing could be ſaid againſt the lawfulneſſe of *Edwards* birth. *Katharine* of *Spaine* and *Anne Bullen* being dead before his mother was married to his father.

Note well.

ſcribed, ſealed, approoved, and allowed of the Governour for his part, Nobilitie and Lords for their parts, and that nothing ſhould lacke that might fortifie the matter was Chriſts Body ſacred (as Papiſts terme it) broken betwixt the ſaid Governour and M. *Saidlar* Ambaſſadour, and receiued of them both, as a ſigne and token of the unitie of their mindes, immediately to keepe that contract in all points, as they looked of Chriſt Jeſus to be ſaued, and after to be reputed men unworthy of credit before the world. The Papiſts raged againſt the Governour, and againſt the Lords that had conſented and abode faſt to the Contract, and to confound all as after follows. But upon the returning of the aforeſaid Ambaſſadours from *England*, pacification was made for that time, for by the judgements of eight perſons for either partie choſen, to judge whether that any thing was done by the ſaid Ambaſſadours in the Contracting of that Marriage, which to do, they had not ſufficient power from the Counſell and Parliament. It was found that all things were done according to their Commiſſion, and that ſo they ſhould ſtand. And ſo were the Seales of *England* and *Scotland* interchanged. Maſter *Iames Fowles*, then Clerke of the Regiſter, received the great Seale of *England*: And Maſter *Saidlare* receiued the great Seale of *Scotland*. The heads of the Contract we paſſe by. Theſe things newly ratified, the Merchants made preparation to Saile, and to their Traffique, which by the troubles of Warres had ſome yeeres been hindered. From *Edinburgh* were fraughted twelve Ships richly laden, according to the wares in *Scotland*: From other Townes and Ports departed other, who all arrived upon the coaſts of *England* toward the South, to wit, in *Yarmouth*, and without any great neceſſity entred not onely Roads, but alſo within Ports and places of commandment, and where that Ships might be arreſted. And becauſe of the late contracted amitie and gentle entertainement that they found at the firſt, they made no great diſpatch: But being (as they ſuppoſed) in ſecurity, in merrineſſe they ſpent the time, abiding upon the winde. In this meane time arrived from *France* to *Scotland* the Abbot of *Paiſlay* (called now of late *Iohn Hamilton*, baſtard brother to the Governour, whom yet many eſteemed ſonne to the old Biſhop of *Dunkelden*, called *Crichton* (and with him M. *David Panter*, who after was made Biſhop of *Roſſe*. The brute of the learning of theſe two, and their honeſt life, and of their fervencie and uprightneſſe in Religion was ſuch, that great hope there was that their preſence ſhould be comfortable to the Church of God. For it was conſtantly affirmed of ſome, that without delay, the one or the other would go to the Pulpit, and truely Preach Jeſus Chriſt. But few dayes diſcloſed their hypocriſie. For what terrours, what promiſes, or what enchaunting boxes they brought from *France*, the common people knew not. But ſhortly after, it was ſeene that Frier *Williame* was inhibited to Preach, and ſo departed into *England*: *Iohn Rough* to *Kylle* (a receptacle of Gods ſervants of old.) The men of counſell, judgement, and godlineſſe that had travailed to promote the Governour, and that gave him faithfull counſell in all doubtfull matters, were either craftily conveyed from him, or elſe by threatning to be hanged were compelled to leave him. Of the one number was the Laird of *Grange* aforeſaid, M. *Henry Balnever*,

Anno

The Queenes marriage the ſecond time ratified.

He was before ſometimes called Cunningham, ſometimes Cabun, ſo uncertaine was it who was his father.

Anno

Balneves, M. *Thomas Ballenden*, and Sir *David Lindeſay* of the Mount: Men by whoſe labours he was promoted to honour, and by whoſe councell he ſo uſed himſelfe at the beginning, that the obedience given to him was nothing inferiour to that obedience that any King of *Scotland* of many yeeres had before him, yea, in this it did ſurmount the common obedience, in that it proceeded from love of thoſe vertues that was ſuppoſed to have beene in him. Of the number of theſe that were threatned, were M. *Michael Durham*; M. *David Borthuke*, *David Forreſſe*, and *David Bothwell*: who counſelled him to have in company with him, men fearing God, and not to nouriſh wicked men in their iniquity, albeit they were called his friends, and were of his ſurname: This counſell underſtood by the aforeſaid Abbot, and by the *Hamiltons* (who then repaired to the Court, as Ravens to the Carrion) in plaine words it was ſaid, *My Lord Governour nor his friends will never be at quietneſſe, till a dozen of theſe knaves that abuſe his Grace be hanged.* Theſe words were ſpoken in his own preſence, and in the preſence of ſome of them that had better deſerved, then to have beene ſo uſed: the ſpeaker was allowed for his plain and bold ſpeaking. And ſo the wicked counſell followed, honeſt and godly men left the Court and him, in the hands of ſuch as by their wicked counſell led him ſo far from God, that he falſified his promiſe, dipt his hands in the blood of the Saints of God, and brought this Commonwealth to the very point of utter ruine. And theſe were the firſt fruits of the Abbot of *Paiſlay* his counterfeit Godlineſſe and Learning: But hereof we will heare more. All honeſt and godly men baniſhed from the Court, the Abbot and his counſell beginneth to lay before the inconſtant Governour, the dangers that might enſue the alteration and change of Religion. The power of the King of *France*, the commodity that might come to him and his houſe, by retaining the ancient League with *France*, and the great danger that he brought upon himſelfe, if in one jote he ſuffereth the authority of the Pope to be violated or called in doubt within this Realme: Conſidering that thereupon onely ſtood the ſecurity of his pretended right to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of this Realme: For by Gods word could not be good the divorcement of his father from *Eliz. Hume*, ſiſter to the Lord *Hume*, his lawfull wife, and conſequently his marriage with *Beton*, Neece to *James Beton*, Biſhop of S. *Andrews* (*Elizabeth Hume* being alive) muſt be null, and he declared Baſtard. *Caiphas* ſpake Propheſie, and yet wiſt not what he ſpake: For at that time there was hardly any man that truely feared God that minded any ſuch thing, but with their whole force would have fortified him in the place that God had given unto him, and would never have called in queſtion things done in time of darkneſſe. But this head we paſſe by till God declare his will therein. Another practiſe was uſed: As for the Cardinall, he being ſet at libertie (as before we have heard) ceaſed not to traffique with ſuch of the Nobility as he might draw to his faction, or corrupt by any meanes, to raiſe a partie againſt the ſaid Governour, and againſt ſuch as ſtood faſt at the Contract of Marriage and Peace with *England*. And ſo aſſembled at *Lynlytquow*, the ſaid Cardinall, the Earles *Argyle*, *Huntlie*, *Bothwell*, the Biſhops and their bands. And thereafter they paſſed to *Strevelin*, and took with

Note.

Note.

with them both the Queenes, the mother and the daughter; and threatned the depoſition of the ſaid Governour, as *Inobedient to their holy Mother the Church* (ſo terme they that harlot of *Babylon, Rome*) The inconſtant man, not thorowly grounded upon God, left (by his owne fault) deſtitute of all good counſell, and having the wicked ever blowing in his eare, *What will you do? you will deſtroy your ſelfe and your houſe both for ever.* The unhappy man (we ſay) beaten with theſe temptations, rendred himſelfe to the appetites of the wicked; for he quietly ſtole away from the Lords that were with him in the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*, paſt to *Sterlin*, ſubjected himſelfe to the Cardinall and to his Councell, received abſolution, renounced the profeſſion of Chriſt Jeſus his holy Goſpel, and violated his Oath that before he had made, for the obſervation of the Contract and League made with *England*. At that time was our Queene crowned, and a promiſe made to *France*. The certainty hereof coming to King *Henry*, our *Scottiſh* Ships were ſtayed, the Sailes taken from the Rigs, and the Merchants and Mariners were commanded to ſure cuſtody. New Commiſſion was ſent to Maſter *Radulph Saidler* (who then ſtill remained in *Scotland*) to demand the cauſe of that ſudden alteration, and to travell by all meanes poſſible, that the Governour might be called back to his former godly purpoſe, and that he would not do ſo fooliſhly, and diſhoneſtly, yea, ſo cruelly and unmercifully to the Realme of *Scotland*: that he would not onely loſe the commodities offered, and that were preſently to be received: But that alſo that he would put it to the hazard of fire and ſword, and other inconveniences that might enſue the war that was to follow upon the violation of his Faith. But nothing could availe. The devil kept faſt the grype that he got, yea all the dayes of his government: For the Cardinall got his eldeſt ſon in pledge, whom he kept in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, while the day that Gods hand puniſhed his pride. King *Henry* perceiving that all hope of the Governours repentance was loſt, called back his Ambaſſadours, and that with fearfull threatnings as *Edinburgh* after felt: Denounced War, made our Ships priſes, and Merchants and Mariners lawfull priſoners, which to the Broughes of *Scotland* was no ſmall herſhip. But thereat did the Cardinall and Prieſts laugh, and jeſtingly he ſaid, *When we ſhall conquer* England *the Merchants ſhall be recompenſed.* The Summer and the Harveſt paſſed over without any notable thing: For the Cardinall and Abbot of *Paiſlay* parted the prey amongſt them; The abuſed Governour bare the name onely. In the beginning of Winter came the Earle of *Lenox* to *Scotland*, ſent from *France* in hatred of the Governour, whom the King (by the Cardinals advice) promiſed to pronounce Baſtard, and ſo to make the ſaid Earle Governour; Firſt, becauſe he himſelfe was borne by *Beton*, his fathers lawfull wife, *Elizabeth Humes* being yet alive; Next, becauſe his Grandfather was borne by *Mary Stuart* to *James Hamilton*; when her lawfull husband *Thomas Boyd* was yet alive. So the Earle of *Lenox* did not onely pretend to be lawfully next to the Crowne, as the late King *James* the fifth did often declare, That if he died without heire male, he would ſettle the Crowne upon him, but alſo lawfull heire of the Earledome of *Arran*, as being deſcended from *Margaret Hamilton*, borne to *Mary Stuart* and

Anno

This is the Prelats language.

The Governour violated his faith, refuſed God, and took abſolution of the devil, renouncing his Religion in the gray Friers.

All this was then ſaid by the Cardinall, *Penes auctorem fides eſto.*

Anno *James Hamilton*, after the death of *Thomas Boyd* her former husband (now by this time the inconſtant Earle of *Arran* had given himſelfe wholly to the Cardinall) The Cardinall farther put the E. of *Lenox* in vain hope that the Queen Dowager ſhould marry him. He brought with him ſome money and more he after received at the hands of *Labroſſe*. But at length perceiving himſelfe fruſtrate of all expectation that he had, either by *France*, or yet by the promiſe of the Cardinall; he concludeth to leave *France*, and to ſeek the favour of *England*: And ſo began to draw a faction againſt the Governour, and in hatred of the others inconſtancy many favoured him in the beginning: For there aſſembled at Chriſtmas in the Town of *Ayre*, the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, *Caſſilles*; The Lord *Maxwell*, The Laird of *Dumlanrig*, The Sheriffe of *Ayre*, *Campbell*; with all the force that they and the Lords that remained conſtant at the opinion of *England* might make; and after Chriſtmas they came to light. The Governour and Cardinall with their forces kept *Edinburgh* (for they were ſlackly purſued) Men excuſed the Earle of *Lenox* in that behalfe, and laid the blame upon ſome that had no will of the *Stewards* Regiment. Howſoever it was, ſuch an appointment was made, that the ſaid Earle of *Lenox* was diſappointed of his purpoſe, and narrowly eſcaped, and firſt gat him to *Glaſgow*, and after to *Dumbartane*. Sir *George Dowglas* was delivered to be kept as pledge. The Earle his brother was in the Lent after taken at the ſiege of *Glaſgow*. It was bruted, that both the brethren, and others with them had loſt their heads, if by the providence of God the *Engliſh* Armie had not arrived in time. After that the Cardinall had gotten the Governour wholly addict to his devotion, and had obtained his intent above a part of his enemies: He began to practiſe, how that ſuch as he feared, and therefore deadly hated, ſhould be ſet by the eares, one againſt another (for in that thought the carnall man put his greateſt ſecuritie) The Lord *Ruthven* he hated, by reaſon of his knowledge of Gods Word. The Lord *Gray* he feared, becauſe at that time he uſed the company of ſuch as profeſſed godlineſſe, and bare ſmall favour to the Cardinall. Now thus reaſoned the worldly wiſe man; If I can put enmity betwixt theſe two, I ſhall be rid of a great number of unfriends; For the moſt part of the Countrey will either aſſiſt the one or the other, and ſo will they be otherwiſe occupied, then to watch for my diſpleaſure. He finds the means without long proceſſe; for he labours with *John Chartereus* (a man of ſtout courage and many friends) to accept the Provoſtrie of S. *Johnſton*, which he purchaſed to him by donation of the Governour, with a charge to the ſaid Towne, to obey him as their lawfull Provoſt: Whereat not onely the ſaid Lord *Ruthven*, but alſo the Towne being offended, gave a negative anſwer; alleadging that ſuch intruſion of men to office was hurtfull to their priviledge and freedom: which granted unto them free election of their Provoſt from yeere to yeere, at a certain time appointed, which they could not nor would not anticipate. Hereat the ſaid *John*, offended, ſaid, That he would take that office by force, if they would not grant it unto him of benevolence. And ſo departed and communed the matter with the Lord *Gray*, with *Norman Leſlie*, and with others his friends, whom he eaſily perſwaded to aſſiſt him in that purſuit. Becauſe he appeareth to have the Governours right, and

Note the device of the wicked to ſet men by the

and had not onely a charge to the Towne, as is ſaid, but alſo he purchaſed Letters to beſiege it, and to take it by ſtrong hand, if any reſiſtance were made unto him. Such letters, we ſay, made many to favour his action. The other made for defence, and ſo took the Maſter of *Ruthuen*, (the Lord that after departed into *England*) the maintenance of the town, having in his company the Laird of *Montcreif*, and other friends adjacent. The ſaid *Iohn* prepared for the purſuit, and upon Saint *Magdalens* day in the morning, *anno* 1543. approached with his Forces (the Lord *Grey* tooke upon him the principall charge. It was appointed, that *Norman Leſley*, with his friends, ſhould have come by Ship with Munition and Ordnance, as they were in readineſſe. But becauſe the Tyde ſerved not ſo ſoon as they would: the other thinking himſelf of ſufficient force for all that were in the Towne, entred in by the Bridge, where they found no reſiſtance, till that the former part was entered a pretty ſpace within the *Fiſh-Gate*; And then the ſaid Maſter of *Ruthuen* with his Company ſtoutly recountred them, and ſo rudely repulſed the foremoſt, that ſuch as were behinde gave back. The place of the retreat was ſo ſtrait, that men that durſt not fight, could not flie at their pleaſure (for the moſt part of my Lord *Grayes* friends were upon the Bridge) and ſo the ſlaughter was great; for there fell by the edge of the Sword threeſcore men*. The Cardinall had rather that the miſhap had fallen on the other part: but howſoever it was, he thought that ſuch trouble was his comfort, and advantage. The knowledge whereof came to the ears of the party diſcomfited, and was unto them no ſmall grief. For as many of them entred into that action for his pleaſure, ſo thought they to have had Fortification and aſſiſtance; whereof finding themſelves fruſtrate, they began to look more narrowly to themſelves, and did not ſo attend upon the Cardinals devotion, as they had wont to do before: and ſo was a new jealouſie engendered among them; for whoſoever would not play the good ſervant unto him, was reputed his enemy. The Cardinall drew the Governour to *Dundie*; for he underſtood that the Earle of *Rotheſſe*, and Maſter *Henry Balnaveis* were with the Lord *Gray* in the Caſtle of *Huntley*. The Governour ſent and commanded the ſaid Earle and Lord, with the foreſaid Maſter *Henry* to come unto him to *Dundie*, and appointed the next day, at ten of the clock before noon; which hour they decreed to keep, and for that purpoſe aſſembled their folks at *Balgavie*, or thereby. The Cardinal advertiſed of their number (they were no more than 300 men) thought it not good that they ſhould joyn with the Towne; for he feared his owne eſtate, and ſo he perſwaded the Governour to paſſe forth of *Dundie* before nine hours, and to take the ſtraight way to S. *Iohnſton*: which perceived by the foreſaid Lords, they began to fear that they were come to purſue them, and ſo put themſelves in order, and array, and marched forward of purpoſe to have bidden the uttermoſt. But the crafty fox foreſeeing that in fighting ſtood not his ſecurity, ran to his laſt refuge, that is, To manifeſt Treaſon, and ſo conſultation was taken how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the firſt were ſent the Laird of *Grange*, and the Provoſt of S. *Andrews* (knowing nothing of the Treaſon) to ask why they moleſted my Lord Governour in his journey. Whereto they

Anno

1543

Note.

* And many trod under foot died.

Note.

As they went to *Dundie* they ſaid they were going to burne the readers of the new Teſtament; and that they would ſtick to the old; for *Luther* ſaid they had made the new,

Anno they anſwered, That they meant nothing leſſe, for they came at his Graces Commandment, to have kept the houre in *Dundie* appointed by him; which becauſe they ſaw prevented, and knowing the Cardinall to be their friend, they could not but ſuſpect their unprovided coming forth of the Towne, and therefore they put themſelves in order, not to invade, but to defend, in caſe they were invaded. This anſwer reported, was ſent to the Biſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, the Abbot of *Paiſley*, Maſter *David Panter*, the Lairds of *Balcleuch* and *Coldinknowes*, to deſire certain of the other company to talk with them; which they eaſily obtained (for they ſuſpected no treaſon.) After long communication, it was demanded, If that the Earle and Lord, and Maſter *Henry* aforeſaid, would not be content to talk with the Governour, provided that the Cardinall and his company were on the place: They anſwered, That the Governour might command them in all things lawfull. But they had no will to be in the Cardinals mercy. Fair promiſes enow were made for their ſecurity. Then was the Cardinall and his Band commanded to depart, as that he did, according to the purpoſe taken. The Governour remained, and a certain number with him: To whom came without company, the ſaid Earle, Lord, and M. *Henry*. After many fair words given to them all, to wit, That he would have them agreed with the Cardinall, and that he would have Maſter *Henry Balnaves* the worker and inſtrument thereof, he drew them forwards with them towards Saint *Johnſton*, whereto the Cardinall was ridden. They began to ſuſpect (albeit it was too late) and therefore they deſired to have returned to their folks, for putting order unto them: But it was anſwered, They ſhould ſend back from the town, but they muſt needs go forward with my Lord Governour: and ſo, partly by flattery, and partly by force, they were compelled to obey; and as ſoon as they were in the Towne, they were apprehended, and on the morrow ſent all three to the *Black Neſſe*, where they remained as it pleaſed the Cardinals graceleſſe Grace, and that was till the Band of *Maured*, and of ſervice, ſet ſome of them at liberty. And thus the Cardinal with his craft perſwaded on every ſide; ſo that the Scots Proverb was true in him, *So long rinnes the Fox, as he ſute hes.* Whether it was at this journey, or at another, that that bloody butcher executed his cruelty upon the innocent perſons in S. *Johnſton*, we cannot affirme: neither yet therein ſtudy we to be curious, but rather we travell to expreſſe the verity, whenſoever it was done, than ſcrupulouſly and exactly to appoint times; which yet we omit not, when the certainty occurres. The verity of that cruell fact is this; At S. *Pauls* day, before the firſt burning of *Edinburgh*, came to S. *Johnſton* the Governour and Cardinall, and there upon envious delation, were a great number of honeſt men and women called before the Cardinall, and accuſed of hereſie. And albeit they could be convinced of nothing, but onely of ſuſpition that they had eaten a Gooſe upon *Friday*, four men were adjudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned; which cruell and moſt unjuſt ſentence, was without mercy put in execution: the husband was hanged, and the wife, having a ſucking babe upon her breſt, was drowned. *O Lord, the Land is not yet purged from ſuch beaſtly cruelty, neither hath thy juſt vengeance yet ſtricken all that were criminall of their*

Note.

A woman and her childe put to death becauſe ſhe prayed not to the Virgin *Mary*.

Men put to death for eating a Gooſe upon Friday.

their blood. But the day approacheth when that the puniſhment of that cruelty, and of others, will evidently appears. The names of the men that were hanged, were, *James Hunter, William Lambe, William Anderſon, James Ruvalt*, Burgeſſe of Saint *Johnſton*. At that ſame time were baniſhed, Sir *Henry Eldar, Iohn Eldar, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar*, with divers others, whoſe names come not to our knowledge. That ſworn enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and unto all in whom any ſpark of knowledge appeared, had about that time in priſon divers; amongſt whom was *Iohn Roger*, a black Frier, godly and learned, one that had fruitfully preached Chriſt Jeſus, to the comfort of many in *Angus* and *Mearnes*, whom that bloody man cauſed to murther in the ground of the Sea Tower in S. *Andrews*, and then cauſed to caſt him over the wall, ſpreading a falſe brute, That the ſaid *Iohn* ſeeking to flie, had broken his own neck. This ceaſed not Sathan by all means to maintaine his kingdome of Darkneſſe, and to ſuppreſſe the light of Chriſts Goſpel. But mighty is he againſt whom they fight: for when the wicked were in greateſt ſecurity, then began God to ſhow his anger. For the third day of *May*, in the yeer of our Lord 1544 yeers, without knowledge of any man in *Scotland*, (we mean of ſuch as ſhould have had the care of the Realme) was ſeen a great Navy of Ships arriving towards the *Fyrth*. The Poſts came to the Governour and Cardinall (who both were in *Edinburgh*) what multitude of Ships were ſeen, and what courſe they took. This was on the Saturday before noon. Queſtion was had, What ſhould they mean? Some ſaid, It is no doubt but they are Engliſh-men, and we fear that they will land. The Cardinall skipped, and ſaid, It is the Iſland flote, they are come to make a ſhew, and to put us in fear. I ſhall lodge all the men of Warre in mine eye, that ſhall land in *Scotland*. Still ſitteth the Cardinall at his dinner, eating as though there had been no danger appearing. Men aſſembled to gaze upon the Ships, ſome to the Caſtle hill, ſome to the mountains, and other places eminent. But there was no queſtion, With what Forces ſhall we reſiſt, if we be invaded. Soon after ſix of the clock at night, were arrived, and had caſt Ankor in the Road of *Leith*, more than two hundred Sail. Shortly after, the Admirall ſhot a flott Boat, which from *Granton hills*, till by Eaſt *Leith*, ſounded the deep, and ſo returned to her Ship. Hereof were divers opinions; men of judgement foreſaw what it meant, but no credit was given to any that would ſay, They minded to land, and ſo paſſed every man to his reſt, as if the Ships had been a guard for their defence. Upon the point of day upon Sunday the fourth of *May*, addreſſe they for landing, and they ordered the Ships ſo, that a Galley or two laid their ſnouts to the hills: the ſmall Ships, called Pinnaces and light Horſe-men, approached as neer as they could. The great Ships diſcharged their Souldiers into the ſmaller Veſſels, and they by Boats ſet upon dry Land before ten of the clock, 10000 men, as was judged, and more. The Governour and Cardinall ſeeing then the thing that they could not, or at leaſt they would not believe before, after they had made a brag to fight, fled as faſt as horſe could carry them; ſo that after, they approached not within twenty miles of the danger. The Earle of *Angus*, and Sir *George Dowglas* were that night freed of Ward

Anno

Iohn Roger, a black Frier, murthered.

1544.

The Engliſh Army arrived in *Scotland*.

Note.

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Anno (they were in *Blackneſſe*) The ſaid Sir *George* in merrineſſe, ſaid, *I thanke King* Henry, *and my gentle Maſters of England*. The Engliſh Army betwixt one and two of the clock entered into *Leith*, found the Tables covered, the dinners prepared, ſuch abundance of wine and victualls, beſides the other ſubſtance, that the like riches within the like bounds was not to be found neither in *Scotland* nor *England*. Upon Munday the fifth of *May*, came to them from *Barwick* and the borders, two thouſand Horſe-men, who being ſomewhat repoſed, the Army upon the Wedneſday marched toward the Town of *Edinburgh*, ſpoiled and burnt the ſame, and ſo did they the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*. The Horſe-men took the Houſe of *Craigmiller*, and gat great ſpoils therein; for it being judged the ſtrongeſt Houſe neer the Towne, after the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and all men ſought to ſave their moveables therein. But the ſtoutneſſe of the Laird gave it over, without ſhot of Hackebut, and for his reward was cauſed to march upon his feet to *London*: He is now Captain of *Dunbar*, and Provoſt of *Edinburgh*. The Engliſh-men ſeeing no reſiſtance, hurled by force of men Cannons upon the ſtreet, to the Butter trone, and above, and hazarded a ſhot againſt the fore-entry of the Caſtle; but that was to their own pains; For they lying without Trench or Gabion, were expoſed to the force of the whole Ordnance of the ſaid Caſtle, which ſhot, and that not all in vain, for the Wheel and Axletree of one of the Engliſh Cannons was broken, and ſome of their men ſlain, and ſo they left with ſmall honour, that enterpriſe taken rather of raſhneſſe, than of any adviſed counſell. When the moſt part of the day they had ſpoiled and burnt, towards the night they returned to *Leith*, and upon the morrow returned to *Edinburgh*, and executed the reſt of Gods judgements for that time. And ſo when they had conſumed both the Towns, they laded the Ships with the ſpoiles thereof, and they by Land returned to *Barwick*, uſing the Countrey, for the moſt part, at their own pleaſure. This was a part of the puniſh nent which God took upon the Realm for the infidelity of the Governour, and for the violation of his ſolemne Oath. But this was not the end; for the Realme was divided into two factions; the one favoured *France*, the other the League lately contracted with *England*: The one did in no things credit thorowly the other, ſo that the Countrey was in extreme calamity: for to the Engliſh-men were delivered divers Strengths, ſuch as *Carelaverock*, *Lochmaben*, and *Langham*: the moſt part of the Borderers were confederate with *England*: And albeit at *Ancrome mure* in *February*, in the yeer of God 1544. was Sir *Rafe Ewers*, with many other Engliſh-men ſlain, and the yeere after were ſome of the ſaid ſtrengths recovered, yet was it not without great loſſe and detriment of the Common-wealth: For in the month of *Ianuary*, in the yeer of God 1545. *Monſieur de Lorge*, with Bands of men of War, came from *France*, for a deſtruction to *Scotland*: For upon their brag was an Army raiſed; forwards they go towards *Warke*, even in the midſt of harveſt. The Cardinalls Banner was that day diſplayed, and all his Files were charged: to be under it many had before promiſed, but at the point it was left ſo bare, that with ſhame it was ſhut up into the pock againe, and they after a ſhew returned with more ſhame to the Realm, then hurt

Edinburgh burnt and ſpoiled by the Engliſh.

Note.

1544.

Lorge cometh to Scotland

1545.

to

to their enemies. The black book of *Hamilton* maketh mention of great vaſſallage done at that time by the Governour and the *French*: but ſuch as with their eyes ſaw the whole progreſſe, knew that to be a lye, *and do repute it amongſt the veniall ſinnes of that race, which is to ſpeak the beſt of themſelves they can.* That winter following ſo nurtured the French-men, that they learned to eat (yea to beg) cakes (which at their entrie they ſcorned) without jeſting; they were ſo miſerably uſed, that few returned into *France* again with their lives. The Cardinall then had almoſt fortified the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, which he made ſo ſtrong in his opinion, that he regarded neither *England* nor *France*. The Earle of *Lenox*, as is ſaid, diſappointed of all things in *Scotland*, paſſed into *England*, where he was received of King *Henry* into protection, who gave him to wife Lady *Margaret Douglas*, of whom was borne *Henry*, ſometime huſband to our Queen and Miſtreſſe. While the inconſtant Governour was ſometimes dejected, and ſometimes raiſed up againe by the Abbot of *Paiſlay* (who before was called, *Chaſter then any maiden*) began to ſhew himſelfe; for after he had taken by craft the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbar*, he took alſo poſſeſſion of his enemies wife, the Lady *Stanehouſe*. The woman is and hath been famous, and is called, Lady *Gilton*: her Ladyſhip was holden alwayes in poverty. But how many wives and virgins he hath had ſince, and that in common, the world knoweth, albeit not all, and his baſtard birds bear ſome witneſſe. Such is the example of holineſſe, that the flock may receive of the Papiſticall Biſhops. In the midſt of all the calamities that came upon this Realme, after the defection of the Governor from Chriſt Jeſus, came into *Scotland* that bleſſed Martyr of God M. *George Wiſcharde*, in company of the Commiſſioners before mentioned in the yeere of our Lord 1544. a man of ſuch graces, as before him was never heard within this Realme, yea, and are rare to be found yet in any man, notwithſtanding this great light of God that ſince his dayes hath ſhined unto us: he was not onely ſingularly learned, as well in all Godly knowledge, as in all honeſt humane Science: but alſo he was ſo clearely illuminated with the ſpirit of Propheſie; that he ſaw not onely things pertaining to himſelfe, but alſo ſuch things as ſome Townes, and the whole Realme afterward felt; which he foreſpake not in ſecret, but in the audience of many, as in their own places ſhall be declared. The beginning of his Doctrine was in *Mount Roſſe*, therefrom he departed to *Dundie*, where with great admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*: till that by procurement of the Cardinall, *Robert Myle*, then one of the principall men in *Dundie*, and a man that of old had profeſſed knowledge, and for the ſame had ſuffered trouble, gave, in the Queenes and Governours name, Inhibition to the ſaid Maſter *George*, that he ſhould trouble their Towne no more, for they would not ſuffer it: And this was ſaid to him being in the publike place; which heard, he muſed a pretie ſpace, with his eyes bent unto the heaven. And thereafter looking ſorrowfully to the ſpeaker, and unto the people, he ſayd, God is witneſſe that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort: yea, your trouble is more dolourous unto me, then it is unto your ſelves: But I am aſſured, that to refuſe Gods word and to chaſe from you his

Anno

Note. The character of Hamilton.

Note.

George Wiſchard.

Note a falſe brother.

Anno his meſſenger ſhall not preſerve you from trouble, but it ſhall bring you into it: For God ſhall ſend unto you meſſengers who will not be afraid of burning, nor yet for baniſhment. I have offered unto you the word of Salvation, and with the hazard of my life I have remained amongſt you. Now ye your ſelves refuſe me, and therefore muſt I leave my Innocencie to be declared by my God, *if it be long proſperous with you, I am not led with the Spirit of Truth.* But if trouble unlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cauſe, and turne to God. For he is merciful, but if ye turne not at the firſt, he will viſit you with fire and ſword. Theſe words pronounced, he came dowme from the Preaching place. In the Church preſent was the Lord *Marſhall*, and divers noble men, who would have had the ſaid M. *George* to have remained, or elſe to have gone with them into the Countrey. But for no requeſt would he either tarry in the towne or on that ſide of *Tay* any longer. But with poſſible expedition paſt to the Weſt-land, where he began to offer Gods word, which was of many gladly received, till that the Biſhop of *Glaſgow, Dumbar*, by inſtigation of the Cardinall, came with his gatherings to the Towne of *Ayre* to make reſiſtance to the ſaid M. *George*, and did firſt take the Church. The Earle of *Glencarne* being thereof advertiſed, repaired with his friends to the Towne with diligence, and ſo did divers Gentlemen of *Kyle* (amongſt whom was the Laird of *Leſnoreiſe*, a man far different from him that now liveth, in the yeere of our Lord 1566. in manners and Religion) of whom to this day yet many live, and have declared themſelves alwayes zealous and bold in the cauſe of God, as after will be heard. When all were aſſembled, concluſion was taken that they would have the Church. Whereto the ſaid M. *George* utterly repugned, ſaying, *Let him alone, his Sermon will not much hurt, Let us go to the Markes Croſſe:* And ſo they did, where he made ſo notable a Sermon, that the very enemies themſelves were confounded. The Biſhop Preached to his Jackmen, and to ſome old *Boſſes* of the Towne. The ſum of all his Sermon was, *They ſay we ſhould Preach, Why not? Better late thrive, then never thrive: Hold us ſtill for your Biſhop, and we ſhall provide better the next time.* This was the beginning and the end of the Biſhops Sermon: Who with haſte departed the Towne, but returned not to fulfill his promiſe. The ſaid M. *George* remained with the Gentlemen in *Kyle*, till that he gat ſure knowledge of the eſtate of *Dundie*. He Preached commonly at the Church of *Gaſtonne*, and uſed much in the *Barre*. He was required to come to the Church of *Machlyne*, and ſo he did: But the Sheriffe of *Ayre* cauſed to man the Church, for preſervation of a Tabernacle that was there beautifull to the eye. The perſons that held the Church was *George Campbell* of *Mongarſwood*, that yet liveth *Anno* 1566. *Mungo Campbell* of *Brounſyde*, *George Rid* in *Dandilling* the Laird of *Tempilland*.

M. *Wiſhard* his words in *Dundie.*

The Biſhops Sermon.

Some zealous of the Pariſh, amongſt whom was *Hugh Campbell* of *Kingarcleuch*, offended that they ſhould be debarred their Pariſh Church, concluded by force to enter. But the ſaid M. *George* withdrew the ſaid *Hugh*, and ſaid unto him, *Brother, Chriſt Jeſus is as mighty upon the fields as in the Church; And I finde that he himſelfe after Preached in the Deſert, at the ſea ſide, and other places judged prophane then, he did in the Temple of* Jeruſalem.

It

It is the word of Peace that God ſends by me: The blood of no man ſhall be ſhed this day for the Preaching of it. And ſo withdrawing the whole people, he came to a ditch in a More-edge, upon the South-weſt ſide of *Machlyne*, upon the which he aſcended: The whole multitude ſtood and ſate about him (God gave the day pleaſant and hot) he continued in Preaching more then three houres: In that Sermon God wrought ſo wonderfully with him, that one of the moſt wicked men that was in that countrey, named *Lawrence Ranckin*, Laird of *Sheld*, was converted. The teares ran from his eyes in ſuch abundance, that all men wondered; His converſion was without hypocriſie, for his life and converſation witneſſed it in all times to come. While this faithfull ſervant of God was thus occupied in *Kyle*, word roſe, that the Plague of Peſtilence roſe in *Dundie*, which began foure dayes after that the ſaid M. *George* was inhibited Preaching, and was ſo vehement, that it paſſed almoſt credibility, to hear how many departed every foure and twenty houres. The certainty underſtood, the ſaid Maſter *George* tooke his leave of *Kyle*, and that with the regrate of many. But no requeſt could make him to remain; His reaſon was, *They are now in trouble, and they need comfort: Perchance this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence that word which before (for the feare of men) they ſet at light price.* Coming unto *Dundie*, the joy of the faithfull was exceeding great. He delayed no time; but even upon the morrow gave ſignification that he would Preach. And becauſe the moſt part were either ſick, or elſe were in company with thoſe that were ſick, he chooſd the head of the Eaſt port of the Towne for his Preaching place, and ſo the whole ſtood or ſat within, the ſick and ſuſpected without the Port or gate. The Text upon the which his firſt Sermon was made, he took from the hundred and ſeventh Pſalme; The Sentence thereof, *He ſent his Word and healed them*; And therewith joyned theſe words, *It is neither herbe nor plaiſter, O Lord, but thy Word healeth all.* In which Sermon he moſt comfortably did entreat of the dignity & utility of Gods word, the puniſhment that comes for the contempt of the ſame; the promptitude of Gods mercy to ſuch as truly turn to him; yea, the great happineſſe of them whom God taketh from this miſery, even in his own gentle viſitation, which the malice of man can neither mend nor pair. By the which Sermon he ſo raiſed up the hearts of all that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that ſhould depart, then ſuch as ſhould remain behinde. Conſidering that they knew not if they ſhould have ſuch a comforter with them at all times. He ſpared not to viſit them that lay in the very extremity. He comforted them as he could, being ſuch a multitude; He cauſed miniſter all things neceſſary to thoſe that could uſe meat or drink, and in that point was the Town wonderous beneficiall; for the poore was no more neglected then was the rich. While he was ſpending his life to comfort the afflicted, the Devill ceaſed not to ſtir up his owne ſon the Cardinall again, who corrupted by money a deſperate Prieſt, named Sir *John Weighton*, to ſlay the ſaid M. *George*, who looked not to himſelfe in all things ſo circumſpectly as worldly men would have uſed. And upon a day the Sermon ended and the people departing, no man ſuſpecting danger, and therefore not heeding the ſaid M. *George*; The Prieſt that was corrupted ſtood

Anno

Note.

Note M. *wel chaſte* his zeale to gain ſoules.

Anno

A Prieſt appointed by the Cardinall to ſtab M. *George Wiſhearde.*

waiting at the foot of the ſteps, his gowne looſe, and his dagger drawne in his hand under his gowne. The ſaid Maſter *George*, as that he was moſt ſharpe of eye and judgement, marked him, and as he came neere, he ſaid; *My friend, what would you do?* And therewith he clapped his hand upon the Prieſts hand wherein the dagger was, which he took from him. The Prieſt abaſhed fell down at his feet, and openly confeſſed the verity as it was. The noiſe riſing, and coming to the eares of the ſicke. They cryed, *Deliver the traytor to us, or elſe we will take him by force*; And ſo they burſt in at the gate: But M. *George* took him in his armes, and ſaid, *Whoſoever troubles him ſhall trouble me, for he hath hurt me in nothing, but he hath done great comfort to you and me*, to wit, *he hath let us to underſtand what we may feare, in times to come we will watch better*: And ſo he appeaſed both the one part and the other, and ſaved the life of him that ſought his. When the Plague was ſo ceaſed that almoſt there was none ſicke, he tooke his leave of them, and ſaid, *That God had almoſt put an end to that battell.* He found himſelfe called to another place. The Gentlemen of the Weſt had written unto him that he ſhould meet them at *Edinburgh*; for they would require Diſputation of the Biſhops, and that he ſhould be publikely heard, whereto he willingly agreed. But firſt he paſſed to *Montroſſe* to ſalute the Church there, where he remained, occupied ſometimes in Preaching, but moſt part in ſecret Meditation: In the which he was ſo earneſt, that night and day he would continue in it, while he was ſo occupied with his God, the Cardinall drew a ſecret draught for his ſlaughter; He cauſed to write unto him a Letter, as it had been from his moſt familiar friend, the Laird of *Kinneir*, deſiring him with all poſſible diligence to come unto him, for he was ſtricken with a ſudden ſickneſſe. In the mean time had the traitor provided 60 men with Jacks and Spears to lie in wait within a mile and halfe to the town of *Montroſſe* for his diſpatch. The Letter coming to his hand, he made haſte at firſt (for the boy had brought a horſe) and ſo with ſome honeſt men he paſſed forth of the Town, but ſuddenly he ſtayed, and muſing a ſpace, returned back, whereat they wondring, he ſaid, *I will not go, I am forbidden of God, I am aſſured there is treaſon*; *Let ſome of you*, ſaith he, *go to yonder place, and tell me what ye finde.* Diligence made; They found the Treaſon as it was, which being ſhewn with expedition to M. *George*, he anſwered, *I know that I ſhall end my life in that blood-thirſtie mans hands, but it will not be on this manner.* The time approaching that he had appointed to meet the Gentlemen at *Edinburgh*, he tooke his leave at *Montroſſe*, and ſore againſt the judgement of the Laird of *Dune*, entred on his journey, and ſo returned to *Dundie*. But remained not, but paſſed to the houſe of a faithfull brother named *James Watſon*, who dwelt in *Inner-Gowrie*, diſtant from the ſaid Towne two miles, and that night (as information was given to us, by *William Spadin* and *John Watſon*, both men of good credit) before day he paſſed forth into a yard, the ſaid *William* & *John* followed privily, and tooke heed what he did, when he had gone up and down in an alley a reaſonable ſpace, with many ſobs and deep grones, h fell upon his knees, and ſitting thereon, his grones increaſed. And from hise knees he fell upon his face. And then the perſons aforenamed, heard weeping, and as it were, an indigeſt ſound of prayers, in the which he continued

The ſecond attempt of the Cardinall for the killing of M. *George Wiſheard.*

Note the ſpirit of Prophetie.

continued neer an hour, and after began to be quiet, and ſo aroſe, and came into his bed. They that waited upon him came before, as if they had bin ignorant, till that he came in, and then began they to demand where he had been: But that night he wou'd anſwer nothing. Upon the morrow they urged him again; and while that he diſſembled, they ſaid, M. *George*, Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning, and ſaw you both upon your knees, and upon your face. With dejected viſage, he ſaid, I had rather ye had been in your beds, and it had been more profitable for you; for I was ſcarce well occupied. When they inſtantly urged him to let them know ſome comfort, he ſaid, I will tell you, That I am aſſured that my travell is neer an end, and therefore call to God with me, that now I ſhrinke not when the battell waxes moſt hot. And while that they weeped and ſaid, *That was ſmall comfort unto them*; he anſwered, *God ſhall ſend you comfort after me. This Realme ſhall be illuminated with the light of Chriſts Goſpel, as cleerly as ever any Realme ſince the dayes of the Apoſtles. The Houſe of God ſhall be builded in it; yea, it ſhall not lack (whatſoever the enemy imagine in the contrary) the very Kepſtone*, meaning, That it ſhould once be brought to the full perfection. Neither (ſaid he) ſhall this be long to: there ſhall not many ſuffer after me, till that the glory of God ſhall evidently appeare, and ſhall once triumph in deſpight of Sathan. But alas, if the people ſhall be after unthankfull, then fearfull and terrible ſhall the plagues be that ſhall follow. And with theſe words he marched forwards in his journey towards S. *Johnſton*, and ſo to *Fyfe*, and then to *Leyth*, where he arrived; and hearing no word of thoſe that appointed to meet him, to wit, The Earle of *Caſſels*, and the Gentlemen of *Kyle* and *Cuninghame*, he kept himſelf ſecret a day or two. But beginning to wax ſorrowfull in ſpirit, and being demanded of the cauſe, of ſuch as were not in his company before, he ſaid, What differ I from a dead man, except that I eat and drinke? To this time God hath uſed my labours to the inſtruction of others, and unto the diſcloſing of darkneſſe, and now I lurke as a man that were aſhamed, and durſt not ſhew himſelf before men. By theſe and the like words, they that heard him underſtood that his deſire was to preach, and therefore ſaid, Moſt comfortable it was unto us to hear you; but becauſe we know the danger wherein ye ſtand, we dare not deſire you. But dare ye and others hear (ſaid he) and then let my God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him. Finally, it was concluded, That the next Sunday he ſhould preach in *Leith*, as he did, and took the Text, *The Parable of the ſower that went forth to ſow ſeed*, *Matth.* 13. And this was upon the fifteenth day before Chriſtmas. The Sermon ended, the Gentlemen of *Lowthan*, who then were earneſt Profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus, thought not expedient that he ſhould remain in *Leith*, becauſe that the Governour and Cardinall were ſhortly to come to *Edinburgh*, and therefore they took him with them, and kept him ſometimes in *Brunſton*, ſometimes in *Langnidrie*, and ſometimes in *Ormeſton*. For theſe three diligently waited upon him. The Sunday following, he preached in the Church of *Enneresk*, beſides *Muſſilburgh*, both before and at after noon, where there was a great confluence of people, amongſt whom was Sir *George Dowglas*, who after the Sermon

Anno

Propheſie ſpoken by Maſter *George Whiſchart* of the Church of *Scotland*.

Note the reſolution of a Preacher.

Anno ſaid publikely, *I know that my Lord Governour. and my Lord Cardinall ſhall hear that I have been at this preaching* (for they were then at *Edinburgh*) *Say unto them, That I will avow it, and will not onely maintain the Doctrine that I have heard, but alſo the perſon of the Teacher, to the uttermoſt of my power.* Which words greatly rejoyced the people, and the Gentlemen then preſent. One thing notable in that Sermon we cannot paſſe by: Amongſt others, there came two gray Friers, and ſtanding in the entry of the Church door, they made ſome whiſpering to ſuch as came in: which perceived, the Preacher ſaid to the people that ſtood neer them, *I heartily pray you to make room to thoſe two men, it may be that they be come to learne.* And unto them he ſaid, *Come neer* (for they ſtood in the very entry of the door) *for I aſſure you ye ſhall hear the Word of verity, which ſhall either ſeal in you this ſame day your ſalvation or condemnation.* And ſo proceeded he in Doctrine, ſuppoſing they would have been quiet: But when he perceived them ſtill to trouble the people that ſtood neer them (for vehement was he againſt the falſe worſhipping of God) he turned unto them the ſecond time, and with an irefull countenance ſaid, *O Sergeants of Sathan, and deceivers of the ſouls of men, Will ye neither heare Gods Truth, nor ſuffer others to heare it; Depart, and take this for your portion, God ſhall ſhortly confound and diſcloſe your hypocriſie within this Realme; ye ſhall be abominable unto men, and your places and habitations ſhall be deſolate.* This Sentence he pronounced with great vehemency in the midſt of the Sermon: And turning to the people, he ſaid, *You wicked men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger.* And ſo he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the end. The dayes travell was ended, he came to *Langindrie*, and the two next Sundays preached in *Tranent*, with the like grace, and like confluence of people. In all his Sermons after his departure from *Angus*, he foreſpake the ſhorteſſe of the time that he had to travell, and of his death, the day whereof approached neerer than any would believe. In the latter end of thoſe dayes that are called the holy dayes of *Chriſtmas*, paſt he, by conſent of the Gentlemen, to *Hadington*, where it was ſuppoſed the greateſt confluence of people ſhould be, both by reaſon of the Towne, and of the Countrey adjacent. The firſt day before noon, the auditors were reaſonable, and yet nothing in compariſon of that which uſed to be in that Church. But the afternoon, and the next day following before noon, the auditory was ſo ſlender, that many wondred. The cauſe was judged to have been, That the Earle *Bothwell*, who in thoſe bounds uſed to have great credit and obedience, by procurement of the Cardinall, had given inhibition, as well unto the Towne, as unto the Countrey, that they ſhould not hear him, under the pain of his diſpleaſure. The firſt night he lay within the Towne, with *David Forreſt*, now called the Generall, a man that long profeſſed the truth, and upon whom many in that time depended. The ſecond night he lay in *Lethington*, the Laird whereof was ever civill, albeit not perſwaded in Religion. The day following, before the ſaid M. *George* paſt to the Sermon, there came to him a boy, with a Letter from the *Weſtland*; which received and read, he called for *John Knox*, who had waited upon him carefully from the time he came to *Lowthaine*, with whom he began to enter into purpoſe, That he wearied of the

Two gray Friers.

the world, for he perceiveth that men began to be weary of God. The cauſe of his complaint was; The Gentlemen of the Weſt had written unto him, That they could not keep the meeting at *Edinburgh*. The ſaid *Jo. Knox* wondering that he deſired to keep any purpoſe before Sermon (for that was not his accuſtomed uſe before) ſaid, *Sir, the time of Sermon approacheth, I will leave you for the preſent to your meditation.* And ſo he took the Bill containing the purpoſe aforeſaid, and left him: the ſaid Maſter *George* walked up and down behinde the high Altar more than half an houre. His weary countenance and viſage declared the grief and alteration of his minde. At laſt he paſſeth to the Pulpit; but the Auditory was ſmall, he ſhould have begun to have treated of the ſecond Table of the Law: but thereof in that Sermon ſpake he very little. He began on this manner: *O Lord, How long ſhall it be that thy holy Word ſhall be deſpiſed, and men ſhall not regard their owne ſalvation? I have heard of thee, Hadington, That in thee would have been, at any vaine Clarke Play, two or three thouſand people; and now to hear the Meſſenger of the Eternall God, of all the Towne or Pariſh, cannot be numbred one hundred perſons: Sore and fearfull ſhall the plagues be, that ſhall enſue upon of this thy contempt, with fire and ſword ſhalt thou be plagued: Yea, thou Hadington in ſpeciall, ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſſe thee, and you the preſent inhabitants ſhall either in bondage ſerve your enemies, or elſe ye ſhall be chaſed from your own habitations; and that becauſe ye have not knowne, nor will not know the time of Gods mercifull viſitation.* In ſuch vehemency and threatning continued that ſervant of God, neer an hour and an half; in the which he declared all the plagues that enſued as plainly, as after our eyes ſaw them performed. In the end he ſaid, *I have forgotten my ſelf, and the matter that I ſhould have treated of: But let theſe my laſt words concerning publike Preaching remain in your mindes, till that God ſend you new comfort.* Thereafter he made a ſhort Paraphraſe upon the ſecond Table, with an Exhortation to patience, to the feat of God, and unto the works of mercy, and ſo ended, as it were making his laſt Teſtament, as the iſſue declared fully. The Spirit of Truth and of true Judgement were both in his heart and mouth: for that ſame night was he apprehended before midnight, in the houſe of *Ormeſton*, by the Earle *Bothwell*, made for money butcher to the Cardinall. The manner of his taking was thus: Departing from the towne of *Hadington*, he took his good-night, as it were, for ever, of all his acquaintance, eſpecially from *Hewe Dowglas* of *Langixdrie*. *Iohn Knox* preſſing to have gone with the ſaid Maſter *George*, he ſaid, *Nay, returne to your children, and God bleſſe you; one is ſufficient for one Sacrifice.* And ſo the ſaid *Iohn Knox* albeit unwillingly obeyed, and returned with *Hewe Dowglas* of *Langindrie*, Maſter *George* having to accompany him the Laird of *Ormeſton*, *Iohn Sandelandes* of *Calder* younger, the Laird of *Brounſton*, and others, with their ſervants, paſſed upon foot (for it was a vehement Froſt) to *Ormeſton*. After ſupper he held comfortable purpoſe of Gods choſen children, and merrily ſaid, *Me thinke that I deſire earneſtly to ſleep:* And therewith he ſaid, *Shall we ſing a Pſalme?* And ſo he appointed the One and fiftieth Pſalme, which was put in Scottiſh Meeter, and began thus, *Have mercy on me now good Lord after thy great mercy, &c.* Which being ended, he paſt to his Chamber, and ſooner then

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Vengeance againſt Hadington.

Maſter *Wiſchard* taken at *Ormeſton*.

Note.

He means Gods people.

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then his common diet, was to paſſe to bed with theſe words, *And grant quiet reſt.* Before midnight the place was beſet about, that none could eſcape to make advertiſement. The Earle *Bothwell* came and called for the Laird, and declared the purpoſe, and ſaid, That it was but in vain to make him to hold his houſe, for the Governour and the Cardinall with all their power were coming (and indeed the Cardinall was at *Elphinſton*, not a mile diſtant from *Ormeſton*) But if he would deliver the man to him, he would promiſe upon his Honour, That he ſhould be ſafe, and that it ſhould paſſe the power of the Cardinall to do him any harme or hurt. Allured with theſe words, and taking counſell with the ſaid Maſter *George*, (who at the firſt word ſaid, *Open the gates, the bleſſed will of my God be done.*) They received in the Earle *Bothwell* himſelf, with ſome Gentlemen with him: To whom Maſter *George* ſaid, *I praiſe my God, that ſo honourable a man as you, my Lord, receiveth me this night, in the preſence of theſe noble men: For now I am aſſured, That for your Honours ſake, ye will ſuffer nothing any wayes to be done to me, but by the order of Law. I am not ignorant that all their Law is nothing but corruption, and a cloake to ſhed the blood of the Saints. But yet I leſſe fear to die openly, than ſecretly to be murthered.* The ſaid Earle *Bothwell* anſwered, *I ſhall not onely preſerve your body from all violence that ſhall be purpoſed againſt you againſt order of Law, but alſo I promiſe here in the preſence of theſe Gentlemen, That neither ſhall the Governour nor the Cardinall have their will of you, But I ſhall retaine you in mine owne hands, and in mine owne houſe, till that either I ſhall make you free, or elſe reſtore you in the ſame place where I receive you.* The Lairds aforeſaid, ſaid, *My Lord, If ye will do as you have ſpoken, and as we thinke your Lordſhip will do, then do we here promiſe unto your Lordſhip, That not onely we our ſelves ſhall ſerve you all the dayes of our life, but alſo we ſhall procure the whole profeſſors within* Lothan *to do the ſame. And upon either the preſervation of this our brother, or upon his delivery againe to our hands, we being reaſonably advertiſed to receive him, That we, in the name and behalfe of our friends, ſhall deliver to your Lordſhip, or any ſufficient man that ſhall deliver to us againe this ſervant of God, our Band of Manred in manner requiſite.* And thus promiſe made in the preſence of God, and hands ſtricken upon both the parties for obſervation of the promiſe, the ſaid Maſter *George* was delivered to the hands of the ſaid Earle *Bothwell*, who immediately departing with him, came to *Elphinſton*, where the Cardinall was. Who knowing that *Calder Younger*, and *Brunſton*, were with *Johan Cocburne* Laird of *Ormeſton*, ſent back with expedition to apprehend them alſo. The noyſe of Horſe-men being heard, the ſervants gave advertiſement, That more then departed, or was there before, were returned. And while that they diſpute what ſhould be the motive, the Cardinalls Garriſon had ſeized both the outer and inner Cloſe. They called for the Laird, and for the Laird of *Calder*, who preſenting themſelves, demanded what their COMMISSION was. To bring you two, and the Laird of *Brouneſton* to my Lord GOVERNOUR. They were nothing content (as they had no cauſe) and yet they made

The Lord *Bothwels* promiſe.

M *George's* words to the Earl *Bothwell.*

made faire countenance, and intreated the Gentlemen to drinke, and to baite their horſes, till that they might put themſelves in readineſſe to ride with them. In this meane time *Brounſton* conveyed himſelfe firſt ſecretly, and then by ſpeed of foot to *Ormiſton* wood, and from thence to *Dundallon*, and ſo eſcaped that danger; the other two were put into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where the one, to wit, *Calder Zouger*, remained untill his baud of *Manred* to the Cardinall, was the meanes of his deliverance: And the other, to wit, *Ormiſton*, freed himſelfe by leaping off the wall of the Caſtle, betwixt ten of the clock and eleven before noon: And ſo breaking Ward, he eſcaped priſon, which he unjuſtly ſuffered. The ſervant of God M. *George Wiſcharde*, was carried firſt to *Edinburgh*, thereafter brought backe, for faſhion ſake, to the houſe of *Hailles* againe, which was the principall place that then the Earle *Bothwell* had in *Lothiane*. But as gold and women have corrupted all worldly and fleſhly men from the beginning, ſo did they him: For the Cardinall gave gold, and that largely; and the Queen, with whom the ſaid Earle was then in the Glunders, promiſed him favour in all his lawfull ſuites to women: if he would deliver the ſaid M. *George*, to be kept in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. He made ſome reſiſtance at the firſt, by reaſon of his promiſe. But an effeminate man cannot long withſtand the aſſaults of a gracious Queene, and ſo was the ſervant of God tranſported to *Edinburgh*, where the Cardinall then had a convention of Prelats, wherein ſomewhat was ſaid of redreſſing the abuſes of the Church, and reforming the lives of the Clergie, but it tooke no effect. M. *Wiſcharde* remained but few dayes in *Edinburgh*: For that bloodie woolfe the *Cardinall*, ever thirſting after the blood of the ſervant of God, ſo travelled with the abuſed *Governour*, that he was content that Gods ſervant ſhould be delivered to the power of that Tyrannie. And ſo ſmall inverſion being made, *Pilate* obeyed the petition of *Caiaphas*, and of his fellows, and adjudged *Chriſt* to be crucified. The Cardinall ſeeing it was forbidden by the Canon Law to Prieſts to ſit as Judges upon life and death, although the crime were Hereſie, ſent to the Governour, deſiring him to name ſome Lay-Judge to pronounce Sentence againſt M. *Wiſcharde*. The Governour had freely condeſcended to the Cardinalls requeſt, without delay, if *David Hamilton* of *Preſton*, a godly and wiſe man, had not remonſtrated unto him, That he could expect no better end then *Saul*, ſince he perſecuted the Saints of God, for that Truth which he profeſſed once with ſuch a ſhew of earneſtneſſe; the profeſſion thereof, being the onely cauſe of his advancement to that high degree wherein he was: The Governour moved at this Speech of *David Hamiltons*, anſwered the Cardinall; That he would not meddle with the blood of that good man; and told him, That his blood ſhould be on him, for he himſelfe would be free of it. At this the Cardinall was angry, and ſaid he would proceed, and that he had ſent to the Governour of meere civility, without any need. And ſo the ſervant of God, delivered to the hand of that proud and mercileſſe Tyrannie, triumph was made by the Prieſts. The godly lamented, and accuſed the fooliſhneſſe of the Governour: For by the retaining of the ſaid M. *George*, he might have cauſed Proteſtants and Papiſts (rather proud Romaniſts) to have ſerved; The one, to the end the life of their

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Preacher might have been ſaved; The other, for feare that he ſhould have ſet him at liberty again, to the confuſion of the Biſhops. *But where God is left (as he had plainely renounced him before) what can counſell or judgement availe?* How the ſervant of God was dealt withall, and what he did from the day that he entred within the ſea Tower of S. *Andrews*, which was in the end of January, in the yeere of God 1546. unto the firſt of March the ſame yeere when he ſuffered, we cannot certainly tell, except we underſtand he wrote ſomewh t in priſon, but that was ſuppreſſed by the enemies. The *Cardinall* delayed no time, but cauſed all *Biſhops*, yea, all the Clergie that had any preheminence, to be called to S. *Andrews*, againſt the ſeven and twentieth day of February, that conſultation might be had in that queſtion; which in his minde was no leſſe reſolved, then Chriſts death was in the minde of *Caiaphas*. But that the reſt ſhould bear the like burden with him, he would that they ſhould before the world ſubſcribe whatſoever he did. In that day was wrought a wonder, not unlike that which was at the accuſation and death of Jeſus Chriſt, when *Pilate* and *Herod*, who before were enemies, were made friends, by conſenting of them both to Chriſts condemnation; differs nothing, except that *Pilate* and *Herod* were brethren under their father the *Devill*, in the eſtate called *Temporall*; And theſe two of whom we are about to ſpeake, were brethren (ſons of the ſame father the *Devill*) in the eſtate *Eccleſiaſticall*. If we interlace merryneſſe with earneſt matters, pardon us good Reader, for the fact is ſo notable that it deſerveth long remembrance.

Note.

The proud Cardinall, and the glorious foole *Dumbar*.

The Cardinall was knowne proud; and *Dumbar* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was knowne a glorious foole: And yet becauſe ſometimes he was called the Kings Maſter, he was Chancellour of *Scotland*. The Cardinall cometh even the ſame yeere, in the end of harveſt before to *Glaſgow*, upon what purpoſe we omit. But while they remaine together, the one in the Towne, the other in the Caſtle; Queſtion riſeth for bearing of their Croſſes. The Cardinall alleadged, That by reaſon of his Cardinalſhip, and that he was *Legatus natus*, and Primate within *Scotland*, in the kingdome of *Antichriſt*; That he ſhould have the preheminence, and that his Croſſe ſhould not onely go before, but that alſo it ſhould onely be borne whereſoever he was. Good *Gukſtone Glakſtone*, the aforeſaid *Archbiſhop*, lacked no reaſons, as he thought, for maintenance of his glory. He was an Archbiſhop in his owne Dioceſſe, and in his owne Cathedrall Seat and Church, and therefore ought to give place to no man. The power of the Cardinall was but begged from *Rome*, and appertaineth but to his own perſon, and not to his Biſhoprick, for it might be, that his ſucceſſour ſhould not be Cardinall, but his dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertaine to all that ever ſhould be Biſhops of *Glaſgow*. Howſoever theſe doubts were reſolved by the Doctors of Divinity of both the Prelats, yet the deciſion was as ye ſhall heare; Comming forth (or going in, all is one) at the Queere doore of *Glaſgow* Church, begins ſtriving for ſtate betwixt the Croſſe-bearers, ſo that from glouming they came to ſhouldring, and ſo from ſhouldring they go to buffets, and from dry blowe-neffaling; and then for charities ſake, they cry, *Diſperſit dedit pauperibus*, and eſſay which of the Croſſes was fineſt mettall, which

A queſtion worthy of ſuch two Prelats.

ſtaffe

ſtaffe was ſtrongeſt, and which Croſſe-bearer could beſt defend his Maſters preheminence; and that there ſhould be no ſuperiority in that behalf, to the ground go both their Croſſes. And then began no little fray, but yet a merry game, for rockets were rent, tippets were torne, crowns were knapped, and ſide gowns might have been ſeen wantonly to wagge from the one wall to the other: Many of them lacked beards, and that was the more pity, and therefore could not buckle other by the briſes, as bold men would have done. But fie on the Jackmen, that did not their duty: For had the one part of them recountred the other, then had all gone right; but the Sanctuary we ſuppoſe ſaved the lives of many. How merrily ſo ever this be written, it was bitter mirth to the Cardinall and his court. It was more then irregularity, yea, it might well have been judged *leſe majeſté* to the ſon of perdition, the Popes own perſon; and yet the other in his folly, as proud as a Peacocke, would let the Cardinall know, that he was a Biſhop, when the other but *Beton*, before he gat the Abbey of *Aberbroth*. This enmity was judged mortall, and without all hope of reconciliation. But the blood of the innocent ſervant of God, buried in oblivion all that bragging and boaſt. For the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was the firſt unto whom the Cardinall wrote, ſignifying unto him what was done, and earneſtly craving of him, that he would aſſiſt with his preſence and counſell, how that ſuch an enemy to their eſtate might be ſuppreſſed. And thereto was not the other ſlow, but kept time appointed, ſat next to the Cardinall, waited and ſubſcribed firſt in ranke, and lay over the Eaſt block-houſe with the ſaid Cardinall, till the Martyr of God was conſumed with fire: for this we may note, That all theſe beaſts conſented in heart to the ſlaughter of that Innocent. So did they approve it with their preſence, having the whole ordnance of the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, bent towards the place of execution, which was neere to the Caſtle, ready to have ſhot, if any would have made defence or reſcue to Gods ſervant. The manner of his Accuſation, Proceſſe, and Anſwers followeth, as we have received from certaine Records, which we relate truely, as neere as poſſibly we can.

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Upon the laſt of February was ſent to the priſon where the ſervant of God lay, the *Deane* of the Towne, by the commandment of the *Cardinall* and his wicked counſell, and there ſummoned the ſaid Maſter *George*, that he ſhould on the morrow following appeare before the Judge, then and there to give account of his ſeditious and Hereticall Doctrine. To whom the ſaid Maſter *George* anſwered; What needeth (ſaid he) the Cardinall to ſummon me to anſwer for my Doctrine openly before him, under whoſe power and Dominion I am thus ſtraightly bound in irons? May not he compell me to anſwer, of his extort power? Or beleeveth he that I am unprovided to render account of my Doctrine? To manifeſt your ſelves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keepe your old Ceremonies and Conſtitutions made by men. Upon the next morrow the Lord Cardinall cauſed his ſervants to addreſſe themſelves in their moſt warlike array, with Jack, Knapſcall, Splent, Spear, & Axe, more ſeemly for the war then for the Preaching of the true word of God. And when theſe armed Champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the

1546.

Anno

Biſhops into the Abbey-church, incontinently they ſent for M. *George*, who was conveyed unto the ſaid Church by the Captaine of the Caſtle, and the number of an hundred men, addreſſed in manner aforeſaid, like a Lamb led they him to the ſacrifice. As he entred in at the Abbey-Church doore, there was a poore man lying vexed with great infirmities, asking of his almes, to whom he flung his purſe, and when he came before the Cardinall, by and by the Sub-prior of the Abbey, called Deane *John Winrame*, ſtood up in the Pulpit, and made a Sermon to all the congregation there then aſſembled, taking his matter out of *Matth.* 13. Whoſe Sermon was divided into foure parts. The firſt was, A ſhort and briefe declaration of the Evangeliſt. The ſecond, of the interpretation of the good ſeed: And becauſe he called the Word of God the good ſeed, and Hereſie the evil ſeed; he declared what Hereſie was, and how it ſhould be knowne. He defined it on this manner; *Hereſie is a falſe Opinion, defended with Pertinacie, clearely repugning the Word of God.* The third part of his Sermon was, The cauſe of Hereſie within that realm, and all other realms. The cauſe of Hereſie (ſaid he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of mens ſoules: to whom it neceſſarily belongeth to have the true underſtanding of the Word of God, that they may be able to winne again the falſe Teachers of Hereſies, with the ſword of the Spirit, which is, the word of God: and not onely to win again, but alſo to overcome, as ſaith *Paul* to *Timothy*, *A biſhop muſt be faultleſſe, as becometh the miniſter of God, not ſtubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but harberous, one that loved goodneſſe, ſober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and ſuch as cleaveth unto the true Word of Doctrine. That he may be able with wholſome learning, and to impugne that which they ſay againſt him.* The fourth part of his Sermon was, how Hereſies ſhould be knowne; Hereſies (quoth he) be knowne on this manner; As the Gold-ſmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfit, by the touch-ſtone; So likewiſe may we know Hereſie by the undoubted Touch-ſtone, that is, The true, ſincere, and undefiled Word of God. At the laſt he added, That Hereticks ſhould be put down in this preſent life. To which Propoſition, the Goſpel he treated of appeareth not to repugne, *Let them both grow to the harveſt.* The harveſt is the end of the world, nevertheleſſe he affirmed, That they ſhould be put down by the civill Magiſtrate, and Law. And when he ended his Sermon, incontinent they cauſed M. *George* to aſcend into the Pulpit, there to heare his Accuſation and Articles, for right againſt him ſtood one of the fat flock, a monſter, *John Lawder*, a Prieſt, laden full of curſings, written in paper of the which he took out a roule, both long, and alſo full of outrages, threatnings, maledictions, and words of deviliſh ſpite and malice; ſaying to the Innocent M. *George*, ſo many cruell and abominable words, and hit him ſo ſpitefully with the Popes thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded leſt the earth then would have ſwallowed him up quick. Notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill with great patience, hearing their ſayings, not once moving or changing his countenance. When that this fat ſow had read thorowout all his lying menaces, his face running down with ſweat, and froathing at the mouth like a boare: He ſpate at M. *Georges* face, ſaying, *What anſwers thou to theſe ſayings? Thou runnagate, traitour, theefe, which we have*

Who was a learned man and heartily favoured the pure Religion, in ſecret.

Bona hereſis definitio, &c.

Note the cauſe of Hereſie.

The Proofe of Hereſie.

have duely proved by ſufficient witneſſe againſt thee. Maſter *George* hearing this, ſate downe upon his knees in the Pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his Prayer, ſweetly and Chriſtianly, he anſwered unto them all in this manner: Anno

Maſter *George* his ORATION.

MAny and horrible ſayings unto me a Chriſtian man, many words abominable for to heare, have ye ſpoken here this day, which not onely to teach, but alſo to thinke, I thought it ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your diſcretions quietly to heare me, that ye may know what were my Sayings, and the manner of my Doctrine. This my Petition (my Lords) I deſire to be heard for three cauſes. The firſt is, Becauſe through preaching of the Word of God, 1. *his glory is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye heare me teaching truely the pure and ſincere Word of God, without any diſſimulation. The ſecond reaſon is, Becauſe that your health ſpringeth of the Word of God, for he worketh all things by his Word. It were therefore an unrighteous thing, if ye ſhould ſtop your eares from me, teaching truely the Word of God. The third reaſon is, Becauſe your Doctrine ſpeaketh* 2. *forth many peſtilentious, blaſphemous, and abominable words, not coming by the inſpiration of God, but of the devill, on no leſſe perill than my life. It is juſt* 3. *therefore and reaſonable for* your diſcretions, *to know what my words and Doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this Realme, that I periſh not unjuſtly, to the great perils of your ſelves. Wherefore both for the glory of God, your owne health, and ſafeguard of my life, I beſeech your diſcretions to heare me, and in the meane time I ſhall recite my Doctrine, without any colour.*

Firſt and chiefly, ſince the time that I came into this Realme, I taught nothing but the ten Commandments of God, the twelve Articles of the Faith, *and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother Tongue. Moreover, in* Dundie *I taught the Epiſtle of Saint* Paul *to the* Romanes. *And I ſhall ſhew* your diſcretions *faithfully what faſhion and manner I uſed, when I taught without any humane dread. So that* your diſcretions *give me your eares benevolent and attentive.* Suddenly then, with a loud voyce cryed the accuſer, the fat ſow, *Thou Hereticke, Runnagate, Traytor, and Thief, It was not lawfull for thee to preach;* Note. *thou haſt taken the power at thine owne hand, without any authority of the Church. We forthinke that thou haſt been a Preacher ſo long.* Then ſaid the whole Congregation of the Prelats, with their complices, theſe words; *If we give him licenſe to Preach, he is ſo crafty, and in holy Scriptures ſo exerciſed, that he will perſwade the people to his opinion, and raiſe them againſt us.* M. *George* ſeeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equall Judge. To whom the accuſer, *Iohn Lawder* aforeſaid, with hoggiſh voyce anſwered, *Is not my Lord Cardinall the ſecond perſon within this Realme, Chancellor of* Scotland, *Archbiſhop of Saint* Andrewes, *Biſhop of* Merepoſe, *Commendator of* Arbroth, Legatus natus, Legatus a Latere. And ſo reciting as many Titles of his unworthy Honours as would have laden a Ship, much ſooner an Aſſe: Is not he (quoth *Iohn Lawder*) an equall JUDGE apparently to thee. Whom other deſireſt thou to be thy JUDGE?

Note.

Anno To whom this humble man anſwered, ſaying, *I refuſe not my Lord Cardinall, but I deſire the Word of God to be my Judge, the Temporall eſtate with ſome of your Lordſhips mine auditors, becauſe I am here my Lord Governours priſoner.* Whereupon the pridefull and ſcornfull people that ſtood by, mocked him ſaying, *Such man, ſuch Iudge*, ſpeaking ſeditious and reproachfull words againſt the Governour, and other of the Nobles, meaning them alſo to be hereticks. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given ſentence upon M. *George*, and that without further Proceſſe, had not certain men there councelled my Lord Cardinall to reade againe the Articles, and to heare his anſwers thereupon, that the people might not complaine of his wrongfull condemnation. And ſhortly for to declare. Theſe were the Articles following, with his Anſwers, as far they would give him leave to ſpeak. For when he intended to mitigate their leaſings, and ſhew the manner of his Doctrine, by and by they ſtopped his mouth with another Article.

The firſt Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke, Runnagate, Traytor, and Thief, Deceiver of the people, deſpiſeſt the Church, and in like caſe contemnes my Lord Governours Authority. And this we know of ſurety, That when thou preachedſt in Dundie, *and was charged by my Lord Governours Authority to deſiſt, nevertheleſſe thou wouldeſt not obey, but perſevered in the ſame: And therefore the Biſhop of* Breachen *curſed thee, and delivered thee into the Devils hand, and gave thee then Commandment, That thou ſhouldeſt preach no more; yet notwithſtanding thou didſt continue obſtinately.*

The Anſwer.

My Lords, I have read in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, That it is not lawfull, for the threats and menaces of men, to deſiſt from the preaching of the Goſpel: Therefore it is written, We *ſhall rather obey God than men.* I have alſo read the Prophet *Malachie*; *I ſhall curſe your bleſſings, and bleſſe your curſings, ſaith the Lord.* Believing firmly, That he would turn your curſings into bleſſings.

The ſecond Article.

Thou falſe heretick didſt ſay, That a Prieſt ſtanding at the Altar ſaying Maſſe, was like a Fox wagging his taile in July.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, I ſaid not ſo. Theſe were my ſayings, The moving of the body outward, without inward moving of the heart, is nought elſe but the playing of an Ape, and not the true ſerving of God. For God is a ſecret ſearcher of mens hearts. Therefore who will truely adore and honour God, he muſt in ſpirit and verity honour him. Then the accuſer ſtopped his mouth with another Article.

The third Article.

Thou falſe hereticke Preacheſt againſt the Sacraments, ſaying, That there are not ſeven Sacraments.

The

Anno

The Anſwer.

My Lords, It is not ſo by your pleaſures, I taught never of the number of the Sacraments, whether there were ſeven or eleven: ſo many as are inſtituted by Chriſt, and are ſhowne to us by the Goſpel, I profeſſe openly. Except it be the Word of God, I dare affirme nothing.

The fourth Article.

Thou falſe hereticke haſt openly taught, That Auricular Confeſsion is not a bleſſed Sacrament, and thou ſaiſt, That we ſhould onely confeſſe us to God, and to no Prieſt.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, I ſay, That Auricular Confeſſion, ſeeing that it hath no promiſe of the Goſpel, truely it cannot be a Sacrament. Of the Confeſſion to be made to God, there are many teſtimonies in Scripture, as when *David* ſaith, *I thought that I would acknowledge mine iniquity againſt my ſelf unto the Lord, and he forgave the treſpaſſes of my ſins.* Here confeſſing ſignifieth the ſecret knowledge of our ſins before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproved no manner of Confeſſion: And farther, Saint *Iames* ſaith, *Acknowledge your ſins one to another, and ſo let you have peace among your ſelves.* Here the Apoſtle meaneth nothing of Auricular Confeſſion, but that we ſhould acknowledge and confeſſe our ſelves to be ſinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to eſteeme our ſelves, as the Gray Friers do, thinking themſelves already purged. When that he had ſaid theſe words, the horned Biſhops and their complices cryed and gyrned with their teeth, ſaying, *See ye not what colours he hath in his ſpeeth, that he may beguile us, and ſeduce us to his opinion?*

Note.

Note.

The fifth Article.

Thou falſe heretick didſt ſay openly, That it was neceſſary for every man to know and underſtand his Baptiſme; which is contrary to Generall Councels, and the Eſtates of holy Church.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, I believe there be none ſo unwiſe here, that will make Merchandiſe with any French-men, or any other unknowne ſtranger, except he know and underſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the French-man or ſtranger. So likewiſe I would that we underſtood what thing we promiſe in the name of the Infant unto God in Baptiſme. Then ſaid M. *Peter Chaplin*, That he had the devill within him, and the ſpirit of terrour. Then anſwered him a childe, ſaying, *The devil cannot ſpeak ſuch words as yonder man doth ſpeake.*

The ſixth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke, Traytor, and Thiefe, thou ſaid, That the Sacrament of the Altar was but a piece of bread baken upon the aſhes, and no other thing elſe;

Anno *elſe; and all that is there done, is but a ſuperſtitious Rite, againſt the Commandment of God.*

The Anſwer.

Oh Lord God! ſo manifeſt lyes and blaſphemies, the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the Sacrament of the Altar (my Lords) I never taught any thing againſt the Scripture, the which I ſhall (by Gods grace) make manifeſt this day, I being ready therefore to ſuffer death. The lawfull uſe of the Sacrament is moſt acceptable unto God. But the great abuſe of it, is very deteſtable unto him: But what occaſion they have to ſay ſuch words of me, I ſhall ſhortly ſhew your Lordſhips. I once chanced to meet with a *Iew*, when I was ſayling upon the
Note. water of *Rhene*; I did enquire of him, What was the cauſe of his pertinacie, that he did not believe that the true *Meſsias* was come, conſidering that they had ſeen all the Propheſies which were ſpoken of him, to be fulfilled: Moreover, the Propheſies taken away, and the Scepter of *Iuda*. By many other teſtimonies of the Scripture I witneſſed to him, and proved that the *Meſsias* was come, the which they called *Ieſus of Nazareth?* This *Iew* anſwered again unto me, When *Meſsias* cometh, he ſhall reſtore all things, and he ſhall not abrogate the Law which was given unto our Fathers, as ye do; for why? We ſee the poor almoſt periſh through hunger amongſt you, yet you are not moved with pity towards them: But amongſt us *Iewes*, though we be poor, there are no beggers found. Secondarily, It is forbidden by the Law to fain any kinde of Imagery, of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the Sea under the earth, but one God onely to honour. But your Sanctuaries and Churches are full of Idolls. Thirdly, a piece of bread baked upon the aſhes, ye adore and worſhip, and ſay that it is your God. I have rehearſed here but the ſayings of a *Iew*, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the Biſhops ſhook their heads, and ſpitted on the ground; and what he meaned in this matter further, they would not hear.

The ſeventh Article.

Thou falſe hereticke didſt ſay, That extreme Unction was not a Sacrament.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, forſooth I never taught of extreme Unction, in my Doctrine, whether it was a Sacrament or no.

The eighth Article.

Thou falſe hereticke didſt ſay, That holy water is not ſo good as Waſh, and ſuch like. Thou contemneſt conjuring, and ſayeſt, That holy Churches curſing availeth not.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, as for holy water, what ſtrength it is of, I taught never in my Doctrine. Conjurings and Exorciſms, if they were conformable to the Word of God, I would commend them; but in as much as they are not conformable to the Commandment and Word of God, I reprove them.

The

Anno

The ninth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke and runagate, haſt ſaid, That every man is a Prieſt; and likewiſe thou ſayeſt, That the Pope hath no more power then another man.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, I taught nothing but the Word of God, I remember that I have read in ſome places of S. *John*, and S. *Peter*, of the which one ſaith, *He hath made us kings and prieſts.* The other ſaith, *He hath made us the kingly Prieſthood.* Wherefore I have affirmed, Any man underſtanding and perfit in the Word of God, and the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, to have his power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the Word of God, the which word is called, *The power of God*, as witneſſeth S. *Paul*, evidently enough. And againe I ſay, Any unlearned man, and not exerciſed in the Word of God, nor yet conſtant in his Faith, whatſoever eſtate or order he be of; I ſay, he hath no power to binde or to looſe, ſeeing he wanteth the inſtrument by the which he bindeth and looſeth, that is to ſay, *The Word of God.* After that he had ſaid theſe words, all the Biſhops laughed, and mocked him: When that he beheld their laughing; Laugh ye (ſaid he) my Lords? Though that theſe my ſayings do ſeem ſcornfull, and worthy of deriſion to your Lordſhips, nevertheleſſe they are very weighty to me, and of a great value; becauſe that they ſtand not onely upon my life, but alſo upon the honour and glory of God. In the meane time many godly men, beholding the woodneſſe and great cruelty of the Biſhops, and the invincible patience of the ſaid M. *George*, did greatly mourne and lament.

Note this againſt the legality of the Biſhops.

The tenth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke ſaidſt, That a man had no free-will, but is like to the Stoicks, *which ſay, That it is not in mans will to do any thing, but that all deſire and concupiſcence cometh of God, of whatſoever kinde it be of.*

The Anſwer.

My Lords I ſaid not ſo, truely, I ſay, That as many as beleeve in Chriſt firmely, unto them is given liberty conformable to the ſaying of S. *John*, *If the Sonne make you free, then ſhall you verily be free:* Of the contrary, as many as beleeve not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are bond-ſervants of ſin: *He that ſinneth, is bound to ſin.*

The eleventh Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke ſayeſt, It is as lawfull to eat fleſh upon Friday, as on Sunday.

The Anſwer.

Pleaſeth it your Lordſhips, I have read in the Epiſtles of S. *Paul*, That *who is cleane, unto him all things are cleane:* Of the contrary, *to the filthy men all things are uncleane.* A faithfull man, cleane and holy, ſanctifieth by the Word, the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable

Anno able unto God. So that a creature cannot ſanctifie any impure and unfaithfull man. But to the faithfull man all things are ſanctified by the prayer of the word of God. After theſe ſayings of M. *George*, then ſaid the Biſhops with their complices; What needed we any witneſſe againſt him, hath he not here openly ſpoken blaſphemie?

The twelfth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke doeſt ſay, That we ſhould not pray unto Saints, but to God onely; Say whether thou haſt ſaid this or no, ſay ſhortly.

The Anſwer.

For the weakneſſe and infirmity of the hearers, he ſaid, without doubt plainely, That Saints ſhould not be honoured, nor called upon. My Lords (ſaid he) there are two things worthy of note. The one is certaine, and the other uncertain. It is found plainely and certain in Scriptures, That we ſhould worſhip and honour one God, according to the ſaying of the firſt Commandment, *Thou ſhalt onely worſhip and honour thy Lord God with all thine heart.* But as for praying to, and honouring of Saints, there is great doubt amongſt many, whether they heare or no the invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my Doctrine, That they ſhould leave the unſure way, and follow the way which was taught us by our Maſter Chriſt. He is onely our Mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for us to God his Father. He is the doore by the which we muſt enter in: He that entreth not in by this doore, but climeth another way, is a thiefe and a murderer. He is the veritie and life: he that goeth out of the way, there is no doubt he ſhall fall into the mire: Yea, verily he is fallen into it already. This is the faſhion of my Doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily that which I have heard and read in the Word of God, I taught openly and in no corners, and now ye ſhall witneſſe the ſame, if your Lordſhips will heare me: Except it ſtand by the Word of God, I dare not be ſo bold to affirme any thing. Theſe ſayings he rehearſed divers times.

Note.

The thirteenth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke haſt Preached plainely, That there is no Purgatory, and that it is a fained thing, for any man after this life to be puniſhed in Purgatory.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, as I have oftentimes ſaid heretofore; Without expreſſe witneſſe and teſtimony of Scriptures, I dare affirme nothing. I have oft, and divers times read over the Bible, and yet ſuch a terme found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereto. Therefore I was afraid ever to teach of that thing which I could not finde in Scripture. Then ſaid he to M. *John Lawder*, his accuſer; If you have any teſtimony of the Scripture, by the which you may prove any ſuch place, ſhew it now before this auditory. But that dolt had not a word to ſay for himſelfe, but was as dumbe as a Beetle in that matter.

The

Anno

The fourteenth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke haſt taught plainly againſt the Vows of Monks, Friers, Nuns, and Prieſts, ſaying, That whoſoever was bound to ſuch like Vows, they vowed themſelves to the ſtate of damnation. Moreover, That it was lawfull for Prieſts to marry wives, and not to live ſole.

The Anſwer.

Of this, my Lords, I have read in the Goſpel, That there are three kinde of chaſte men, ſome are gelded from their mothers womb: ſome are gelded by men, and ſome have gelded themſelves for the kingdom of heavens ſake; Verily, I ſay, theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chaſtity, nor yet for the Goſpel, have overcome the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and have vowed chaſtity, ye have experience, although I ſhould hold my tongue, to what inconveniences they have vowed themſelves. When he had ſaid theſe words, they were all dumb, thinking it better to have ten concubines then one wife.

The fifteenth Article.

Thou falſe Hereticke, and runnagate ſayeſt, That thou wilt not obey our Generall or Provinciall Counſells.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, what your generall Counſells are, I know not, I was never exerciſed in them, but to the pure Word of God, I gave my labours. Read here your generall Counſells, or elſe give me a book, wherein they are contained, that I may read them; if they be agreeable with the Word of God, I will not diſagree. Then the ravening Wolves turned unto madneſſe, and ſaid; Wherefore let we him ſpeak any farther? Read forth the reſt of the Articles, and ſtay not upon them. Amongſt thoſe cruell Tygers, there was one falſe hypocrite, a ſeducer of the people, called *Johne Scot*, ſtanding behinde *Johne Lawders* backe, haſting him to reade the reſt of the Articles, and not to tarry upon his wittie and godly anſwers; For we may not abide them (quoth he) no more then the devil may abide the ſigne of the Croſſe, when it is named. This was Frier Scot.

The ſixteenth Article.

Thou Hereticke ſayeſt, That it is vain to build to the honour of God coſtly Churches, ſeeing that God remaineth not in Churches made by mens hands, nor yet can God be in little ſpace, as betwixt the Prieſts hands.

The Anſwer.

My Lords, *Salomon* ſaith, *If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much leſſe this houſe which I have builded.* And *Job* conſented to the ſame ſentence, ſaying, Seeing that he is higher then the heavens, therefore what canſt thou build unto him; he is deeper then the hell, then how ſhalt thou know him, he is longer then the earth, and broader then the ſea, ſo that God cannot be comprehended in one place, who is infinite.

Anno

Note.

These sayings notwithstanding, I said never that Churches should be destroyed: But of the contrary I affirmed ever, That Churches should be maintained and upholden, that the people should be assembled in them to hear the Word of God Preached. Moreover, whereſoever is the true Preaching of the Word of God, and the lawfull use of the Sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himselfe: So that both these sayings are true together; God cannot be comprehended in any one place: And whereſoever are two or three gathered in his Name, there is he present in the midst of them. Then said he to his accuser, If thou thinkest any otherwise; Then I say, Shew forth thy reasons before this auditory. Then he without all reason was dumbe, and could not answer a word.

The seventeenth Article.

Thou false Heretick contemnest fasting, and sayest thou shouldest not fast.

The Answer.

My Lords, I finde that fasting is commanded in the Scripture, therefore I were a slanderer of the Gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so onely, but I have learned by experience, that Fasting is good for the health and conservation of the body. But God onely knoweth who fasteth the true Fast.

The eighteenth Article.

Thou false Hereticke hast Preached openly, saying, That the soules of men shall sleepe to the latter day of judgement, and shall not obtaine life immortall untill the last day.

The Answer.

God full of mercy and goodnesse forgive them that say such things of me. I wot, and know surely by the Word of God, that he who hath begun to have the Faith of Jesus Christ, and to beleeve firmely in him; I know surely, I say, that the soule of that man, shall never sleepe, but ever shall live an immortall life, the which life from day to day is renewed in Grace, and augmented, nor yet shall ever perish, or have an end, but shall ever live immortall with Christ the head. To the which life, all that beleeve in him shall come, and rest in eternall glory. Amen.

When that the Bishops with their complices, had accused this innocent man, in manner and forme aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an Hereticke, not having respect to his godly answers, and true reasons which he alleadged, nor yet to their own consciences; Thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the sayings of Jesus Christ, in the Gospel of Saint *John* the 16. Chapter; *They shall excommunicate you, yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall thinke that he hath done to God good service.*

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The Prayer of Maſter *George Wiſcharde.*

O Immortall God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the rage and great crudelitie of the ungodly, to exerciſe their fury upon thy ſervants which doe further thy Word in this world, ſeeing they deſire to do the contrary; That is, to choke and deſtroy thy true Doctrine and Veritie, by the which thou haſt ſhewed thee unto the world which was all drowned in blindneſſe and misknowledge of thy Name. O Lord, we know ſurely that thy true ſervants muſt needs ſuffer for thy Names ſake, perſecution, affliction, and troubles in this preſent life, which is but a ſhadow, as thou haſt ſhewed to us by thy Prophets and Apoſtles. But yet we deſire thee (mercifull Father) that thou wouldſt conſerve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou haſt choſen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to heare thy Word, and to be thy true ſervants in this preſent life.

Then by and by they cauſed the common people to remove, whoſe deſire was always to hear that Innocent man ſpeak. Then the ſons of darkneſſe pronounced their ſentence definitive, not having reſpect to the Judgement of God. When all this was done and ſaid, the Cardinall cauſeth his tormentors to paſſe again with the meek Lambe unto the Caſtle, untill ſuch time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the Caſtle, then there came two *fiends*, two gray-Friers, Frier *Scot* and his mate, ſaying, Sir, you muſt make your confeſſion unto us. He anſwered, I will make no confeſſion: Go fetch me yonder man that preached unto us this day, and I will conferre with him. Then they ſent for the *Sub-prior* of the Abbey, who came to him with all diligence. And conferred with him a pretty while, at laſt burſt forth in teares, but ſo ſoon as he was able to ſpeak, he asked him, If he would receive the Communion; Maſter *Wiſcharde* anſwered, He would moſt willingly, if he could have it according to Chriſts inſtitution under both kindes. The Sub-prior went to the Cardinall and his Prelats, he told them, That Maſter *Wiſcharde* was an innocent man; which he ſaid, not to intercede for his life; but to make known the innocency of the man unto all men, as it was known to God. At theſe words the Cardinall was angry, and ſaid to the Sub-Prior, Long agoe we knew what you were; Then the Sub-Prior demanded, Whether they would ſuffer M. *Wiſcharde* to receive the Communion or no; They anſwered, No. A while after M. *Wiſcharde* had ended with the Sub-Prior, the Captaine of the Caſtle, with ſome other friends, came to him, and asked him; If he would break faſt with them; He anſwered, Moſt willingly, for I know you to be moſt honeſt and godly men; So all being ready, he deſired them to ſit downe, and heare him a while with patience; Then he diſcourſed to them about halfe an houre concerning the Lords Supper, his Sufferings and Death for us; He exhorteth them to love one another, laying aſide all rancor, envie, and vengeance, as perfect members of Chriſt, who intercedes continually for us to God the Father. After this he gave thanks, and bleſſing the Bread and Wine, he took the Bread and brake it, and gave to every one of it, bidding each of them, *Remember that Chriſt had died for them, and feed on it ſpiritually*; So taking the Cup, he bade them, *Remember that Chriſts blood was*

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ſhed for them, &c. And after he gave thanks and prayed for them. When he had done, he told them, That he would neither eat nor drink more in this life; and ſo retired to his Chamber. Immediately after came to him (ſent from the Cardinall) two executioners; one brought him a coat of Linnen died black, and put it upon him; The other brought ſome baggs full of Powder, which they tied to ſeverall parts of his body: Thus having dreſſed him, they brought him to an outer Roome, neere to the gate of the Caſtle; Then the fire was made ready, and the Stake at the Weſt port of the Caſtle, neere to the Priory. Over againſt the place of execution, the Caſtle Windows were hung with rich hangings and Velvet Cuſhions, laid for the Cardinall and Prelats, who from thence did feed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man. The Cardinall dreading that Maſter *George* ſhould have been taken away by his friends; Before had commanded to bend all the ordnance of the Caſtle right againſt the place of execution; and commanded all his Gunners to be ready, and ſtand beſide their Gunnes, unto ſuch time as he was burnt. All this being done, they bound Maſter *George* his hands behinde his backe, and with ſound of Trumpet, led him forth with the Souldiers, from the Caſtle, to the place of their cruell and wicked execution. As he came forth of the Caſtle gate, there met him certain beggars, asking of him almes for Gods ſake; To whom he anſwered, I want my hands, wherewith I was wont to give you almes; But the mercifull Lord, of his benignity and abundant grace, that feedeth all men, vouchſafe to give you neceſſaries both unto your bodies and ſoules. Then afterward met him two falſe *Fiends*, (I ſhould ſay Friers) ſaying, M. *George*, pray to your Lady, that ſhe may be a Mediatrix for you to her Sonne: To whom he anſwered meekly; Ceaſe, tempt me not, I intreat you. After this he was led to the fire, with a rope about his neck, and a chaine of iron about his middle.

When that he came to the fire he ſat downe upon his knees, and roſe againe; And thrice he ſaid theſe words; *O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me: Father of heaven, I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands.* When he had made this Prayer, he turned him to the people, and ſaid theſe words, having obtained leave to ſpeak a little: I beſeech you Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, that ye be not offended at the Word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye ſee already prepared for me. But I exhort you that ye love the Word of God for your ſalvation, and ſuffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart, for the Words ſake, which is your undoubted ſalvation, and everlaſting comfort. Moreover, I pray you, ſhew my brethren and ſiſters, which have heard me oft before, that they ceaſe not, nor leave off to learne the word of God which I taught them, after the grace given unto me, for no perſecutions nor troubles in this world, which laſt not: And ſhew unto them that my Doctrine was no wives fables, after the conſtitutions made by men; And if I had taught mens doctrine, I had gotten greater thanks by men. But for the Words ſake and true Goſpel, which was given to me by the grace of God, I ſuffer this day by men, not ſorrowfully, but with a glad heart and minde. For this cauſe I was ſent, That I ſhould ſuffer this fire for Chriſts ſake.

ſake. Conſider and behold my viſage, ye ſhall not ſee me change my colour: This grim fire I fear not, and ſo I pray you for to do, if that any perſecution come unto you for the Words ſake; and not to fear them that ſlay the body, and have no power afterward to ſlay the ſoul. Some have ſaid of me, That I taught that the ſoul of man ſhould ſleep untill the laſt day: But I know ſurely, and my faith is ſuch, That my ſoul ſhall ſup with my Saviour this night, ere it be ſix hours, for whom I ſuffer this. Then he prayed for them which accuſed him, ſaying, *I beſeech the Father of heaven to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or elſe of any evil minde forged lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart: I beſeech Chriſt forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.* And laſt of all, he ſaid to the people on this manner; I beſeech you brethren and ſiſters to exhort your *Prelats* to the learning of the Word of God, that they may be aſhamed to do evil, and learn to do good; And if they will not convert themſelves from their wicked errour, there ſhall haſtily come upon them the wrath of God, which they ſhall not eſchew. Many faithfull words ſaid he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruell torments which were then prepared for him. Then the Executioner that was his tormentor, ſate down upon his knees, and ſaid, *Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death.* To whom he anſwered, Come hither to me: When he was come to him, he kiſſed his cheek, and ſaid, Lo here is a token that I forgive thee, my heart, do thy Office: And then by and by the Trumpet ſounding, he was tyed to the ſtake, and the fire kindled. The Captain of the Caſtle, for the love he bore to M. *Wiſcharde*, drew ſo neer to the fire, that the flame thereof did him harme; he wiſhed M. *Wiſcharde* to be of good courage, and to beg from God the forgiveneſſe of his ſins; to whom M. *Wiſcharde* anſwered thus; *This fire torments my body, but no wayes abates my ſpirit.* Then M. *Wiſcharde* looking towards the Cardinall, ſaid, *He who in ſuch ſtate, from that high place, feedeth his eyes with my torments, within few dayes ſhall be hanged out at the ſame window, to be ſeen with as much ignominy, as he now leaneth there in pride.* Then with this, the Executioner drawing the Cord, ſtopt his breath; preſently after, the fire being great, he was conſumed to powder. The Prelats would not ſuffer any prayers to be made for him, according to their Cuſtome. After the death of Maſter *Wiſcharde*, the Cardinall was cryed up by his flatterers, and all the rabble of the corrupt Clergie, as the onely Defender of the Catholike Church, and puniſher of hereticks, neglecting the authority of the ſluggiſh Governour: And it was ſaid by them, *That if the great Prelates of latter dayes, both at home and abroad, had been ſo ſtout and zealous of the credit of the Catholike Church, they had not onely ſuppreſſed all hereticks, but alſo kept under the Lay-men, who were ſo froward and ſtubborne.* On the other ſide, when that the people beheld the great tormenting of that innocent, they could not withhold from piteous mourning, and complaining of the innocent lambs ſlaughter. After the death of this bleſſed Martyr of God, began the people in plaine ſpeaking, to damne and deteſt the cruelty that was uſed; yea, men of great birth and eſtimation and honour at open tables avowed, That the blood of the ſaid Maſter *George* ſhould be revenged, or elſe it ſhould coſt life for life: and

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Note.

Anno that in a ſhort time they ſhould be like hogs kept for ſlaughter, by this vitious Prieſt, and wicked Monſter, which neither minded God, nor cared for man. Amongſt thoſe that ſpake againſt the Cardinalls cruelty, *John Leſley*, brother to the Earle of *Rothes* was chief, with his Cozen *Norman Leſley*, who had been a great follower of the Cardinall, and very active for him but a little before, fell ſo foule with him, that they came to high reproaches one with another. The occaſion of their falling out was a private buſineſſe, wherein *Norman Leſley* ſaid he was wronged by the Cardinall: On the other ſide, the Cardinall ſaid he was not with reſpect uſed by *Norman Leſley* his inferiour. The ſaid *John Leſley* in all companies ſpared not to ſay, That that ſame dagger (ſhewing forth his dagger) and that ſame hand ſhould be put in the Cardinalls breſt. Theſe *Note.* brutes came to the Cardinalls ears: but he thought himſelfe ſtout enough for all *Scotland*: For in *Babylon*, that is, in his new *Block-Houſe*, he was ſure, as he thought; and upon the fields he was able to match all his enemies: And to ſpeak the truth, the moſt part of the Nobility of *Scotland* had either given unto him their Bands of *Manred*, or elſe were in confederacy, and promiſed amity with him, and ſo he gave his baſtard eldeſt daughter in Marriage to the Earl of *Crawford* his eldeſt ſon and heir, and cauſed the Wedding to be celebrate with ſuch State, as if ſhe had been a Princes lawfull daughter. He onely feared them in whoſe hands God did deliver him, and for them he laid his nets ſo ſecretly (as that he made a full compt) that their feet could not eſcape, as we ſhall after hear. And ſomething of his former practices we may recompt. After *Eaſter* he came to *Edinburgh*, to hold the Seingnye (as the Papiſts termed then their unhappy Aſſembly of *Baals* ſhaven ſort) It was bruted that ſomething was purpoſed againſt him at that day by the Earle of *Angus* and his friends, whom he mortally feared, and whoſe deſtruction he ſought; but it failed, and ſo returned he to his ſtrength; yea, to his god and onely comfort, as well in heaven as in earth; and there he remained without all fear of death, promiſing to himſelf no leſſe pleaſure then did the rich man of whom mention is made by our Maſter in the Goſpel; for he did not onely ſay, Eat and be glad, my ſoul, for thou haſt great riches laid up in ſtore for many dayes; but he ſaid, *Tuſh, a figge for the fooles, and a button for the bragging of heretickes, and their aſſiſtance in* Scotland; *Is not my Lord Governour mine? witneſſe his eldeſt ſon in pledge at my table. Have I not the Queen at my owne devotion* (he meant of the mother *Mary* that now 1566 raigns) *Is not* France *my friend, and I am friend to* France? *What danger ſhould I feare?* And thus in vanity the carnall Cardinall delighted himſelf a little before his death. But yet he had deviſed to have cut off ſuch as he thought might trouble him: For he had appointed the whole Gentlemen of *Fyfe* to have met him at *Falkland* the Munday; but he was ſlain upon the Saturday before. His treaſonable purpoſe was not underſtood, and it was this; That *Norman Leſley*, Sheriff of *Fyfe*, and apparent heir to his Father the Earl of *Rothes*, the foreſaid *John Leſley*, Father brother to *Norman*, the Lairds of *Grange*, elder and younger, Sir *James Learmond* of *Darſie*, and Provoſt of Saint *Andrewes*, and the faithfull Laird of *Raith*, ſhould either have been ſlain, or elſe taken, and after to have beene

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uſed

uſed at his pleaſure. This enterpriſe was diſcloſed after his ſlaughter, partly by Letters and Memorialls found in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by ſuch as were of the counſell. Many purpoſes were deviſed, how that wicked man might have been taken away; But all faileth, till Friday the twenty eighth of *May*, *anno* 1546. when the aforeſaid *Norman* came at night to Saint *Andrewes*, *William Kirkaldie* of *Grange* younger, was in the Towne before, waiting upon the purpoſe. Laſt came *John Leſley* as aforeſaid, who was moſt ſuſpected: What concluſion they took that night, it was not knowne, but by the iſſue that followed. But early upon the Saturday in the morning, the 29 of *May*, were they in ſundry Companies in the Abbey Church-yard, not far diſtant from the Caſtle: Firſt, the Gates being open, and the draw-Bridge letten downe, for receiving of Lime and Stones, and other things neceſſary for building (for *Babilon* was almoſt finiſhed) Firſt, we ſay, aſſayed *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grange* younger, and with him ſix perſons, and getting entry, held purpoſe with the Porter, If my Lord was walking; who anſwered, No: (and ſo it was indeed, for he had been buſie at his compts with Miſtris *Marion Ogilbie* that night, who was eſpied to depart from him by the privie Poſterne that morning; and therefore quietneſſe, after the rules of Phyſick, and a morning ſleep, was requiſite (for my Lord.) While the ſaid *William* and the Porter talketh, and his ſervants made them to look the work and workmen, approached *Norman Leſley* with his company; and becauſe they were in great number, they eaſily gat entrie. They addreſſe to the midſt of the Court: and immediately came *John Leſley*, ſomewhat rudely, and four perſons with him: The Porter fearing, would have drawne the Bridge; but the ſaid *John* being entred thereon, ſtayed it, and leapt in; And while the Porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the Keyes taken from him, and he caſt into the ditch, and ſo the place was ſeized. The ſhout ariſeth; the work-men, to the number of more then a hundred, ran off the walls, and were without hurt put forth at the Wicket Gate. The firſt thing that ever was done, *William Kirkaldie* took the Guard of the privy Poſterne, fearing leſt the Fox ſhould have eſcaped. Then go the reſt to the Gentlemens Chambers, and without violence done to any man, they put more then fifty perſons to the Gate: The number that enterpriſed and did this, was but ſixteen perſons. The Cardinall wakened with the ſhouts, asked from his window, What meant that noyſe? It was anſwered, That *Norman Leſley* had taken his Caſtle: Which underſtood, he ran to the Poſterne; but perceiving the paſſage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his Chamber, took his two handed ſword, and cauſed his Chamberlain to caſt Cheſts and other impediments to the doore. In this mean time came *John Leſley* unto it, and bids open. The Cardinall asking, Who calls; he anſwered, My name is *Leſley*. He demanded, Is that *Norman*? The other ſaith, Nay, my name is *John*. I will have *Norman*, ſaith the Cardinall, for he is my friend. Content your ſelf with ſuch as are here, for other you ſhall have none. There were with the ſaid *John*, *James Melvene*, a man familiarly acquainted with Maſter *George Wiſcharde*, and *Peter Carmichaelle*, a ſtout Gentleman. In this mean time, while they force at the door, the Cardi-

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How the Cardiall was eſpied the night before that in the morning he was ſlain.

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The Cardinals demand.

Cardinall hides a box of gold under coales that were laid in a ſecret corner. At length he asketh, *Will ye ſave my life?* The ſaid *John* anſwered, *It may be that we will. Nay* (ſaith the Cardinall) *Swear unto me by Gods wounds, and I will open you.* Then anſwered the ſaid *John, It that was ſaid, is unſaid*; and ſo cryed, *Fire, fire,* (for the doore was very ſtrong) and ſo was brought a chimley full of burning coales, which perceived, the Cardinall or his Chamberlain (it is uncertain) opened the doore, and the Cardinall ſat down in a chaire, and cryed, *I am a Prieſt, I am a Prieſt, ye will not ſlay me.* The ſaid *John Leſlie* (according to his former Vows) ſtroke him firſt once or twice, and ſo did the ſaid *Peter.* But *James Melvin* (a man of nature moſt gentle and moſt modeſt) perceiving them both in choler, withdrew them, and ſaid, *This work and judgement of God* (*although it be ſecret*) *ought to be done with greater gravity.* And preſenting unto him the point of the ſword, ſaid, *Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially of the ſhedding of the blood of that notable inſtrument of God M.* George Wiſcharde, *which albeit the flame of fire conſumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it. For here before my God, I proteſt, That neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldſt have done to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to ſtrike thee; But onely becauſe thou haſt been, and remaineſt an obſtinate enemy againſt Chriſt Jeſus and his holy Goſpel.* And ſo he ſtroke him twice or thrice thorow with a ſtog ſword: And ſo he fell, never word heard out of his mouth, but *I am a Prieſt, fie, fie, all is gone.*

The Cardinals confeſſion.

The fact and words of *Iames Melvin.*

The Cardinals laſt words.

While they were thus buſied with the Cardinall, the fray roſe in the Town, the Provoſt aſſembles the Commonalty, and comes to the houſe ſide, crying, *What have ye done with my Lord Cardinall? Where is my Lord Cardinall? Have ye ſlain my Lord Cardinall?* They that were within anſwered gentlely; *Beſt it were for you to return to your own houſes, for the man ye call the Cardinall hath received his reward, and in his own perſon will trouble the world no more.* But then more inragedly they cry, *We ſhall never depart till that we ſee him.* And ſo was he brought to the Eaſt block-houſe head, and ſhewed dead over the wall, to the faithleſſe multitude, which would not beleeve before they ſaw, and ſo they departed without *Requiem æternam, & requieſcat in pace,* ſung for his ſoule. Now becauſe the weather was hot (for it was in May, as ye have heard) and his funerals could not ſuddenly be prepared, it was thought beſt to keep him from ſtinking to give him great ſalt enough, a cope of lead, and a corner in the bottom of the ſea Tower (a place where many of Gods children had been impriſoned before) to await what exequies his brethren the Biſhops would prepare for him. Theſe things we write merrily, but we would that the Reader ſhould obſerve Gods juſt judgements, and how that he can deprehend the worldly wiſe in their own wiſdom, make their table to be a ſnare to trap their own feet, and their own purpoſed ſtrength to be their own deſtruction. Theſe are the works of out God, whereby he would admoniſh the tyrants of this earth, that in the end he will be revenged of their crueltie, what ſtrength ſoever they make in the contrary. But ſuch is the blindneſſe of man (as *David* ſaith) that the poſterity doth ever follow the footſteps of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how little

Adverſement to the Reader.

little differs the cruelty of that baſtard, that yet is called Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, from the cruelty of the former we will after heare. Anno

The death of this aforeſaid Tyrant, as it was pleaſing to ſome, to wit, to thoſe who had received the Reformation of Religion, for they were mightily afraid of him, and alſo to ſundry Romaniſts whom he kept under as ſlaves; ſo on the other ſide it was dolorous to the Prieſts, dolorous to the Governour, dolorous to the Queene Dowager: for in him periſhed faithfulneſſe to *France*, and the comfort to all Gentle-women, and eſpecially to wanton widows: His death muſt be revenged. To the Court again repaires the Earle of *Angus*, and his brother Sir *George*; labour is made for the Abbacie of *Arbroth*, and a grant was once made of the ſame (in memory whereof *George Dowglas*, baſtard ſonne to the ſaid Earle, is yet called *Poſtulant.*) But it was more proper (think the *Hamiltons*) for the Governours itching, then for reward to the *Dowglaſſes*; And yet in hope thereof, the ſaid Earle, and Sir *George* his brother, were the firſt that voted, that the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* ſhould be beſieged: Divers Gentlemen of *Fyfe* went into the Caſtle, and abode there with the *Leſlies* during the firſt ſiege; and *John Rough* was Preacher to them. The Biſhop, to declare the zeale that he had to revenge the death of him that was his predeceſſour (and for his riches he would not have had him living againe) ſtill blew the coles. And firſt he made ſummons, then he denounced accurſed, at laſt rebels, not onely the firſt enterpriſers, but all ſuch alſo as after did accompany them. And laſt of all a ſiege was concluded, which began in the end of Auguſt (for the 23 day thereof departed the Souldiers from *Edinburgh*) and continued neer to the end of January. At what time, becauſe they had no other hope of winning of it, but by hunger, and thereof alſo they deſpaired, for they within had broken through the Eaſt wall, and made a plaine paſſage by an iron gate to the ſea, which greatly relieved the beſieged, and abaſed the beſiegers; for then they ſaw that they could not ſtop them of victuals, unleſſe that they ſhould be maſters of the ſea, and that they clearly underſtood they could not be; for the Engliſh Ships had once been there, and had brought *William Kirkcaldie* from *London*, and with much difficultie (becauſe the ſaid gate was not then prepared) and ſome loſſe of men, had rendered him to the Caſtle againe; and had taken with them to the Court of *England*, *John Leſlie*, and Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, for perfecting of all Contracts betwixt them and King *Henry*, who promiſed to take them into his protection, upon condition onely that they ſhould keep the Governours ſon, my Lord of *Arrane*, and ſtand friends to the Contract of Marriage, whereof before we have made mention. Theſe things clearly underſtood (we ſay) by the Governour and his Counſell, the Prieſts and the ſhaven ſort; they concluded to make an appointment, to the end, that under Truce, they might either get the Caſtle betrayed, or elſe ſome principall men of the company taken atunawares. In which dreſſing was the Abbot of *Dunfermeling* principall; and for that purpoſe had the Laird of *Menquhanie* (who was moſt familiar with thoſe of the Caſtle) laboured with foot and hand, and proceeded ſo in his traffique, that from entring in day light, at his pleaſure, he gat licence to come in in the night, whenſoever it pleaſed him. But God had not appointed ſo

Note.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* was glad, and yet made himſelfe to be angry at the ſlaughter of the Cardinall.

Upon what conditions King *Henry* took the caſtle of S. *Andrews* into his protection.

The firſt ſiege laſted from Auguſt to January.

Anno many to be betrayed, albeit that he would that they ſhould be puniſhed, and that juſtly, as hereafter we ſhall heare.

The Heads of the coloured appointment were;

1. *That they ſhould keep the Caſtle of S.* Andrews *ſtill, while that the Governour and the authority of* Scotland *ſhould get unto them a ſufficient abſolution from the Pope* Antichriſt of Rome, *for the ſlaughter of the Cardinall aforeſaid.*

2. *That they ſhould deliver pledges for the deliverie of that houſe, as ſoone as the aforeſaid abſolution was delivered unto them.*

3. *That they, their friends, familiars and ſervants, and others to them pertaining, ſhould never be purſued in Law, by authority, for the ſlaughter aforeſaid. But that they ſhould enjoy commodities, ſpirituall or temporall, whatſoever they poſſeſſed before the ſaid ſlaughter, even as if it had never beene committed. That they of the Caſtle ſhould keep the Earle of* Arran *ſo long as their Pledges were kept.*

And ſuch like Articles liberall enough, *for they never minded to keep word of them, as the iſſue did declare.* *John Rough* left the Caſtle, ſeeing he could do little good upon thoſe that were within, ſo addicted were they to their evil wayes; he went into *England* to Preach Gods Word there.

The appointment made, all the godly were glad, for ſome hope they had that thereby Gods Word ſhould ſomewhat bud, as indeed ſo it did: For *John Rough* (who ſoon after the Cardinals ſlaughter entred within the Caſtle and had continued in it during the whole ſiege) having left the Caſtle, becauſe he could do little good upon thoſe that were with him; ſo addicted were they to their evil wayes, began to Preach in the city of S. *Andrews*. And albeit he was not the moſt learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people. At the Eaſter after

1547. *John Knox* goes into the Caſtle of S. *Andrews.*

Anno 1547. came to the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, *John Knox*, who wearied of removing from place to place, by reaſon of the perſecution that came upon him by the Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, was determined to have left *Scotland*, and to have viſited the Schools of *Germany* (of *England* then he had no pleaſure, by reaſon that although the Popes name was ſuppreſſed, yet his laws & corruptions remained in full vigor.) But becauſe he had the care of ſome Gentlemens children, whom certain yeers he had nouriſhed in godlineſſe. Their fathers ſolicited him to go to S. *Andrews*, that himſelfe might have the benefit of the Caſtle, and their children the benefit of his Doctrine. And ſo (we ſay) came he the time aforeſaid to the ſaid place; and having in his company *Francis Dowglas* of *Langnidrie*, *George* his brother, and *Alexander Cokburne*, eldeſt ſon then to the Laird of *Ormeſton*, began to exerciſe them, after his accuſtomed manner. Beſides the *Grammar* and other books of humane Learning, he read unto them a Catechiſme, account whereof he cauſed them give publikely in the Pariſh Church of S. *Andrews*. He read moreover unto them the Goſpel of *John*, proceeding where he left at his departure from *Langnidrie*, where before his reſidence was, and that Lecture he read in the Chappell within the Caſtle at a certain houre. They of the place, but ſpecially M. *Hen. Balnaves* & *John Rough* Preacher, perceiving the manner of his Doctrine, began earneſtly to travell with him, that he would take the Function of Preacher upon him: but he refuſed, alleadging that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, that he would

do

do nothing without a lawfull vocation. Whereupon they privily amongſt themſelves adviſing, having with them in counſel Sir *David Lindſay* of the *Mount* *, they concluded that they would give a charge to the ſaid *John*, and that publikely, by the mouth of the Preacher. And ſo upon a certain day, a Sermon of the Eelection of Miniſters, what power the Congregation (how ſmall ſoever that it was, paſſing the number of two or three) had above any man, namely, in the time of need, as that was, in whom they ſuppoſed, and eſpied the gifts of God to be; and how dangerous it was to refuſe, and not to heare the voyce of ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed. Theſe & other heads (we ſay) declared the ſaid *John Rough* Preacher, directed by his words to the ſaid *John Knox*, ſaying, *Brother, ye ſhall not be offended, albeit that I ſpeak unto you that which I have in charge even from all thoſe that are here preſent, which is this: In the Name of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and in the name of theſe that preſently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuſe not this holy Vocation, but as ye tender the glory of God, the encreaſe of Chriſts Kingdom, The edification of your Brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye underſtand well enough to be oppreſſed by the multitude of labours, That ye take upon you the publike office and Charge of Preaching, even as ye looke to avoyd Gods heavy diſpleaſure, and deſire that he ſhall multiply his Graces upon you.* And in the end he ſaid to thoſe that were preſent, *Was not this your Charge to me? And do ye not approve this Vocation?* They anſwered, *It is, and we approve it.* Whereat the ſaid M. *Iohn* abaſhed, burſt forth in moſt abundant tears, and withdrew himſelf to his Chamber: His countenance and behaviour, from that day, till the day that he was compelled to preſent himſelf to the publike place of Preaching, did ſufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man ſaw any ſigne of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleaſure to accompany any man, for many dayes together. The neceſſity that cauſed him to enter in the publike Place, beſides the Vocation aforeſaid, was Dean *Iohn Annan* (a rotten Papiſt) had long troubled *Iohn Rough* in his Preaching. The ſaid *Iohn Knox* had fortified the Doctrine of the Preacher by his Pen, and had beaten the ſaid Dean *Iohn* from all defences, that he was compelled to flie to his laſt refuge; that is, To the authority of the Church, which Authority, ſaid he, damned all Lutherans and Heretickes, and therefore he needed no further diſputation. *Iohn Knox* anſwered, *Before we hold our ſelves, or that ye can prove us ſufficiently convinced, we muſt define the Church by the right notes given to us in Gods Scripture, of the true Church: we muſt diſcerne the Immaculate Spouſe of Ieſus Chriſt, from the mother of Confuſion, Spirituall* Babilon; *leſt that imprudently we embrace a Harlot, inſtead of the chaſte Spouſe; yea, to ſpeake it in plain words, Leſt that we ſubmit our ſelves to Sathan, thinking that we ſubmit our ſelves to Ieſus Chriſt: For as for your Romane Church, as it is now corrupted, and the Authority thereof, wherein ſtands the hope of your Victory, I no more doubt but that it is the Synagogue of Sathan; and the Head thereof, called the Pope, to be that man of Sin of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, then that I doubt that* Jesus Christ *ſuffered by the procurement of the viſible Church of* Jeruſalem. *Yea, I offer my ſelf by word or writing, to prove the Romane Church this day farther to degenerate from the purity which*

Anno

* Sir *David Lindſay* King of Armes then, who fore the time had good light both in Divine and Humane knowledge, as his works tell us.

The firſt Vocation by name of *Iohn Knox.*

Dean Iohn Annan.

The offer of *Iohn Knox* firſt and laſt unto the Papiſts.

Anno *was in the dayes of the Apoſtles, then was the Church of the Jewes from the Ordinance given by Moſes, when they conſented to the innocent death of* Jesus Christ. Theſe words were ſpoken in the open audience of the Pariſh Church of Saint *Andrewes*, after the ſaid Dean *John* had ſpoken what it pleaſed him, and had refuſed to diſpute. The people hearing the offer, cryed with one conſent, *We cannot all reade your writings, but we can all hear your Preaching: Therefore we require you in the Name of God, That ye let us heare the approbation of that which ye have affirmed: For if it be true, we have beene miſerably deceived.* And ſo the next Sunday was appointed to the ſaid *John*, to expreſſe his minde in the publike Preaching place: Which day approaching, the ſaid *John* took the Text written in *Daniel*, the ſeventh Chapter, beginning thus; *And another King ſhall riſe after them, and he ſhall be unlike unto the firſt, and he ſhall ſubdue three Kings, and ſhall ſpeak words againſt the moſt High, and ſhall conſume the Saints of the moſt High, and thinke that he can change Times and Lawes: And they ſhall be given unto his hands untill a time, and times, and dividing of times, &c.* In the beginning of his Sermon, he ſhewed the great love of God towards his Church, whom he pleaſed to forewarne of dangers to come, ſo many yeers before they come to paſſe. He briefly treated of the ſtate of the Iſraelites, who then were in bondage in *Babylon*, for the moſt part, and made a ſhort diſcourſe of the four Empires, The *Babylonian*, The *Perſian*, That of the *Greekes*, And the fourth of the *Romanes*; in the deſtruction whereof, roſe up that laſt Beaſt, which he affirmed to be the Romane Church; for to none other power that ever hath yet beene, do all the notes that God hath ſhewed to the Prophet appertain, except to it alone; And unto it they do ſo properly appertaine, that ſuch as are not more then blinde, may cleerly ſee them. But before he began to open the corruptions of *Papiſtrie*, he defined the true Church, ſhewed the true notes of it, whereupon it was built, why it was the Pillar of Verity, and why it could not erre; to wit, *Becauſe it heard the voyce of the onely Paſtor*, Jesus Christ, *would not heare a ſtranger, neither would be carried with every winde of Doctrine.* Every one of theſe heads ſufficiently declared, he entred to the contrary; and upon the notes given in his Text, he ſhewed that the Spirit of God in the new Teſtament gave to this King other new names; to wit, *The man of ſin*, The *Antichriſt*, The *Whore of Babilon*. He ſhewed, That this *man of ſin*, or *Antichriſt*, was not to be reſtrained to the perſon of any one man onely, no more then by the fourth Beaſt, was to be underſtood the perſon of any one *Emperour*. But by ſuch names the Spirit of God would forewarne his choſen of a body and a multitude, having a wicked head, which ſhould not onely be ſinfull himſelf, but alſo ſhould be occaſion of ſin, to all that ſhould be ſubject unto him (as Chriſt Jeſus is the cauſe of Juſtice to all the Members of his Body) and is called the *Antichriſt*, that is to ſay, One contrary to Chriſt, becauſe that he is contrary to him in *Life*, *Doctrine*, *Lawes*, *and Subjects*. And there began to decipher the lives of divers *Popes*, and the lives of all the *Shavelings* for the moſt part: Their Doctrine and Lawes, he plainly proved to repugne directly to the Doctrine and Lawes of God the Father, and of Chriſt

The firſt publike preaching of *John Knox*, made in the Pariſh Church of S. *Andrewes*.

1.

2.

Anno

Chriſt Jeſus his Son. This he proved by conferring the Doctrine of Juſtification expreſſed in the Scriptures, which teach that man is *juſtified by Faith onely*; *That the blood of Ieſus Chriſt purgeth us from all our ſinnes.* And the Doctrine of the Papiſts, which attribute Juſtification to the works of the Law, yea, to the works of mens inventions, as Pilgrimage, Pardons, and other ſuch baggage. That the Papiſticall lawes repugned to the Lawes of the Goſpel, he proved, by the Lawes made of obſervation of dayes, abſtaining from meats, and from Marriage, which Chriſt Jeſus made free; and the forbidding whereof, Saint *Paul* calleth the *doctrine of devils.* In handling the notes of that Beaſt given in the Text, he willed men to conſider if theſe notes (*There ſhall another riſe, unlike to the other, having a mouth ſpeaking great things and blaſphemous*) could be applyed unto any other, but to the Pope, and his kingdome: For if theſe (ſaid he) be not great words and blaſphemous, *The Head of the Church, moſt holy, moſt bleſſed, that cannot erre; That can make right of wrong, and wrong of right; That of nothing can make ſomewhat; And that had all verity in the Shrine of his breſt; yea, That had power of all, and none power of him.* Nay, not to ſay, That *he doth wrong, although he draw ten thouſand Millions of ſouls with himſelf to hell.* If theſe (ſaid he) and many other, eaſie to be ſhowne in his own *Cannon-Law*, be not great and blaſphemous words, and ſuch as never mortall men ſpake before, let the world judge. And yet (ſaid he) is there one moſt evident of all, to wit, *Iohn* in his Revelation ſayes, That the Merchandiſe of that Babylonian Harlot, *among other things, ſhall be the bodies and ſouls of men.* Now let very Papiſts themſelves judge, If any before them, took upon them power to relax the pains of them that were in Purgatory, as they affirme to the people that daily they do, by the merits of their Maſſe, and of their other trifles. In the end he ſaid, If any here (and there were preſent Maſter *Iohn Maire*, the Univerſity, the Sub-Prior, and many Cannons, with ſome Friers of both the Orders) that will ſay, That I have alleadged Scripture, Doctor, or Hiſtory, otherwiſe then it is written, let them come unto me with ſufficient witneſſe, and by conference I ſhall let them ſee, not onely the Originall where my Teſtimonies are written, but I ſhall prove, That the Writers meant as I have ſpoken. Of this Sermon, which was the firſt that ever *Iohn Knox* made in publike, was divers brutes: Some ſaid, He not onely hewes the branches of Papiſtry, but he ſtrikes at the root alſo, to deſtroy the whole. Others ſaid, If the Doctors, and *Magiſtri noſtri*, defend not now the Pope and his Authority, which in their own preſence is ſo manifeſtly impugned, *the devill may have my part of him, and of his Lawes both.* Others ſaid, Miſter *George Wiſcharde* ſpake never ſo plainly, and yet he was burnt, even ſo will he be. In the end others ſaid, The Tyranny of the Cardinall made not his cauſe the better, neither yet the ſuffering of Gods ſervant made his cauſe the worſe. And therefore we would counſell you and them to provide better defences then fire and ſword; for it may be that elſe ye will be diſappointed; men now have other eyes then they had then. This anſwer gave the Laird of *Nydrie*, a man fervent and upright in Religion. The baſtard Biſhop, who yet was not execrated (conſecrated

Contra Dei ſpiritum & Gloſ. cap. 2. ver 17. & 11.

Note.

The great words which Anti-chriſt ſpeaketh.

Iohn Knox had been diſciple in his firſt yeers to *Iohn Maire*,

Note.

Anno the Sub-Prior of S. *Andrews*, who (*Sede vacante*) was Vicar Generall, That he wondered that he ſuffered ſuch Hereticall and Schiſmaticall Doctrine to be taught, and not to oppoſe himſelfe to the ſame. Upon this rebuke, was a convention of gray-Friers, and black-Fiends appointed, with the ſaid Sub-Prior Deane *John Winrame*, in S. *Leonards* Yard, whereunto was firſt called *John Rough*, and certain Articles read to him. And thereafter was *John Knox* called for. The cauſe of their convention, and why that they were called, is expounded. And the Articles were read, which were theſe.

1. *No mortall man can be the head of the Church.*
2. *The Pope is an Antichriſt, and ſo is no member of Chriſts myſticall body.*
3. *Man may neither make nor deviſe a Religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to obſerve and keep the Religion that from God is received, without chopping or changing thereof.*
4. *The Sacraments of the New Teſtament, ought to be miniſtred as they were inſtituted by Chriſt Jeſus, and practiſed by his Apoſtles, nothing ought to be added unto them, nothing ought to be diminiſhed from them.*
5. *The Maſſe is abominable Idolatry, blaſphemous to the death of Chriſt, and a prophanation of the Lords Supper.*
6. *There is no Purgatory, in the which the ſoules of men can either be pined or purged after this life. But heaven reſteth to the faithfull, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithfull.*
7. *Praying for the dead is vain, and to the dead is Idolatry.*
8. *There is no Biſhop, except he Preach even by himſelfe, without any Subſtitute.*
9. *The Tythes by Gods Law do not appertain of neceſſity to the Church-men.*

The ſtrangeneſſe (ſaid the Sub-Prior) of theſe Articles which are gathered forth of your Doctrine have moved us to call for you, to hear your own anſwers. *Iohn Knox* ſaid, I for my part praiſe my God, that I ſee ſo honourable, and apparantly ſo modeſt and quiet an Auditory: But becauſe it is long ſince that I have heard, that ye are one that is not ignorant of the Trueth, I may crave of you in the Name of God, yea, and I appeal your conſcience, before that ſupreme Judge; That if ye think any Article there expreſſed, contrary unto the Truth of God, That ye oppoſe your ſelf plainely unto it, and ſuffer not the people to be therewith deceived. But on the other ſide, if in your conſcience ye know the Doctrine to be true, then will I crave your Patrocinie thereto; That by your authority the people may be moved the rather to beleeve the Truth, whereof many doubts, by reaſon of your thoughts. The Sub-Prior anſwered, I came not here as a Judge, but onely familiarly to talke, and therefore I will neither allow nor condemne. But if ye liſt, I will reaſon.

The Sub-Prior.

Why may not the Church (ſaid he) for good cauſes deviſe Ceremonies to decore the Sacraments, and other Gods Service.

Iohn Knox.

Becauſe the Church ought to do nothing, *but in Faith, and ought not to go before, but is bound to follow the voice of the true Paſtor.*

The

Anno

The Sub-Prior.

It is in Faith that the Ceremonies are commanded, and they have proper ſignifications to help our Faith, as the hards in Baptiſme ſignifie the roughneſſe of the Law, and the oyle the ſoftneſſe of Gods mercy; and likewiſe every one of the Ceremonies hath a godly ſignification, and therefore they both proceed from Faith, and are done in Faith.

John Knox.

It is not enough that man invent a Ceremony, and then give it a ſignification according to his pleaſure. For ſo might the Ceremonies of the *Gentiles*, and this day the Ceremonies of *Mahomet* be maintained. But if that any thing proceed from Faith, it muſt have the Word of God for its aſſurance. For ye are not ignorant; *That Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.* Now if that ye will prove that your Ceremonies proceed from Faith, and do pleaſe God, ye muſt prove that God in expreſſe words hath commanded them. Or elſe ſhall you never prove that they proceed from Faith, nor yet that they pleaſe God; but that they are ſinne, and do diſpleaſe him, according to the words of the Apoſtle, *Whatſoever is not of Faith is ſinne.*

The Sub-Prior.

Will ye binde us ſo ſtraight, that we may do nothing without the expreſſe Word of God. What and I ask drink, Think ye that I ſinne? and yet I have not Gods Word for me. This anſwer gave he as might appear to ſhift over the Argument upon the Frier, as that he did.

John Knox.

I would ye ſhould not jeſt in ſo grave a matter, neither would I that ye ſhould begin to hide the Trueth with Sophiſtrie, and if ye do, I will defend it the beſt that I can. And firſt to your drinking, I ſay, that if ye either eat or drink without aſſurance of Gods Word, that in ſo doing ye diſpleaſe God, and ſinne in your very eating and drinking. For ſaith not the Apoſtle (ſpeaking even of meat and drink) That *the creatures are ſanctified unto men, even by word and prayer.* The word is this, *All things are cleane to the cleane.* Now let me hear this much of your Ceremonies, and I ſhall give you the Argument, but I wonder that they compare things prophane and holy things ſo indiſcreetly together. The Queſtion was not, nor is not of meat or drink, whereinto the Kingdom of God conſiſteth not. But the Queſtion is of Gods true worſhipping, without the which we can have no ſocietie with God. And here it is doubted, if we may take the ſame freedom in the uſing of Chriſts Sacraments, that we may do in eating and drinking. One meat I may eat, another I may refuſe, and that without ſcruple of conſcience. I may change one with another, even as oft as I pleaſe. Whether may we caſt away what we pleaſe, and retaine what we pleaſe? If I be well remembred, *Moſes* in the Name of God ſaith to the people of Iſrael; *All that the Lord thy God commandeth thee to do, that do thou to the Lord thy God*, adde nothing to it, diminiſh nothing from it.

By

Anno By theſe rules think I that the Church of Chriſt will meaſure Gods Religion, and not by that which ſeems good in their own eyes.

The Sub-Prior.

Forgive me, I ſpake it but in mowes, and I was dry. And now father (ſaid he, to the Frier) follow the argument, ye have heard what I have ſaid, and what is anſwered to me againe.

Arbugkill gray-Frier.

I ſhall prove plainely that Ceremonies are ordained by God.

John Knox.

Such as God hath ordained we allow, and with reverence we uſe them. But the queſtion is of thoſe that God hath ordained, ſuch as in Baptiſme, are ſpittle, ſa't, candle, (except it be to keep the barne from the cold) hardes, oyle, and the reſt of the Papiſticall inventions.

Arbugkill.

I will even prove thoſe that ye damne to be ordained of God.

John Knox.

The Proofe thereof I would gladly hear.

Arbugkill.

Saith not Saint *Paul*, that another foundation then Jeſus Chriſt, may no man lay. But upon this foundation, Some build gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, ſome hay, ſtubble, and wood. The gold, ſilver, and the precious ſtones, are the Ceremonies of the Church, which do abide the fire, and conſumeth not away, &c. This place of Scripture is moſt plaine, ſayeth the *fooliſh fiend.*

John Knox.

I praiſe my God through Jeſus Chriſt, for I finde his promiſe ſure, true, and ſtable. Chriſt Jeſus bids us not fear when we ſhall be called before men to give confeſſion of his Trueth, for he promiſeth that it ſhall be given unto us in that houre what we ſhall ſpeak. If I had ſought the whole Scriptures, I could not have produced a place more proper for my purpoſe, nor more potent to confound you. Now to your Argument. The Ceremonies of the Church (ſay ye) are gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones, becauſe they are able to abide the fire. But I would learne of you, What fire is it which your Ceremonies do abide? And in the mean time, while ye be adviſed to anſwer, I will ſhew my minde, and make an Argument againſt yours, upon the ſame Text. And firſt, I ſay, that I have heard this Text adduced for a proofe of Purgatory, but for defence of Ceremonies, I never heard nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye underſtand the minde of the Apoſtle or not; I make my Argument and ſay: That which can abide the fire, can abide the Word of God; But your Ceremonies cannot abide the Word of God. *Ergo*, They cannot abide the fire.

fire. And if they may not abide the fire, then are they not gold, silver, nor precious ſtones. Now if ye finde any ambiguity in this terme Fire, which I interpret to be the Word, finde ye me another fire, by the which things builded upon Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be tried, then God and his Word, which both in the Scriptures are called fire; and I ſhall correct mine Argument. Anno Note.

Arbugkill.

I ſtand not thereupon, but I deny your Minor; to wit, That our Ceremonies may not abide the triall of Gods Word.

John Knox.

I prove, That abides not the triall of Gods Word, which Gods Word condemnes: But Gods Word condemnes your Ceremonies; Therefore they do not abide the triall thereof. But as a thief abides the triall of the Inqueſt, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, even ſo may your Ceremonies abide the triall of Gods Word, but not elſe. And now in few words to make plain that wherein ye may ſeem to doubt, to wit, that Gods Word damnes your Ceremonies, it is evident: For the plain and ſtrait Commandment is, *Not that thing that appears good in thine eyes ſhalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that do thou; adde nothing to it, diminiſh nothing from it.* Now unleſſe that ye be able to prove that God hath commanded your Ceremonies, this his former Commandment will damne both you and them. *Optima Collatio.* Deut. 4.

The Frier ſomewhat abaſhed what firſt to anſwer, while he wanders about in the miſt, he falls in a foule mire. For alleadging that we may not be ſo bound to the Word, he affirmed, That the Apoſtles had not received the Holy Ghoſt when they did write their Epiſtles, but after they received him, and then they ordained Ceremonies (few would have thought that ſo learned a man would have given ſo fooliſh an anſwer, & yet it is even as true as he did bear a gray Coull) *John Knox*, hearing the anſwer, ſtart, and ſaid, *If that be true, I have long been in an errour, and I think I ſhall die therein.* The Sub-Prior ſaid to him, *Father, What ſay ye? God forbid that ye affirme that; for then farewell the ground of our faith.* The Frier aſtonied, made the beſt ſhift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be. *John Knox* brought him oft again to the ground of the Argument. But he would never anſwer directly, but ever fled to the authority of the Church: whereto the ſaid *John* anſwered ofter then once, *That the Spouſe of Chriſt had neither power nor authority againſt the Word of God.* Then ſaid the Frier, *If ſo be, ye will leave us no Church. Indeed*, ſaid the other, *in* David *I reade that there is a Church of the Malignants; for he ſaith*, Odi Eccleſiam malignantium: *That Church ye may have without the Word, and doing many things directly fighting againſt the Word of God. Of that Church, if ye will be, I cannot hinder you. But as for me, I will be of none other Church, except of that which hath Jeſus Chriſt to be Paſtour, which hears his voice, and will not heare a ſtranger.* In this Diſputation many other things were merrily ſkoft over: For the Frier after his fall could ſpeak nothing to any purpoſe. For Purgatorie, he had no better proofe but the *Note.* Pſal. 26. 5.

Anno

Frier Arbuckil's proofe of Purgatory.

authority of *Virgil*, in the ſixth of his Æneiads; and the paines thereof to him was an *Evil wife*. *Iohn Knox* anſwered that, and many other things as he himſelf witneſſeth, in a Treatiſe that he did write in the Gallies, containing the ſum of his Doctrine, and the confeſſion of his Faith, and ſent it to his familiars in *Scotland*, with his exhortation, That they ſhould continue in the Truth, which they had profeſſed, notwithſtanding any worldly adverſity that might enſue thereof. Thus much of that diſputation have we inſerted here, to the intent that men may ſee how Satan ever travelleth to obſcure the Light, and how God by his power working in his weak veſſels, confounds the craft, and diſcloſeth the darkneſſe of Satan.

The cauſe of the inſerting of this Diſputation.

The practiſes of Papiſts, that their wickednesſe ſhould not be diſcloſed.

After this the Papiſts and Friers, had no great heart of further diſputation or reaſoning, but invented another ſhift, which appeared to proceed from godlineſſe, and it was this: Every learned man in the Abbey, and in the Univerſitie ſhould Preach in the Pariſh Church his Sunday about. The *Sub-Prior* began, followed the *Officiall*, called *Spittall* (Sermons was penned) to offend no man, followed all the reſt in their ranks. And ſo *Iohn Knox* ſmelled out the craft, and in his Sermons which he made upon the Weeke-dayes, he prayed to God, that they ſhould be as buſie in Preaching, when there ſhould be more want of it, then there was then. Alwayes (ſaid he) I praiſe God that Chriſt Jeſus is Preached, and nothing is ſaid publikely againſt the Doctrine that ye have heard. If in my abſence they ſhall ſpeak any thing which in my preſence they do not; I proteſt that ye ſuſpend your judgement, till that it pleaſe God ye hear me againe.

The proteſtation of *Iohn Knox*.

God ſo aſſiſted his weak Souldier, and ſo bleſſed his labours, that not onely all theſe of the Caſtle, but alſo a great number of the Town openly profeſſed by participation of the Lords Table, in the ſame purity, that now it is miniſtred in the Churches of *Scotland*, with that ſame Doctrine that he had taught unto them. Amongſt whom was he that now either rules, or elſe miſrules *Scotland*, to wit, Sir *Iames Balfour* (ſometimes called M. *Iames*) the chiefe and principall Proteſtant, that then was to be found within this Realm. This we write becauſe that we have heard, that the ſaid Maſter *Iames* alleadgeth, that he was never of this our Religion, but that he was brought up in *Martin Luthers* opinion of the Sacrament, and therefore he cannot communicate with us. But his own conſcience, and two hundred witneſſes beſides, know that he lies, and that he was one of the chief (if he had not been after his cups) that would have given his life, if men might credit his words, for defence of the doctrine, that the ſaid *Iohn Knox* taught. But albeit that thoſe that never were of us (as none of *Manquhanneys* houſe have ſhewed themſelves to be) depart from us, it is no great wonder. For it is proper and naturall, that the children follow the father, and let the godly beware of that race and progenie, by eſchewing it. For if in them be either fear of God, or love of vertue, further then the preſent commoditie perſwades them, men of judgement are deceived. But to return to our Hiſtory. The Prieſts and Biſhops enraged at all theſe proceedings that were in Saint *Andrews*, ran now upon the Governour, now upon the Queene, now upon the whole Counſell, and there might have been heard complaints and cryes; What are we doing? Shall

M. *Iames* had *fourt* once joyned with the Church, and did profeſſe all Doctrine, taught by *Iohn Knox*.

Filius ſequitur patrem.

The rage of the marked beaſts at the Preaching of the Truth.

we

we ſuffer this whole Realme to be infected with pernicious Doctrine; fie upon you, and fie upon us. The Queen, and Monſieur *d'Oſell* (who then was *a ſecretis mulierum* in the Court) comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they ſhould ſee remedy or it were long. And ſo it proved indeed: For upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, appeared in the ſight of the Caſtle of Saint *Andrewes*, one and twenty French Galleys with a great Army, the like whereof was never ſeen in that Haven before. This treaſonable means had the Governour, the Biſhop, the Queen, and Monſieur *d'Oſell*, under their appointment drawne. But to excuſe their Treaſon, eight dayes before, they had preſented an Abſolution unto them, as ſent from *Rome*, containing, after the aggravation of the crime, this clauſe, *remittimus irremiſsibile*, that is, We remit the crime that cannot be remitted: Which conſidered by the worſt of the company that was in the Caſtle, anſwer was given, That the Governour and Councell of the Realme had promiſed unto them a ſufficient and aſſured abſolution; which that appeareth not to be, and therefore they could not deliver the Houſe, neither thought they that any reaſonable man would require them ſo to do, conſidering that promiſe was not kept unto them. The next day after that the Gallies were arrived, they ſummoned the Houſe: Which being denied (becauſe they knew then no Magiſtrates in *Scotland*) they prepared for Siege; and firſt they began to aſſault by Sea, and ſhot two days; but thereof they neither got advantage nor honour, for they threw down the Slates of houſes; but neither ſlue man, nor did harme to any wall. But the Caſtle handled them ſo, that *Sancta Barbara* (the Gunners goddeſſe) helped them nothing, for they loſt many of their Rowers, men chained in the Gallies, and ſome Souldiers both by Sea and Land. And farther, a Galley that approached neerer then the reſt, was ſo beaten with the Cannon, and other Ordinance, that ſhe was ſtriken under water, and almoſt drowned, and ſo ſhe had been, had not the reſt given her ſuccour in time, and drawn her to the weſt Sands, without the ſhot of the Caſtle, and afterward to *Dundie*; where they remained, till that the Governour, who then was at the Siege of *Langhope*, came unto them with the reſt of the French Faction. The Siege by Sea and Land was laid about the Caſtle of S. *Androws* the three and twentieth day of *July*: The Trenches were caſt, Ordnance was planted upon the Abbey Church, and upon Saint *Salvators* Colledge (and yet was the Steeple thereof burnt) and ſome upon the ſtreet that leads to the Caſtle, which ſo annoyed the Caſtle, that neither could they keep their Block-houſe, the Sea Tower head, nor the weſt wall; for in all thoſe places men were ſlain by great Ordnance: yea, they mounted the Ordnance ſo high upon the Abbey Church, that they might diſcover the ground of the court of the Caſtle in divers places. Moreover, within the Caſtle was the plague (and divers therein died) which more affrayed ſome that were therein, then did the externall force without. But *Jo. Knox* was of another judgement; for he ever ſaid, That their corrupt life, having fallen into all kinde of licentiouſneſſe, puft up with pride of their ſucceſſe, and relying upon *England* for help in caſe of need, could not eſcape the puniſhment of God; and that was his continuall advertiſement, from the time that he was called to Preach. When they triumphed

Anno

The firſt coming of Galleys. *Anno* 1547. And the ſecond Siege of the Caſtle

The treaſonable act of the Governour, and Queen Dowager.

Note. The anſwer given to the Governour, when the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* was required to be delivered.

The Gunners goddeſſe.

Commonly called, The old Colledge.

The ſentence of *Iohn Knox* to the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* before it was won.

Anno *Note.*

of their Victory (the firſt twenty dayes they had many proſperous chances) he lamented, and ever ſaid, They ſaw not what he ſaw: when they bragged of the force and thickneſſe of their walls, he ſaid they ſhould be but egge-ſhells. When they vaunted, *England* will reſcue us, he ſaid, Ye ſhall not ſee them; but ye ſhall be delivered into your enemies hands, and ſhall be carried into a ſtrange Countrey.

King *Henry* of *England* being dead.

Upon the nine and twentieth of *Iuly* at night, was the Ordnance planted for the Battery thirteen Cannons, whereof four were Cannons Royall, called double Cannons, beſides other Pieces. The Battery began at four of the clock in the morning; and before ten hours of the day, the whole South quarter, betwixt the fore Tower, and the Eaſt Block-houſe, was made ſaltable. The lower Gallery was ſtopped, divers ſlain in it; and the Eaſt Block-houſe was ſhot off from the place. Betwixt ten of the clock and eleven, there fell a ſhower of rain, that continued neer an hour, the like whereof had ſeldome been ſeen; it was ſo vehement, that no man might abide without a houſe. The Cannons were left alone. Some within the Caſtle were of judgement, that men ſhould have iſſued, and put all in the hands of God. But becauſe that *William Kirkcaldie* was coming with the Prior of *Cappua*, who had the Commiſſion of that Journey from the King of *France*, nothing was enterpriſed. And ſo appointment made, and the Caſtle rendered, upon Saturday the laſt of *Iuly*. The Heads of the Appointment were; That the lives of all within the Caſtle ſhould be ſaved, as well Engliſh as Scots, that they ſhould be ſafely tranſported to *France*. And in caſe that upon conditions which by the King of *France* ſhould offered unto them, they could not be content to remaine in ſervice and freedome there, they ſhould upon the King of *France* his expences be ſafely conveyed to what Countrey they would, other then *Scotland*. With the *Governour they would have nothing ado, neither with any* Scottiſh-man, for they had all trayterouſly betrayed them (which, ſaid the Laird of *Grange* elder, a *man ſimple*, and of moſt ſtout courage, I am aſſured God ſhall revenge it or it be long.) The Galleys well furniſhed with the ſpoile of the Caſtle aforeſaid, after certain dayes returned to *France*, and eſcaped a great danger (for upon the back of the Sands they all chocked) they arrived at *Felcam* in *November*, and thereafter paſſed up the water of *Sequane*, and lay before *Roan*, where the principall Gentlemen who looked for freedome, were diſperſed, and put in ſundry priſons; the reſt were left in the Galleyes, and there miſerably uſed. Amongſt whom, the foreſaid Maſter *Iames Balfour* was, with his two brethren, *David* and *Gilbert*; which we write, becauſe that we heare that the ſaid Maſter *Iames*, principall miſguider now of *Scotland*, denies that he had any thingto do with the Caſtle of Saint *Andrewes*, or yet that ever he was inthe Galleys: among others, *Iohn Knox* was in the Galleys all the Winter. Then was the joy of the Papiſts, both of *Scotland* and of *France*, even in full perfection; for this was their ſong of triumph:

Prior of *Cappua* *Leo Stuzi.*

The Caſtle of S. *Andrews* refuſed in greateſt extremity to treat with the Governor, fearing the cruelty of his weak nature, in revenging the death of his Couſin the Cardinall.

Prieſts content you now, Prieſts content you now,
For Norman *and his company have fill'd the Gallies fow.*

The Pope wrote Letters to the King of *France*, and ſo did he to the Gover-

Governour of *Scotland*, thanking him heartily for taking pains to revenge the death of his kinde creature the Cardinall of *Scotland*, deſiring them to continue in their begun ſeverity, that ſuch things thereafter ſhould not be attempted. So were all thoſe that were deprehended in the Caſtle, condemned to perpetuall priſon: And the ungodly judged, That after this, Chriſt Jeſus ſhould never triumph in *Scotland*. On thing we cannot paſſe by: From *Scotland* was ſent a famous Clerke (laugh not Reader) M. *John Hammilton* of *Milburne*, with credit to the King of *France*, and unto the Cardinall of *Loraine* (and yet he had neither French nor Latine, and ſome ſay his Scotiſh tongue was not very good.) The ſum of his Negotiation was, That thoſe of the Caſtle ſhould be ſharply handled: In the which Suit he was heard with favour, and was diſpatched from the Court of *France* with Letters, and great credit, which that famous Clerke forgate by the way. For paſſing up to the Mountaine of *Dumbartane*, before his letters were delivered, he brake his neck, and ſo God took away a proud ignorant enemy. But now to our Hiſtory. Theſe things againſt promiſe (*for Princes have no Fidelity further then for their owne advantage*) done at *Roan*, the Galleys departed to *Nantes* in *Britanie*. Where, upon the water of *Lore*, they lay the whole Winter. In *Scotland* that Summer was nothing but mirth, for all went with the Prieſts even at their own pleaſure. The Caſtle of S. *Andrewes* was razed to the ground; the Block-houſe thereof caſt downe, and the walls round about demoliſhed. Whether this was to fulfill their law, which commands that places where Cardinals are ſlain, ſo to be uſed; or elſe for fear that *England* ſhould have taken it, as after they did *Brouchtie Rock*, we remit to the judgement of ſuch as were of counſell.

Anno

Nulla fides Regi Socii, &c.

This ſame yeer, in the beginning of *September*, entereth *Scotland* an Army of ten thouſand men from *England* by Land, and ſome Ships with Ordnance come by Sea. The Governour and the Biſhop hereof advertiſed, gathered together the Forces of *Scotland*, and aſſembled at *Edinburgh*. The Protector of *England*, with the Earle of *Warwicke* and their Army, remained at *Præſton*, and about *Præſton Panes*; for they had certaine Offers to propoſe unto the Nobility of *Scotland*, concerning the promiſe before made by them, unto the which King *Henry* before his death gently required them to ſtand faſt: And if they would ſo do, of him nor of his Realme they ſhould have no trouble, but the helpe and the comfort that he could make them in all things lawfull. And hereupon there was a Letter directed to the Governour and Councell; which coming to the hands of the Biſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, he thought it could not be for his advantage that it ſhould be divulgate; and therefore by his craft it was ſuppreſſed. Upon the *Friday* the ſeventh of *September*, the Engliſh Army marched towards *Leith*, and the Scotiſh Army marched from *Edinburgh* to *Ennernes*. The whole Scotiſh Army was not aſſembled, and yet the skirmiſhing began; for nothing was concluded but Victory, without ſtroke. The Protector, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Gray*, and all the Engliſh Captaines were playing at the Dice. No men were ſtouter then the Prieſts and Channons with their ſhaven crowns,

Pinkey Clowch.

Duke of *Somerſet*.

The ſecurity of the Scotiſhmen at *Pinkey Clowch.*

Anno crowns, and black Jacks. The Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lord *Gray*, who had the chief charge of Horſe-men, perceiving the Hoſt to be moleſted with the Scotiſh Preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither under order nor obedience (for they were divided from the great Army) ſent forth certain Troops of Horſe-men, and ſome of their Borderers, either to fetch them, or elſe to put them out of their ſight, ſo that they might not annoy the Hoſt. The Skirmiſh grew hot, and at length the Scotiſh-men gave back, and fled without gain turne: The chaſe continued far, both towards the Eaſt, and towards the Weſt; in the which many were ſlain, and he that now is Lord *Home*, was taken, which was the occaſion that the Caſtle of *Home* was after ſurrendered to the Engliſh men. The loſſe of theſe men neither moved the Governour, nor yet the Biſhop his baſtard brother, bragging, That they would revenge the matter well enough upon the morrow; for they had hands enow (no word of God) the *Engliſh hereticks had no faces, they would not abide*. Upon the *Saturday* the Armies of both ſides paſt to Array. The Engliſh Army takes the middle part of *Fawſide hill*, having their Ordnance planted before them, and having their Ships and two Galleys brought as neer the Land, as water would ſerve. The Scotiſh Army ſtood firſt in a reaſonable ſtrength, and good order, having betwixt them and the Engliſh Army the water of *Eſk* (otherwiſe called *Muſſylburgh* water) But at length a charge was given, in the Governours behalf, with ſound of Trumpet, That all men ſhould march forward, and go over the water. Some ſay that this was procured by the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, and Maſter *Hew Rig*, for preſervation of *Carbarrie*. Men of judgement liked not the journey; for they thought it no wiſedom to leave their ſtrength. But commandment upon commandment, and charge upon charge was given, which urged them ſo, that unwillingly they obeyed. The Earle of *Angus* being in the Vant-guard, had in his company the Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, of *Angus*, *Mearnes*, and the Weſtland, with many others, that of love reſorted unto him; and eſpecially thoſe that were profeſſors of the Goſpel, for they ſuppoſed that *England* would not have made great purſuit of him. He paſſed firſt thorow the water, and arrayed his Hoſt, direct before the enemies: Followed the Earle of *Huntley*, with his *Northland* men: Laſt come the Governour, having in his company the Earle of *Argyle*, with his own friends, and the Body of the Realme. The Engliſh-men perceiving the danger, and how that the Scotiſh-men intended to have taken the top of the hill, made to prevent the perill. The Lord *Gray* was commanded to give the charge with his men at Armes, which he did, albeit the hazard was very unlikely. For the Earle of *Angus* Hoſt ſtood even as a wall, and received the firſt aſſaulters, upon the points of their Spears (which were longer then thoſe of the Engliſh-men) ſo rudely, that fifty Horſe and men of the firſt rank lay dead at once, without any hurt done to the Scottiſh Armie, except that the Spears of the former two Ranks were broken. Which Diſcomfiture received, the reſt of the Horſe-men fled, yea, ſome paſſed beyond *Fawſide Hill*; the Lord *Gray* himſelfe was hurt in the mouth, and plainly denied to chage againe; for he ſaid, It was alike to run againſt a Wall. The Galleyes and the

Friday's chaſe.

Brags.

The repulſe of the Horſe-men of *England*

the ſhips, and ſo did the ordnance, planted upon *Myde-hill* ſhoot terribly. But the ordnance of the Gallies ſhooting amongſt the *Scottiſh* Army affraied them wonderouſly. And while that every man laboured to draw from the North, from whence the danger appeared, they begin to faile, and with that were the *Engliſh* foot-men marching forward: Albeit that ſome of their horſe-men were upon the flight. The Earle of *Angus* army ſtood ſtill, looking that either *Huntly* or the Governour ſhould have recountred the next battell. But they had decreed that the favourers of *England*, and the Hereticks (as the prieſts called them) and the *Engliſhmen* ſhould part it betwixt them for that day. The feare riſeth, and at an inſtant, they which before were victors, and were not yet aſſaulted with any force (except with ordnance, as is ſaid) caſt from them their ſpears and fled: So that Gods power was ſo evidently ſeen, that in one moment, yea at one inſtant time, both the armies were fleeing. The ſhout came from the hill, from thoſe that hoped no victory upon the *Engliſh* part. The ſhout riſes (we ſay) *They flee, they flee*, but at the firſt it could not be beleeved, till at the laſt, it was clearly ſeene, that all had given back, and ſtill began the cruell ſlaughter (which was the greater, by reaſon of the late diſpleaſure of the men of arms) the chaſe and ſlaughter laſted till neer *Edinburgh* upon the one part, and toward *Dalketh* upon the other. The number of the ſlain upon the *Scottiſh* ſide, were judged nigh ten thouſand men. The Earle of *Huntly* was taken and carried to *London*: But he relieved himſelfe, being ſurety for many reaſons, Honeſty or unhoneſty, we know not, but as the bruite was, he uſed policie with *England*. In that ſame time was ſlain the Maſter of *Erskin*, dearly beloved of the Queene: for whom ſhe made great lamentation, and bare his death many dayes in minde. When the certaintie of the diſcomfiture came, ſhe was in *Edinburgh*, abiding upon tidings. But with expedition ſhe poſted that ſame night to *Sterlin* with *Monſieur Doſell*, who was as fearfull as *a Fox when his hole is ſmoaked*. And thus did God take the ſecond revenge upon the perjured Governour, with ſuch as aſſiſted him to defend an unjuſt quarrell. Albeit that many innocents fell amongſt the middeſt of the wicked. The *Engliſh* armie came to *Leyth*, and their taking order with their priſoners and ſpoile, they returned with this victory (which they looked not for) to *England*. That Winter following was great hearſhips made upon all the borders of *Scotland*, *Broughtie* mountain was taken by the *Engliſhmen*, and beſieged by the Governor, but ſtill kept: And at it was ſlain *Gawine*, the beſt of the *Hamiltons*, and the ordnance left. Whereupon the *Engliſhmen* encouraged, began to fortifie upon the hill above *Broughty* houſe, which was called, *The fort of* Broughty, and was very noiſome to *Dundie*, which it burnt and laid waſte, and ſo did it the moſt part of *Angus*, which was not aſſured, and under friendſhip with them.

Anno

Note.

Note.

The Lent following was *Hadington* fortified by the *Engliſh men*: The moſt part of *Lothian*, from *Edinburgh* Eaſt, was either aſſured or laid waſte. This did God plague in every quarter. But men were blinde, and would not, nor could not conſider the cauſe. The Lairdes *Ormeſton* and *Brunſtone*, were baniſhed, and after ſore aſſaulted, and ſo were all thoſe of the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*. The ſure knowledge of the troubles of *Scotland* coming

Note.

Anno coming to *France*, there was prepared a Navie and Army. The Navie was ſuch as never was ſeen to come from *France* for the ſupport of *Scotland*, for beſides the Gallies, being twenty two in number, they had threeſcore great Ships, beſides Victuallers. How ſoon ſo ever they took the plain ſeas, the red Lion of *Scotland* was diſplayed, and they holden as rebels unto *France* (*ſuch policie is no falſhood in Princes*) for good peace ſtood betwixt *France* and *England*. And the King of *France* approved nothing that they did. The chiefe men to whom the conducting of the Army was appointed, were *Monſieur Dandelott*, *Monſieur de Termes*, and *Peter Strozi*. In their journey they made ſome harſhip upon the coaſt of *England*, but it was not great. They arrived in *Scotland* in May, in the yeere of our Lord 1549. The Gallies did viſit the Fort of *Bronghtie*, but did no more at that time. Preparations were made for the ſiege of *Hadington*, but it was another thing, that they meant, as the iſſue declared. The whole body of the Realm aſſembled, the form of a Parliament was ſet to be holden there, to wit, in the Abbey of *Hadington*. The principall head was, the Marriage of the Princeſſe (by the State before contracted to King *Edward*) to the King of *France*, and of her preſent deliverie, by reaſon of the danger ſhe ſtood in, by the invaſion of the old enemies of *England*. Some were corrupted with buds, ſome deceived by flattering promiſe, and ſome for fear were compelled to conſent; for the *French* Souldiers were the officers of Arms in that Parliament. The Laird of *Balclench*, a bloody man, with many Gods-wounds, ſwore, *They that would not conſent, ſhould do worſe*. The Governour got the Title of Duke of *Chattelherauld*, with the order of the Cockle, and a Penſion of 12000. *lib. turn.* with a full diſcharge of all intermiſſions, with King *James* the fift his treaſure and ſubſtance whatſoever, with poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Dumbartane*, till that iſſue ſhould be ſeen of the Queenes body. *With theſe and other conditions ſtood he content to ſell his Soveraigne* out of his own hands, which in the end will be his deſtruction. God thereby puniſhing his former wickedneſſe (if ſpeedie repentance prevent not Gods judgements, which we heartily wiſh) *Huntly*, *Argyle*, and *Angus*, were likewiſe made Knights of the Cockle; and for that and other good deeds received, they ſold alſo their part. Shortly none was found to reſiſt that unjuſt demand. And ſo was ſhe ſold to go to *France*; To the end, that in her youth, ſhe ſhould drink of that liquor that ſhould remain with her all her life time for a plague to this Realm, and for her own ruine. And therefore albeit that now a fire cometh out of her, that conſumes many, let no man wonder, ſhe is Gods hand, in his diſpleaſure puniſhing our former ingratitude. Let men patiently abide Gods appointed time, and turn unto him with hearty repentance, then God will ſurely ſtop the fire that now comes from her, by ſudden changing her heart to deal favourably with his people; or elſe by taking her away, or by ſtopping her to go on in her courſe by ſuch meanes as he ſhall think meet in his wiſdom, for he having all in his hand diſpoſeth of all, and doth with all according to his own will, unto which we muſt not onely yeeld, but alſo be heartily pleaſed with it, ſince it is abſolutely good, and both by Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory we are taught to do ſo; for in them we finde, That Princes have been

1549.

Note.

The Parliament at *Hadington.*

Note.

The Dukes fact and what appeareth to follow thereof.

Experience hath taught, and further will declare.

been raiſed up by his hands to puniſh his people; But when they turned unto him with hearty repentance, he either turned the heart of the Prince to deal kindly with his people, or elſe did take him away, or at leaſt did ſtop his violent courſe againſt his people. Of this, the examples are ſo frequent, that we ſpare to name them heere. But to returne to our Hiſtorie. Anno

This concluſion, That our Queene (without further delay) ſhould be delivered to *France*. The ſiege continued, great ſhooting, but no aſſaulting, and yet they had fair occaſion offered unto them. For the *Engliſh-men* approaching to the Town, for the comforting of the beſieged, with powder, victuals, and men, loſt an Army of ſix thouſand men. Sir *Robert Bowes* was taken, and the moſt part of the borderers were taken or ſlain. And ſo might the Town juſtly have deſpaired of any further ſuccour to have been looked for. But yet it held good for the ſtout courage and prudent government of Sir *James Wolford* General, who did ſo incourage the whole Captains and Souldiers, that they determined to die upon their walls. But from the time that the *French-men* had gotten the *Bone*; for the which the *Dog barked*, the purſuit of the Town was ſlow. The ſiege was raiſed, and the Queen ſhe was conveyed by the weſt ſeas to *France*, with 4 Gallies & ſome Ships. And ſo the Cardinall of *Loraine* got her in his keeping, a morſell I aſſure you, meet for his own mouth. We omit many things that occurred in this time, as the ſitting down of the Ship, called, The Cardinall (the faireſt Ship in *France*) betwixt S. *Colmes Inch* and *Cramond*, without any occaſion except negligence, for the day was faire and weather calme. But God would ſhew, that the Countrey of *Scotland* can beare no Cardinals. In this time alſo was there a Combat betwixt the Gallies and the *Engliſh* Ships. They ſhot frankely a while. An *Engliſh* Ship took fire, or elſe the Gallies had come ſhort home; and as it was, they fled without mercy, till that they were above S. *Colmes Inch*. The Captaines left the Gallies, and took a Fort, made in the *Inch*, for their defence. But the *Engliſh* Ships made no purſuit (except that they burnt the Cardinall, where ſhe lay) and ſo the Gallies and the Galley-men did both eſcape.

The ſiege of *Hadington*.

Tueſdayes chaſe.

Note.

Order was taken that the next September ſome Gallies ſhould remain in *Scotland*, and that the reſt ſhould return to *France*, as they did all, except one that was taken by an *Engliſh* Ship, (by an *Engliſh* Ship, onely we ſay) as they were paſſing betwixt *Dover* and *Calice*.

That winter remained *Monſieur de Arſe* in *Scotland*, with the bands of *French-men*. They fortified *Enneresk*, to ſtay the *Engliſh* that they ſhould not invade *Edinburgh* and *Leyth*. Some skirmiſhes there were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the *French* had almoſt taken *Hadington*; The occaſion whereof was this:

The *French-men* thinking themſelves more then maſters in all parts of *Scotland*, and in *Edinburgh* principally, thought they could doe no wrong to no *Scottiſh-man*. For a certaine *French-man* delivered a Colvering to *George Tod*, *Scottiſh-man*, to be ſtocked, who bringing it thorow the ſtreet, another *French-man* claimed it, and would have taken it from the ſaid *George*, but he reſiſted, alleadging that the

Anno

French-man did wrong: Thus began parties to aſſemble, as well to the *Scottiſh-man* as to the *French*, ſo that two of the *French-men* were ſtricken down, and the reſt chaſed from the Croſſe to *Nudris-winde-head*. The Provoſt being in the ſtreet, apprehended two of the *French*, and was carrying them to the Tolbuith, but from *Monſieur de Eſſies* lodging, or cloſe, iſſued forth *French-men*, to the number of threeſcore perſons, with drawn ſwords, and reſiſted the ſaid Provoſt. Then the Town aſſembling, repulſed them, till that they came to the nether *Bow*. And there *Monſieur de la Chapelle*, with the whole bands of *French-men* armed recountred the ſaid Provoſt, and violently repulſed him (for the Town was without weapons, for the moſt part) and ſo made invaſion upon all that they met. And firſt in the entrie of the *Bow* were ſlain *David Kyrk*, and *David Barber* (being at the Provoſts back) and afterward was ſlain the ſaid Provoſt himſelf, being Laird of *Stanehouſe*, and Captain of the Caſtle, *James Hamilton* his ſon, *William Chapman*, M. *William Stuart*, *William Purveſſe*, and a woman named *Elizabeth Stuart*. And thereafter tarried within the Town by force, from five of the clock till after ſeven at night, and then retired to the *Cannon gate*, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The ſlaughter of the Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The whole Town, yea the Governour and Nobility commoved at the unworthineſſe of this bold attempt, craved juſtice upon the malefactours, or elſe they would take juſtice of the whole. The Queen craftily enough, *Monſieur de Eſſie*, and *Monſieur Doſeil*, laboured for pacification, and promiſed, That unleſſe the *French-men* by themſelves alone, ſhould do ſuch an act as might recompence the wrong that they had done, that then they ſhould not refuſe, but that juſtice ſhould be executed to the rigour. *Theſe faire words pleaſed our fools*, and ſo were the *French* bands the next night directed to *Hadington*, to the which they approched a little after midnight ſo ſecretly, that they were never eſpied till that the foremoſt were within the outer Court, and the whole Company in the Church-yard, not two paire of Buts length diſtant from the Town. The Souldiers *Engliſh-men* were all aſleep except the watch, the which was ſlender; and yet the ſhout ariſes, *Bowes and Bils*, *Bowes and Bils*; which is ſignification of extreme defence, to avoide the preſent danger in all Towns of war. They affrighted ariſe, weapons that firſt came to hand ſerve for the need. One amongſt many came to the *Eaſt-gate*, where lay two great peeces of Ordnance, and where the enemies were known to be, and cried to his fellows, that were at the gate making defence. *Beware before*, and ſo fires a great peece, and thereafter another, which God ſo conducted, that after them was no further purſuit made: for the Bullets redounded from the wall of the *Frier-Church*, to the wall of S. *Katherines* Chappell, which ſtood directly over it, and from the wall of the ſaid Chappell to the ſaid Church wall again, ſo oft, that there fell more then an hundred of the *French* at thoſe two ſhots onely. They ſhot oft; but the *French* retired with diligence, and returned to *Edinburgh* without harme done, except the deſtruction of ſome drinking Beere, which lay in the Sands, Chappell, and Church. And this was ſatisfaction more then enough, for the ſlaughter of the foreſaid captain, and Provoſt, and for the ſlaughter of ſuch as were ſlain with them. This was the beginning of the *French* fruits.

Hadington almoſt ſurpriſed by the *French*.

This

This winter, in the time of *Chriſtmas*, was the Caſtle of *Hume* recovered from the Engliſh, by the negligence of the Captain, named *Dudley*. This winter alſo did the Laird of *Raith* moſt innocently ſuffer, and after was forſalted, becauſe that he wrote a Letter to his ſon *John Melvin*, who then was in *England*; which was alleadged to have been found in the houſe of *Ormeſton*; but many ſuſpected the pranks and craft of *Ninian Cokburne*, now called Captain *Ninian*, to whom the ſaid Letter was delivered. But howſoever it was, the cruell beaſt the Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, and the Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, ceaſed not, till that the head of that noble man was ſtriken from him; eſpecially, becauſe that he was known to be one that unfainedly favoured the Truth of Gods Word, and was a great friend to thoſe that were in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, of whoſe deliverance, and of Gods wonderfull working with them during the time of their bondage, we will now ſpeak, leſt that in ſuppreſſing of ſo notable a work of God, we ſhould juſtly be accuſed of ingratitude. Firſt then, the principalls being put in ſeverall houſes, as before we have ſaid, great labours were made to make them have a good opinion of the Maſſe: But chiefly, travell was taken upon *Norman Leſlie*, the Laird of *Grange*, the Laird of *Pitmillie*, who were in the Caſtle of *Scherisburgh*, that they would come to Maſſe with the Captain: Who anſwered, That *the Captain had commandment to keep their bodies, but he had no power to command their conſciences*. The Captain replyed, That *he had power to command, and to compel them to go where he went*. They anſwered, *That to go to any lawfull place with him, they would not refuſe: But to do any thing that was againſt their conſcience, they would not, neither for him, nor yet for the King*. The Captain ſaid, *Will ye not go to the Maſſe?* They anſwered, *No; and if ye compell us, yet we will diſpleaſe you farther; for we will uſe our ſelves there, that all thoſe that are preſent ſhall know we deſpiſe it*. Theſe ſame anſwers (and ſomewhat ſharper) *William Kirkcaldie, Peter Carmichell*, and ſuch as were with them in Mount S. *Michell*, gave to their Captaine; for they ſaid, *They would not onely heare Maſſe every day, but that they would help to ſay it, providing that they might ſticke the Prieſts, or elſe they would not*. M. *Henry Balnaves*, who was in the Caſtle of *Roan*, was moſt ſharply aſſaulted of all; for becauſe he was judged learned (as he was and is indeed) therefore learned men were appointed to travell with him; with whom he had many conflicts, but God ſo ever aſſiſted him, that they departed confounded, and he by the power of Gods Spirit remained conſtant in the Truth, and profeſſing of the ſame, without any wavering, or declining to Idolatry. In the priſon he wrote a comfortable Treatiſe of Juſtification, and of the works and converſation of a man juſtified; which is extant to this day. Thoſe that were in the Gallies, were threatned with torments, if they would not give reverence to the Maſſe (for at certain times the Maſſe was ſaid in the Gallies, or elſe hard by upon the ſhore, in preſence of the Forſaris) but they could never make the pooreſt of that company to give reverence to that Idoll: yea, when upon the Saturday at night they ſung their *Salve Regina*, all the Scotiſh men put on their caps, their hoods, or ſuch things as they had to cover their heads; & when that others were compelled to kiſſe a painted boord (which they called *noſtre Dame*) they were not preſſed after once; for this was the chance.

Anno

The recovery of the Caſtle of *Home*.

The death of the Laird of *Raith*.

The entertainment of thoſe of the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*, during their Captivity.

Note.

Note.

Note.

This book was printed 1584. at *Edinburgh*, by *Tho. Vvatſon*.

Anno

A merry fact.

chance. Soon after their arrivall at *Nantes*, their great *ſalve* was ſong, and a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kiſſed, and amongſt others was preſented to one of the Scotiſh men then chanced. He gently ſaid, *Trouble me not; ſuch a jewell is accurſed, and therefore I will not touch it.* The Patron and the Arguiſer, with two Officers, having the chief charge of all ſuch matters, ſaid, *Thou ſhalt handle it:* and ſo they violently thruſt to his face, and put it betwixt his hands. Who ſeeing the extremity, took the Idoll, and adviſedly looking about him, he caſt it into the River, and ſaid, *Let our Lady now ſave her ſelfe; ſhe is light enough, let her learne to ſwim.* After that was no Scotiſh man urged with that Idolatry. Theſe are things that appear to be of no great importance; and yet if we do rightly conſider, they expreſſe the ſame obedience that God requireth of his people *Iſrael*, when they ſhould be carried to *Babylon*: for he gave charge unto them, When they ſhould ſee the *Babylonians* worſhip their gods of gold, ſilver, metall, and wood, they ſhould ſay, *The gods that have not made heaven and earth, ſhall periſh from the heaven, and out of the earth.* That confeſſion gave that whole number, during the time of their bondage, in the which would God they had continued in their freedome; for then had not M. *James Balfour* been Official, neither yet born a Cope for the pleaſure of the Biſhop. But to proceed: The ſaid M. *James Balfour* being in the Galley with *John Knox*; and being wonderous familiar with him, would oftentimes ask his judgement, *If he thought that ever they ſhould be delivered?* Whoſe anſwer was ever, from the day that they entred into the Gallies, *That God would deliver them from that bondage, to his glory, even in this life.* And lying betwixt *Dundie* and S. *Andrews*, the ſecond time that the Gallies returned to *Scotland*, the ſaid *John Knox* being ſo extremely ſick, that few hoped his life, the ſaid Maſter *Iames* willed him to look to the Land, and asked if he knew it? who anſwered, *Yes, I know it well, for I ſee the Steeple of that place, where God in publike opened my mouth to his glory: And I am fully perſwaded, how weake ſoever that I now appeare, that I ſhall not depart this life, till that my tongue ſhall glorifie his holy Name in the ſame place.* This reported the ſaid M. *Iames*, in the preſence of many famous witneſſes, many yeers before that ever the foreſaid *John* ſet his feet in *Scotland* this laſt time to Preach.

Note.

Jerem. 10.

Note.

Quamvis multa fuit juſtorum mala &c.

Note diligently the Propheſie.

William Kirkcaldie, then of *Grange* younger, *Peter Carmichell*, *Robert* and *William Leſlies*, who were altogether in Mount S. *Michell*, wrote to *John Knox*, asking counſell if they might with ſafe conſcience break their priſon? Whoſe anſwer was, *That if without the blood of any ſhed or ſpilt by them for their deliverance, they might ſet themſelves at freedome, that they might ſafely do it: But to ſhed any mans blood for their freedom, thereto would he never conſent.* Adding further, That he was aſſured that God would deliver them, and the reſt of that company, even in the eyes of the world, but not by ſuch means as they looked for. That was by the force of friends, or by their other labours. By ſuch means he affirmed, they ſhould not be delivered, but that God would ſo work in in the deliverance of them, that the praiſe thereof ſhould redound to his glory onely. He willeth therefore every one to take the occaſion that God offered unto them. Providing that they did nothing againſt Gods expreſſe Commandment for deliver-

John Knox his anſwer and counſell to the captives.

ance

ance of themſelves. He was the more earneſt in giving his counſell, becauſe the old Laird of *Grange* and others repugned to their purpoſe; fearing leſt that the eſcaping of the others, ſhould be an occaſion of their worſe entreatment. Whereunto the ſaid *Iohn* anſwered, That ſuch feare proceeded not from Gods Spirit, but only from a blinde love of thy ſelf, and therefore that no good purpoſe was to be ſtayed, *for things that were in the hands and power of God.* And added, That in one inſtant, God delivered the whole company into the hands of unfaithfull men, but ſo would he not relieve them: But ſome would he deliver by one means, and at one time, and others muſt abide for a ſeaſon upon his good pleaſure. This counſell in the end was embraced, upon the *Kings* even, when French men commonly uſe to drinke liberally. The aforeſaid four perſons having the help and conducting of a boy of the houſe, bound all that were in the Caſtle, put them in ſundry houſes, locked the doors upon them, took the Keys from the Captain, and departed without harm done to the perſon of any, or without touching of any thing that appertained to the King, Captain, or the houſe. Anno

Le jour de Roys au ſoir quand ils etient le Roy boit.

The eſcaping of *William Kirkcaldie* and of his fellows forth of Mowat Saint *Michel.*

Great ſearch was made thorow the whole Countrey for them. But it was Gods good pleaſure ſo to conduct them, that they eſcaped the hands of the faithleſſe, albeit it was with long travell, and great pain and poverty ſuſtained; for the French boy left them, and took with him the ſmall money that they had: And ſo neither having money, nor knowledge of the Countrey. And farther, fearing that the boy ſhould diſcover them (as that in very deed he did) they purpoſed to divide themſelves, to change their garments, and to go in ſundry parts. The two brethren, *Will.* and *Rob. Leſlie* (who now are become, the ſaid *Robert* eſpecially, enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, and unto all vertue) came to *Roan*; *Will. Kirkcaldie*, and *Peter Carmichell*, in beggars garment came to *Conquet*; and by the ſpace of 12 or 13 weeks they travelled as poor Mariners, from Port to Port, till at length they gat a French Ship, landed in the Weſt of *Scotland*, and from thence came to *England*, where they met before them the ſaid *Io. Knox*, who that ſame Winter was delivered, and *Alexander Clerk* in his company. The ſaid *Iohn* was firſt appointed Preacher to *Barwick*, then to *Newcaſtle*, laſt he was called to *London*, and to the South part of *England*, where he remained till the death of King *Edward* the ſixt. When he left *England*, he then paſſed to *Geneva*, and there remained at his privy ſtudie, till that he was called by the Congregation that then was aſſembled at *Franckford*, to be Preacher to them: which Vocation he obeyed (albeit unwillingly) at the commandment of that notable ſervant of God, *Iohn Calvin*: At *Franckford* he remained, till that ſome of the learned (whoſe names we ſuppreſſe) more given to unprofitable Ceremonies, then to ſincerity of Religion began to quarrell with the ſaid *Iohn*; and becauſe they deſpaired to prevail before the Magiſtrate there, for the eſtabliſhing of their corruptions, they accuſed him of treaſon committed againſt the Emperour, and againſt their Soveraigne Queen *Mary*; That in his Admonition to *England* he called the one little inferiour to *Nero*, and the other more cruell then *Ieſabell*; The Magiſtrate perceiving their malice, and fearing that the ſaid *Iohn* ſhould fall in the hands of his accuſators, by one mean or by other gave adver-

Note.

To ſhew what is contained in this Admonition, we have cauſed it to be printed at the end of this Hiſtory.

Anno advertiſement ſecretly to him to depart their City, for they could not ſave him, if he were required by the Emperour, or by the Queen of *England* in the Emperours name. And ſo the ſaid *Iohn* returned to *Geneva*, from thence to *Diep*, and thereafter to *Scotland*, as we ſhall after hear.

The time and that Winter that the Gallies remained in *Scotland*, were delivered M. *Iames Balfour* his two brethren, *David* and *Gilbert*, *Iohn Anchinlek*, *Iohn Sibald*, *Iohn Gray*, *William Gutrie*, and *Stevin Bell*. The Gentlemen that remained in priſons, were by the procurement of the Queen *Dowager* to the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and to the King of *France*, ſet at liberty in the
1550 month of *Iuly*, *anno* 1550. who ſhortly thereafter were called to *Scotland*, their peace proclaimed, and they themſelves reſtored to their lands, in deſpight of their enemies. And that was done in hatred of Duke *Hamilton*, becauſe that then *France* began to have the Regiment of *Scotland* in
Note. their own hands. Howſoever it was, God made the hearts of their enemies to ſet them at liberty and freedom. There reſted a number of common ſervants yet in the Gallies, who were all delivered upon the Contract of peace that was made betwixt *France* and *England*, after the taking of *Bullen*; and ſo was the whole company ſet at liberty, none periſhing (no not before the world) except *Iames Melvin*, who departed from the miſery of this life in the Caſtle of *Breſt* in *Britaigne*. This we write, to let the poſteritie to come to underſtand how potently God wrought in preſerving and delivering of thoſe that had but a ſmall knowledge of his truth, and for the love of the ſame hazarded all. That if either we now
Note diligently. in our dayes having greater light, or our poſteritie that ſhall follow us, ſhall ſee a fearfull diſperſion of ſuch as oppoſe themſelves to impiety, or take upon them to puniſh the ſame otherwiſe then laws of men will permit: If we, ſay we, or they, ſhall ſee ſuch left of men, yea, as it were deſpiſed and puniſhed of God, yet let us not damne the perſons, that puniſh vice (and that for juſt cauſe) nor yet deſpair but that the ſame God that dejects (for cauſes unknown to us) will raiſe up again the perſons dejected to his glory & their comfort. And to let the world underſtand in plain
The ſlaughter of that villain *Davie*. terms what we mean, that great abuſer of this Common-wealth, that pultron, and vile knave *Davie*, was juſtly puniſhed the ninth of *March*, in the yeer of our Lord 1565. for abuſing of the Common wealth, and for his other villanies, which we liſt not to expreſſe, by the counſell and hands of *Iames Dowglas* Earl of *Mortoun*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindſay*, and the Lord *Ruthven*, with other aſſiſters in the company, who all for their juſt act, and moſt worthy of all praiſe, are now unworthily left of all their brethren, and ſuffer the bitternes of baniſhment & exile But this is our hope in the mercies of our God, That this ſame blinde Generation whether it will or not, ſhall be compelled to ſee, That he will have reſpect to them that are injuſtly purſued, That he will pardon their former offences, That he will reſtore them to the liberty of their Country and Common-wealth again; And that he will puniſh (in deſpight of man) the head and the taile, that now troubles the juſt, and maintaineth impiety. The head is known, the
The rulers of *Mary*, *anno* 566. and their prediction. taill hath two branches. The temporall Lords that maintain ſuch abominations as we ſee, & flattering counſellors of State, blaſphemous *Balfour*, now called clerk of Regiſter, *Sinclare* Dean of *Leſtarrig*, and B^. of *Brechen*,

blinde

blinde of one eye in the body, but of both of his ſoul, upon whom God ſhortly after took vengeance. *Leſlie Preiſteſgate*, Abbot of *Londroſſe*, and Biſhop of *Roſſe*. *Simon Preſton*, of *Cragmillar*, a right Epicurian: Whoſe end will be ere it be long according to their works. But now to return to our Hiſtory. Anno

Hadington being kept, and much hearſhip done about in the Countrey (for what the *Engliſh-men* deſtroyed not, that was conſumed by the *French*) God begins to fight for *Scotland*: For in the Town he ſent a Plague ſo contagious, that with great difficultie could they have their dead buried. They were oft refreſhed with new men, but all was in vain. Hunger and plague within, and the purſuit of the enemy with a campe volant lay about them, and intercepted all victuals (except when they were brought by a Convoy from *Barwick*) ſo conſtrained them that the Councel of *England* was conpelled in the ſpring time, to call their Forces from that place. And ſo ſpoiling and burning ſome part of the Town, they left it to be occupied to ſuch as firſt ſhould take poſſeſſion, and thoſe were the *French-men*, with a meane number of the ancient inhabitants, and ſo did God performe the words and threatnings of M. *George Wiſchard*, who ſaid, *That for that contempt of Gods Meſſenger, they ſhould be viſited with ſword and fire, with peſtilence, ſtrangers and famine*. All which they found in ſuch perfection, that to this day yet, that Town hath neither recovered the former beauty, nor yet men of ſuch wiſdom and ability, as then did inhabit it. Hereafter was Peace contracted betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*; yea, a ſeverall Peace was contracted betwixt *Scotland* and *Flanders* together with all the *Eaſterlings*. So that *Scotland* had peace with the world. But yet would their Biſhops make War againſt God: For as ſoone as ever they got any quietneſſe, they apprehended *Adam Wallace*, alias, *Fian*, a ſimple man without great learning, but one that was zealous in godlineſſe, and of an upright life: He, with his wife *Beatrice Levingſtonne*, frequented the company of the Lady *Ormeſton*, for inſtruction of her children, during the trouble of her husband, who then was baniſhed. This Baſtard, called Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, took the ſaid *Adam* forth of the place of *Wynton* (men ſuppoſed that they thought to have apprehended the Lairde) and carried him to *Edinburgh*, where after certain dayes he was preſented to judgement in the Church of the *Blacke* Theeves, *alias*, Friers, before Duke *Hamilton*, the Earle of *Huntly*, and divers others beſides. The Biſhops and their rabble, they began to accuſe him (Maſter *John Lawder* was his accuſator) *That he took upon him to Preach*. He anſwered, That he never judged himſelfe worthy of ſo excellent a vocation, and therefore he never took upon him to Preach; but he would not deny, that ſometimes at Table, and ſometimes in ſome other privie places he would reade and had read the Scriptures, and had given ſuch exhortation as God pleaſed to give to him, to ſuch as pleaſed to heare him. Knave, quoth one, What have you to do to meddle with the Scripture? I think, (ſaid he) it is the dutie of every Chriſtian, to ſeek the will of his God, and the aſſurance of his ſalvation where it is to be found, and that is within the Old and New Teſtament. What then (ſaid another) ſhall we leave to the Biſhops and Church-men for to do? if every man ſhall be a babler upon

Note.

The accuſation of *Adam Wallace* and his anſwers.

The Papiſticall manner of accuſation.

Anno upon the Bible. It becometh you (ſaid he) to ſpeak more reverently of God, and of his bleſſed Word: if the Judge were uncorrupted he would puniſh you, for your blaſphemie. But to your Queſtion, I anſwer; That albeit ye and I, and other five thouſand within this Realm ſhould read the Bible, and ſpeak of it, what God ſhould give us to ſpeak, yet left we more to the Biſhops to do, then either they will do, or can do. For we leave to them publikely to Preach the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and to feed the flock, which he hath redeemed by his own blood, and hath commanded the ſame to all true Paſtors. And when we leave this unto them, me thinks, we leave to them a heavie burden; And that we do unto them no wrong, although we ſearch our own ſalvation where it is to be found, conſidering that they are but dumb Dogs, and *unſavory Salt*, that hath altogether loſt the ſeaſon. The Biſhops hereat offended, ſaid, What prating is this? Let his accuſation be read. And then was begun, *Falſe Traitour, Hereticke; Thou Baptizedſt thine own Childe; Thou ſaidſt, There is no Purgatory; Thou ſaidſt, That to pray to Saints, and for the dead, is Idolatry, and a vaine Superſtition, &c.* What ſayeſt thou to theſe things. He anſwered, If I ſhould be bound to anſwer, I would require an upright and an indifferent Judge. The Earle of *Huntly* diſdainefully ſaid; Fooliſh man, Wilt thou deſire any other Judge then my Lord Dukes Grace, great Governour of *Scotland*; and my Lords the Biſhops, and the Clergie here preſent? Whereto he anſwered; The Biſhops can be no Judges to me, for they are open enemies to the Doctrine that I profeſſe. And as for my Lord Duke, I cannot tell whether he hath the knowledge that ſhould be in him that ſhould judge and diſcern betwixt Lies and the Trueth, the Inventions of men, and the true worſhipping of God. I deſire Gods Word (and with that he produced the Bible) to be judge betwixt the Biſhops and me, and I am content that ye all hear; and if by this Booke I ſhall be convinced, to have taught, ſpoken, or done, in matters of Religion, any thing that repugneth to Gods will, I refuſe not to die. But if I cannot be convinced (as I am aſſured by Gods Word I ſhall not) then I in Gods name deſire your aſſiſtance, That malicious men execute not upon me unjuſt Tyrannie. The Earle of *Huntley* ſaid, What a babling foole is this? Thou ſhalt get none other Judges then theſe that ſit here. Whereunto the ſaid *Adam* anſwered, The good will of God be done: But be ye aſſured, my Lord, with ſuch meaſure as ye mete to others, with the ſame meaſure it ſhall be met to you againe. I know that I ſhall die, but be ye aſſured, that my blood ſhall be required at your hands. *Alexander*, Earle of *Glencarne*, yet alive, ſaid to the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and others that ſate nigh him, Take heed all you my Lords of the Clergie, for here I proteſt, for my part, that I conſent not to his death: And ſo without feare prepared the ſaid *Adam* to anſwer. And firſt to the Baptizing of his own Childe, he ſaid, *It was and is as lawfull to me, for lacke of a true Miniſter, to Baptize my owne Childe, as that it was to* Abraham *to Circumciſe his ſon* Iſmael, *and his family. And as for Purgatory, Praying to Saints, and for the dead, I have oft read (ſaid he) both the New and Old Teſtaments, but I neither could finde mention, nor aſſurance of them; And therefore I beleeve that they are but meere inventions of men, deviſed for coveteouſneſſe ſake.* Well, quoth

Note. *Adam Wallace* his accuſations and anſwers.

Note.

Proteſtation of the Earle of *Glencarne.*

Note.

quoth the Biſhop, ye hear this, my Lords. What ſayeſt thou of the Maſſe, ſpeires the Earle of *Huntly?* He anſwered, I ſay, my Lord, as my Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaith, *That which is in greateſt eſtimation before men, is abhomination before God.* Then all cried out, *Hereſie, Hereſie.* And ſo was the ſimple ſervant of God adjudged to the fire, which he patiently ſuſtained that ſame day at after-noon upon the Caſtle-hill. Anno

And ſo began they again to pollute the land which God had lately plagued, for yet their iniquity was not come to full ripeneſſe, as that God would that they ſhould be manifeſted to this whole Realme (as this day they are) to be Fagots prepared for everlaſting fire; and to be men whom neither Plagues may correct, nor the light of Gods Word convert from their darkneſſe and impiety.

The Peace as is ſaid, is contracted. The Queen Dowager paſt by ſea to *France*, with Gallies that for that purpoſe were prepared, and took with her divers of the Nobility of *Scotland*. The Earles *Huntley, Glencarne, Merſhell, Caſſiles*: The Lords *Maxwell, Fleiming*, Sir *George Dowglas*, together with all the late Kings naturall ſons, and divers Barons, and Gentlemen of Eccleſiaſticall eſtate; the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and many others, with promiſe that they ſhould be richly rewarded for their good ſervice. What they received we cannot tell, but few were made rich at their returning. The Dowager had to practiſe ſomewhat with her brethren, the Duke of *Gwiſe*, and the Cardinall of *Loraine*. The weight whereof the Governour after felt; for ſhortly after her returne, was the Governour depoſed of the government (juſtly by God, but moſt unjuſtly by man) and ſhe made Regent, in the yeer of our Lord 1554. and a Crown put upon her head, as ſeemly a ſight (if men had eyes) as to *put a Saddle upon the backe of an unruly Cow*. And ſo began ſhe to practiſe, practiſe upon practiſe, How *France* might be advanced, her friends made rich, and ſhe brought to immortall glory: For that was her common talk, *So that I may procure the wealth and honour of my friends, and a good fame unto my ſelfe, I regard not what God do after with me.* And in very deed, in deep diſſimulation to bring her owne purpoſe to effect, ſhe paſſed the common ſort of women, as we will after heare. But yet God, to whoſe Goſpel ſhe declared her ſelfe enemie, in the end fruſtrated her of all her devices. Thus did light and darkneſſe ſtrive within the Realme of *Scotland*: The darkneſſe ever before the World ſuppreſſing the light, from the death of that notable ſervant of God, Maſter *Patricke Hamilton*, untill the death of *Edward* the ſixth, the moſt godly and moſt vertuous King that had been known to have reigned in *England*, or elſewhere, theſe many yeeres by paſt, who departed the miſeries of this life the ſixth of July, *Anno* 1553. The death of this Prince was lamented of all the godly within *Europe*, for the graces given unto him of God, as well of nature, as of erudition and godlineſſe, paſſed the meaſure that accuſtomably is uſed to be given to other princes in their greateſt perfection, and yet exceeded he not 16 yeers of age. What Gravity, above age? What Wiſdom, wherein he paſſed all underſtanding or expectation of man? And what Dexterity in anſwering in all things propoſed, were in that excellent Prince. The Ambaſſadours of all Countries (yea, ſome that were mortall enemies to him, and to his

The death and vertues of *Edward* the ſixth.

Anno Realme, amongſt whom the Queen Dowager of *Scotland* was not the leaſt) could and did teſtifie: For the ſaid Queen Dowager returning from *France* through *England*, communed with him at length, and gave record when ſhe came to this Realme, That ſhe found more wiſdome and ſolide judgement in young King *Edward*, then ſhe would have looked for in any three Princes that were then in *Europe*. His liberality toward the godly and learned that were in other Realms perſecuted was ſuch, as *Germans*, *French-men*, *Italians*, *Scots*, *Spaniards*, *Polonians*, *Grecians*, and *Hebrews* born, can yet give ſufficient document. For how honourably was *Martin Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *John Alaſco*, *Emanuel Gualterus*, and many others upon his publike ſtipends entertained, their parents can witneſſe, and they themſelves during their lives would never have denied. After the death of this moſt vertuous Prince, of whom the godleſſe people of *England* (for the moſt part) were not worthy, Satan intended nothing leſſe then the light of Jeſus Chriſt utterly to have been extinguiſhed within the whole Iſle of *Britain*. For after him was raiſed up in Gods hot diſpleaſure, that Idolatreſſe and miſchievous *Mary* of the *Spaniards* blood, a cruell perſecutrix of Gods people, as the acts of her unhappy reigne can ſufficiently witneſſe. And in *Scotland* that ſame time (as we have heard) reigned that crafty practiſer, *Mary* of *Loraine*, then named Regent of *Scotland*, who bound to the devotion of her two brethren, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and Cardinall of *Loraine*, did onely abide the opportunity to cut the throat of all thoſe, in whom ſhe ſuſpected any knowledge of God to be within the Realme of *Scotland*. And ſo thought Satan that his kingdome of darkneſſe was in quietneſſe and reſt, as well in the one Realme as in the other. But that provident eye of our eternall God, who continually watches for preſervation of his Church, did ſo order all things, that Satan ſhortly after found himſelfe farre diſappointed of his concluſion taken. For in that cruell perſecution uſed by Queen *Mary* of *England*, were godly men diſperſed into divers nations; of whom it pleaſed the goodneſſe of God to ſend ſome unto us for our comfort and inſtruction. And firſt came a ſimple man, *William Harlaw*, whoſe erudition, although it excell not, yet for his whole and diligent plainneſſe in Doctrine, is he to this day worthy of praiſe, and remaines a fruitfull member within the Church of *Scotland*. After him came that notable man *John Willocke*, as one that had ſome Commiſſion to the Queen Regent, from the Dutcheſſe of *Emden*. But his principall purpoſe was to eſſay what God would worke by him in his native countrey. Theſe two did ſometimes in ſeverall companies aſſemble the brethren, who by their exhortations began greatly to be encouraged, and did ſhew that they had an earneſt thirſt of godlineſſe. And laſt came *John Knox* in the end of the harveſt, *Anno* 1555. who firſt being lodged in the houſe of that notable man of God *James Sime*, began to exhort ſecretly in that ſame houſe, whereunto repaired the Laird of *Dun*, *David Forreſſe*, and ſome certain perſonages of the Town, amongſt whom was *Elizabeth Adamſon*, then ſpouſe to *James Barrone* Burgeſſe of *Edinburgh*, who by reaſon that ſhe had a troubled conſcience delighted much in the company of the ſaid *John*, becauſe that he, according to the grace given unto him, opened more fully the Fountaine of Gods Mercies, then did the common ſort of Teachers, that

Who firſt after the death of King *Edward* began to preach in *Scotland*.

Elizabeth Adamſon, and her death.

that ſhe had heard before (for ſhe had heard none except Friers) and did with ſuch greedineſſe drinke thereof, that at her death ſhe did expreſſe the fruit of her hearing, to the great comfort of all thoſe that repaired unto her. For albeit ſhe ſuffered moſt grievous torment in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing, but praiſing of God, except that ſometimes ſhe lamented the troubles of thoſe that were troubled by her. Being ſometimes demanded by her ſiſters, What ſhe thought of that pain which ſhe then ſuffered in body, in reſpect of that wherewith ſometimes ſhe was troubled in ſpirit. She anſwered, *A thouſand yeere of this torment, and ten times more joyned unto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an houre that I ſuffered in my ſpirit. I thanke my God, through Jeſus Chriſt, that hath delivered me from that fearfull pain, and welcome be this, even ſo long as it pleaſeth his godly Majeſtie to exerciſe me therewith.* A little before her departure, ſhe deſired her ſiſters and ſome others that were beſide her, to ſing a Pſalme, and amongſt others ſhe appointed the 103. Pſalme, beginning, *My ſoule praiſe thou the Lord alwayes*, which ended, ſhe ſaid, *At the Teaching of this Pſalme, began my troubled ſoule, firſt effectually to taſte of the mercy of my God, which now to me is more ſweet and precious, then if all the kingdoms of the earth were given to me to poſſeſſe them a thouſand yeeres.* The Prieſts urged her with their Ceremonies and Superſtitions. To whom ſhe anſwered, *Depart from me ye Sergeants of Satan: for I have refuſed, and in your own preſence doe refuſe all your abominations. That which you call your* Sacrament, *and* Chriſts body (*as ye have deceived us to beleeve in times paſt*) *is nothing but an Idoll, and hath nothing to do with the right Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and therefore in Gods Name I command you not to trouble me.* They departed, alleadging, That ſhe raved, and wiſt not what ſhe ſaid. And ſhe ſhortly after ſlept in the Lord Jeſus, to no ſmall comfort of thoſe that ſaw her bleſſed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave ſo notable a Confeſſion, before that the great light of Gods Word did univerſally ſhine thorowout this Realme.

Anno

At the firſt coming of the ſaid *John Knox*, he perceiving divers who had a zeale to godlineſſe, make ſmall ſcruple to go to the Maſſe, or to communicate with the abuſed Sacraments in the Papiſticall manner, began as well in privie Conference as in Preaching, to ſhew the impietie of the Maſſe, and how dangerous a thing it was, to communicate in any ſort with Idolatrie: wherewith the conſcience of ſome being affrighted, the matter began to be agitate from man to man. And ſo was the ſaid *John* called to Supper, by the Laird of *Dun*, for that ſame purpoſe, where were aſſembled *David Forreſſe*, Maſter *Robert Lockart*, *John Willocke*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, a man of good Learning, and of ſharpe wit and reaſoning. The Queſtion was Propoſed, and it was anſwered by the ſaid *John*, *That in no wiſe it was lawfull to a Chriſtian to preſent himſelfe to that Idoll.* Nothing was omitted that might ſerve for the purpoſe, and yet was every head ſo fully anſwered, and eſpecially one, whereunto they thought their great defence ſtood: To wit, That *Paul* at the commandment of *James*, and of the *Elders* of *Jeruſalem*, paſſed to the *Temple*, and fained himſelfe to

Note.

Anno pay his vow with others. This, we say, and other things, were so fully answered, that *William Maitland* concluded, saying, *I see very perfectly that our shifts will serve nothing before God, seeing that they stand us in so small stead before men.* The answer of *John Knox* to the fact of *Paul*, and to the commandment of *James* was; That *Pauls* fact had nothing to do with their going to Masse. For to pay Vowes was sometimes Gods Commandment, as was never Idolatry: But their Masse from the originall, was, and remained odious Idolatry; Therefore the fact was most unlike. Secondarily, said he, I greatly doubt whether either *James* his commandment or *Pauls* obedience, proceeded of the holy Ghost: We know their counsell tendeth to this, That *Paul* would shew himselfe one that observed diligently the very small points of the Law, to the end he might purchase to himself the favours of the Jews, who were offended at him, by reason of the bruites that were spread, That he taught defection from *Moses*. Now, while he obeyed their counsell, he fell into the most desperate danger that ever he sustained before; whereby it was evident, That God approved not that mean of reconciliation; but rather, that he plainely declareth, That evil should not be done, that good might come of it. Evil it was for *Paul* to confirme those obstinate Jewes in their Superstition by his example; worse it was to him to expose himselfe and the Doctrine which before he had taught to slander and mockage. And therefore concluded the said *John*, That the fact of *Paul*, and the sequell that thereof followed, appeared rather to fight against them that would go to the Masse, then to give unto them any assurance to follow his example; unlesse that they would that the like trouble should instantly apprehend them, that apprehended him for obeying worldly-wise councell. After these, and like reasonings, the Masse began to be abhorred of such as before used it for the fashion and avoiding of slander (as then they termed it) *John Knox*, at request of the Laird of *Dun*, followed him to his place of *Dun*, where he remained a moneth, daily exercised in Preaching, whereunto resorted the principall men of that countrey. After this returning, his residence was most in *Calder*, whither repaired unto him, the Lord *Erskin*, the Earle of *Argyle*, then Lord of *Lorne*, and Lord *James*, then Priour of S. *Andrews*, and after Earle of *Murrey*, where they heard, and so approved his Doctrine, that they wished it to have been publike. That same Winter he taught commonly in *Edinburgh*, and after Christmas, by the conduct of the Laird of *Bar*, and *Robert Campbell* of *Kingieancleuch*, he came to *Kyle*, and taught in the *Bar*, in the house of the *Carnell*, in the *Kingieancleuch*, in the Town of *Air*, and in the houses of *Uchiltrie* and *Gathgirth*, and in some of them he ministred the Lords Table. Before *Easter* the Earl of *Glencarne* sent for him to his place of *Fynlaston*, where after Sermon, he also ministred the Lords Table. Whereof besides himself, were partakers, his Lady, two of his sons, and certain of his friends. And so returned he to *Calder*, where divers from *Edinburgh*, and from the Countrey about, assembled, as well for the Doctrine, as for the right use of the Lords Table, which before they had never practised. From thence he departed the second time to the Laird of *Dun*, and teaching then in greater liberty, the Gentlemen required, That he should minister likewise unto them the

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Note diligently.

Masse abhorred.

Table

Table of the Lord Jeſus, where were partakers, the moſt part of the Gentlemen of the *Mernes*, who God be praiſed, to this day do conſtantly remain in the ſame doctrine which then they profeſſed. To wit, That they refuſed all ſociety with Idolatry, and bent themſelves to the uttermoſt of their powers to maintain the true Preaching of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, as God ſhould offer unto them Preachers and opportunitie. The bruite hereof ſpread (for the Friers from all quarters flocked to the Biſhops) the ſaid *John Knox* was ſummoned to appear in the Church of the blacke Friers in *Edinburgh*, the fifteenth day of May, which day the ſaid *John* decreed to keep, and for that purpoſe *John Erskin* of *Dun*, with divers other Gentlemen aſſembled to the Town of *Edinburgh*. But that Diet held not. For whether the Biſhops perceived informalitie in their own proceedings, or if they feared danger to enſue upon their extremity, it is unknown unto us. But the Saturday before the day appointed, they cuſt their own ſummons, and the ſaid *John*, the ſame day of the ſummons taught in *Edinburgh*, in a greater audience then ever before he had done in that Town. The place was the Biſhop of *Dunkelles*, his great lodging, where he continued in Teaching ten dayes, before and after noon. The Earle of *Glencarne* allured the Earle of *Maſrchell*, who with *Henry Drummond* (his counſeller for that time) heard an exhortation (but it was in the night) who were ſo well contented with it, that they both willed the ſaid *John* to write unto the Queen Regent ſomewhat that might move her to hear the Word of God. He obeyed their deſire, and wrote that which after was publiſhed, which we have cauſed to be Printed at the end of this Book, and is called, *The Letter to the Queen Dowager*; Which was delivered unto her own hands by the ſaid *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*: Which Letter when ſhe had read, within a day or two, ſhe delivered it to the proud Prelate *Betone*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, and ſaid in mockage; *Pleaſe you my Lord to read a Paſquill*: Which words coming to the ears of the ſaid *John*, was the occaſion that to his Letter he made his additions, as yet may be ſeen. As concerning the threatnings pronounced againſt her own perſon, and the moſt principall of her friends; let theſe very flatterers ſee what had failed of all that he had written. Anno *Note.*

While *John Knox* was thus occupied in *Scotland*, Letters came to him from the Engliſh Church that was aſſembled at *Geneva* (which was ſeparated from that ſuperſtitious and contentious company that was at *Franckford*) commanding him in Gods Name, as he that was their choſen Paſtour, to repaire unto them for their comfort. Upon the which the ſaid *John* took his leave from us, almoſt in every congregation where before he had Preached, and exhorted us to Prayers, to Reading of the Scriptures, and mutuall conference, untill ſuch time as God ſhould give unto us greater libertie. And hereupon he ſent before him to *Deep*, his mother in Law *Elizabeth Bowes*, and his wife *Marjory*, with no ſmall dolour of their hearts, and of many of us. He himſelfe by procurement and labours of *Robert Campell* of *Kingieanclench*, remained behinde in *Scotland*, and paſſed to the Earle of *Argile*, who then was in the caſtle *Campbell*; where he taught certain dayes. The Laird of *Glenurquhay* (which yet liveth) being one of his auditours, willed the ſaid Earle of *Argile* to retaine him

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ſtill, but he reſolved on his journey, would not at that time ſtay for no requeſt, adding, That if God bleſſed thoſe ſmall beginnings, and if that they continued in godlineſſe, whenſoever they pleaſed to command him, they ſhould finde him obedient. He ſaid, That once he muſt needs viſit that little flock which the wickedneſſe of men had compelled him to leave. And ſo in the moneth of July he left this Realm, and paſt to *France*, and ſo to *Geneva*. Immediately after, the Biſhops ſummoned him, and for *non*-appearance burnt him in effigie, at the Croſſe of *Edinburgh*, in the yeer of our Lord 1555. from the which unjuſt Sentence the ſaid *John* made his appellation, and cauſed to Print the ſame, and direct it to the Nobility and Commons of *Scotland*, as yet may be read. In the Winter that the ſaid *John* abode in *Scotland*, appeared a Comet, the courſe whereof was from the South and South-Weſt, to the North and North-eaſt. It was ſeen the moneths of November, December, and January; It was called, *The firie beſom*. Soon after died *Chriſtierne* King of *Denmark*, and War aroſe between *Scotland* and *England*, the Commiſſioners of both Realms were diſappointed, who almoſt the ſpace of ſix moneths had been upon the conditions of Peace, and were upon a neere point of concluſion. The Queene Regent with her Councell of the *French* faction decreed, War at *New Battell*, without giving any advertiſement to the Commiſſioners for the part of *Scotland*.

Note. You will finde this Appellation at the end of this book.

War againſt *England* by the meanes of the Queen Regent.

Such is the fidelitie of Princes, guided by Prieſts, whenſoever they ſeeke their owne affections to be ſerved. In the end of that next harveſt was ſeen upon the borders of *England* and *Scotland* a ſtrange fire, which deſcended from the heaven, and burnt divers cornes in both the Realms, but moſt in *England*. There was preſented to the Queen Regent, by *Robert Ormeſtone*, a Calfe, having two heads, whereat ſhe skipped, and ſaid, *It was but a common thing*. The Warre began in the end of the harveſt, as is ſaid, and concluſion was taken that *Warke* ſhould be aſſieged. The Army and Ordnance paſt forward to *Maxwell Hewcht*. The Queen Regent remained in the Caſtle of *Hume*, and thinking that all things were in aſſurance, *Monſieur Doſell*, then Lieutenant for *France*, gave charge that the Canons ſhould be tranſported over the water of *Tweid*, which was done with expedition (for the *French* in ſuch facts are expert) but the Nobility of *Scotland* nothing content of ſuch proceedings, after conſultation amongſt themſelves, paſt to the Pavilion of *Monſieur Doſell*, and in his own face declared, *That in no wayes would they invade* England. And therefore commanded the Ordnance to be retired: And ſo it was without further delay. This put an affray in *Monſieur Doſells* breeches, and kindled ſuch a fire in the Queen Regents ſtomacke, as was not well ſlacked till her breath failed. And thus was that enterpriſe fruſtrate. But yet Warre continued, during the which, the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt began wonderouſly to flouriſh. For in *Edinburgh* began publikely to exhort *William Harlow*, *John Dowglas* who had (being with the Earle of *Argyle*) Preached in *Leyth*, and ſometimes exhorted in *Edinburgh*. *Paul Meaffen* began publikely to Preach in *Dundie*, and ſo did divers others in *Angus* and the *Mernes*. And laſt, at Gods good pleaſure arrived *John Willocke*, the ſecond time from *Emden*, whoſe returne was ſo joyfull to the brethren, that their zeale

A calfe with two heads.

The fact of the Nobility of *Scotland*, at *Maxwel Hewcht*

The ſecond return of *Iohn Willock* to *Scotland*.

zeal and godly courage daily encreaſed. And albeit he contracted a dangerous ſickneſſe, yet he ceaſed not from labours, but taught and exhorted from his bed ſome of the Nobility (of whom ſome are fallen back, amongſt them the Lord *Seaton* is chief) with many Barons and Gentlemen his auditors, and by him were godly inſtructed, and wonderouſly comforted. They kept their conventions, and held counſells with ſuch gravity and cloſeneſſe, that the enemies trembled. The Images were ſtollen away in all parts of the Countrey. And in *Edinburgh* was that great Idol called Saint *Gyle*, firſt drowned in the North Loch, after burnt, which raiſed no ſmall trouble in the Town; for the Friers rooping like Ravens upon the Biſhops, the Biſhops ran upon the Queen, who to them was favourable enough, but that ſhe thought it could not ſtand with her advantage to offend ſuch a multitude as then took upon them the defence of the Goſpel, and the name of Proteſtants. And yet conſented ſhe to ſummon the Preachers: whereat the Ptoteſtants neither offended, neither yet thereof afraid, determined to keep the day of Summons, as that they did. Which perceived by the Prelats and Prieſts, they procured a Proclamation to be publikely made, That all men that were come to the Towne without commandment of the Authority, ſhould with all diligence repair to the Borders, and there remain fifteen dayes: For the Biſhop of *Galloway* in this manner of rime ſaid to the Queen; *Madame, becauſe they are come without order; I read ye ſend them to the Border.* Now ſo had God provided, That the quarter of the Weſtland (in the which was many faithfull men) was that ſame day returned from the Border; who underſtanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the Prieſts, aſſembled themſelves together, and made paſſage to themſelves, till that they came to the very privie chamber, where the Queen Regent and the Biſhops were. The Gentlemen began to complain upon their ſtrange intertainment, conſidering that her Majeſty had found in them ſo faithfull obedience in all things lawfull. While the Queen began to craft, a zealous and a bold man, *James Chalmers* of *Gaithgyrth*, ſaid, *Madame, we know that this is the malice and device of the Jewels, and of that baſtard* (meaning the Biſhop of S. *Andrewes*) *that ſtandeth by you; we avow to God we ſhall make a day of it. They oppreſſe us and our Tenants, for feeding of their idle bellies: They trouble our Preachers, and would murther them and us: Shall we ſuffer this any longer? No, Madame, it ſhall not be.* And therewith every man put on his ſteel Bonnets. There was heard nothing of the Queens part, but, *My joyes, my hearts, What ayles you? Me means no evil to you nor to your Preachers: The Biſhops ſhall do you no wrong, ye are all my loving Subjects; I know nothing of this Proclamation; the day of your Preachers ſhall be diſcharged, and me will heare the controverſie that is betwixt the Biſhops and you; they ſhall do you no wrong. My Lords* (ſaid ſhe to the Biſhops) *I forbid you either to trouble them or their Preachers.* And unto the Gentlemen, who were wonderouſly commoved, ſhe turned again and ſaid, *O my hearts, ſhould ye not love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your minde? And ſhould ye not love your neighbours as your ſelf?* With theſe and the like words ſhe kept the Biſhops from buffets at that time. And ſo the day of Summons being diſcharged, began the brethren univerſally farther to be encouraged. But yet could

Anno

Lord *Seton* an Apoſtata.

The aboliſhing of Images, and trouble therefore.

The Preachers ſummoned.

The practice of Prelats, and what thereof enſued.

The bold words of *James Chalmers* of *Gaithgyrth*.

O crafty flatterer!

Anno

The command of the Bishop

The answer of *Edinburgh*.

could the Bishops in no sort be quiet; for Saint *Gyles* day approaching, they gave charge to the Provost-Ballies, and counsell of *Edinburgh*, either to get again the old Saint *Gyle*, or else upon their expences to make a new Image. The Counsell answered, *That to them the charge appeareth very unjust; for they understood that God in some places had commanded Idols and Images to be destroyed: But where he had commanded Images to be set up, they had not read; and desired the Bishop to finde a warrant for his commandment.*

Edinburgh appealeth from the sentence of the Bishop of S. *Andrews*.

Whereat the Bishop offended, admonished, under pain of cursing, which they prevented by a former appellation, appealing from him, as a partiall and corrupt Judge, unto the Popes Holinesse; and so great things shortly following that, passed in oblivion. Yet would not the Priests and Friers cease to have that great solemnity, and manifest abomination, which they accustomedly had upon Saint *Gyles* day; to wit, They would have that Idoll borne, and therefore was all preparations duely made. A Marmouset Idoll was borrowed from the gray Friers (a silver piece of *Iames Carmichell* was laid in pledge) it was fast fixed with Iron nailes, upon a barrow called there *Fertor*. Their Asses, bloody Priests, Friers, Channons, and rotten Papists, with Tabors and Trumpeters, Banners and Bag-pipes: And who was there to lead the reigne, but the Queen Regent her selfe, with all her shavelings, for honour of that Feast. Well, about goeth it, and cometh downe the high street, and downe to the common Crosse. The Queen Regent dined that day in *Alexander Carpentar* his house, betwixt the Bowes: And so when the Idol returned back again, she left it, and past in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethren were wonderously enflamed; and seeing such abomination so manifestly maintained, were decreed to be revenged. They were divided in severall companies, whereof not one knew of another. There were some temporizers that day (amongst whom *David Forresse*, called the Generall, was one) who fearing the chance to be done, as it fell, laboured to stay the brethren; but that could not be: For immediately after that the Queen was entred in the lodging, some of those that were of the enterprise drew nigh to the Idol, as willing to help to bear him; and getting the *Fertor* upon their shoulders, began to shoulder, thinking that thereby the Idol would have fallen, but that was provided and prevented by the Iron nailes, as we have said.

Triumph for bearing of Stock *Gyle*.

The down casting of stock *Gyle*, and the discomfiture of Baals Priests.

And so began one to cry, *Down with the Idoll, down with it*: And then without delay it was pulled downe. Some brag made the Priests Patrones at the first; but when they saw the feebleneese of their god (for one tooke him by the heeles, and dading his head to the street, left *Dagon* without a head or hands, and said, *Fie upon thee, thou young Saint* Gyle, *thy father would have tarried for such.*) This considered (we say) the Priests and Friers fled faster then they did at *Pinckey Clewch*. There might have beene so sudden a fray as seldome hath been amongst that sort of men within this Realme; for down goeth the Crosses, off goeth the Surplices, round Caps, Corners with the Crowns. The gray Friers gaped, the black Friers blew, the Priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house; for such a sudden fray came never amongst the generation of Antichrist within this Realme before. By chance there lay upon a stayre a merry English-man; and seeing the discomfiture to be without blood, thought

A merry English-man.

thought he wou'd adde ſome merrineſſe to the matter: and ſo cried he over the ſtaire, and ſaid, *Fie upon you whorſons, why have you broken order, down the ſtreet they paſſed in aray, and with great mirth: why flee the villains now without order? turn and ſtrike every man a ſtroke for the honour of his God; fie cowards fie, ye ſhall never be judged worthy of your wages againe.* But exhortations were then unprofitable: For after that *Bell* had broken his necke, there was no comfort to his confuſed Armie. The Queene Regent laid up this amongſt her other inventions, till that ſhe might have ſeene the time proper to have revenged it. Search was made for the doers, but none could be deprehended: For the brethren aſſembled themſelves in ſuch ſort, in companies, ſinging Pſalmes, and praiſing God, that the proudeſt of the enemies were aſtoniſhed. This Tragedie of Saint *Gyles* was ſo terrible to ſome Papiſts, that *Durie*, ſometimes called for his filthineſſe *Abbot Stottikin*, and then intituled, Biſhop of *Galloway*, left his Riming, wherewith he was accuſtomed, and departed this life even as he had lived. For the Articles of his beleefe were. I referre. *Decarte you. Ha, ha, the foure Kings and all made. The devil go with it; It is but a varlet. From* France *we thought to have gotten a Rubie; And yet is he nothing but a Cohoobie.* With ſuch Faith and ſuch Prayers departed out of this life that enemy of God, who had vowed and plainly ſaid, *That in deſpight of God, ſo long as they that then were Prelates lived, ſhould that Word (called the Goſpel) never be Preached within this Realme.* After him followed that belly-God Maſter *David Panter*, called, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, even with the like documents, except that he departed eating and drinking, which, together with the reſt that thereupon depended, was the paſtime of his life. The moſt part of the Lords that were in *France* at the Queens Marriage, although that they got their leave from the Court, yet they forgot to return to *Scotland*. For whether it was by an *Italian* Poſſet, or *French* Feggs, or by the Pottage of their Apothecary (he was a *Frenchman*) there departed from this life, the Earl of *Caſſiles*, the Earl of *Rotheſſe*, Lord *Fleming*, and the Biſhop of *Orkney*, whoſe end was even according to his life: For after that he was driven back by a contrarious winde, and forced to land again at *Deep*, perceiving his ſickneſſe to increaſe, he cauſed to make his bed betwixt his two coffers (ſome ſaid upon them) ſuch was his God, the gold that therein was incloſed, that he could not depart therefrom, ſo long as memory would ſerve him. The Lord *Fames*, then Prior of S. *Andrews*, had (by all appearance) licked of the ſame broath that diſpatched the reſt, for thereof to his death, his ſtomacke doth teſtifie. But God preſerved for a better purpoſe. This ſame Lord *Fames*, after Earle of *Murray*, and the ſaid Biſhop were commonly at debate in matters of Religion; and therefore the ſaid Lord, hearing of the Biſhops diſeaſe, came to viſit him: and finding him not ſo well at a point, as he thought he ſhould have been, and as the honour of the countrey required, ſaid unto him; *Fie, my Lord, how lie you ſo? will you not go to your Chamber, and not lie heere in this utter Roome.* His anſwer was; *I am well where I am, my Lord, ſo long as I can tarry, for I am neer unto my friends* (meaning his coffers, and the gold therein.) *But my Lord* (ſaid he) *how long have you and I been in plea for Purgatorie, I thinke that I ſhall know ere it be long whether there be ſuch a*

Anno

Note.

The death of the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and his laſt confeſſion.

Qualis vita, finis ita.

The Vow of that marked beaſt *Dury*, B. o *Galloway*.

The death of M. *David Panter.*

The death of the Biſhop of *Orkney Reid*, &c.

Orkneys anſwer and his friends home.

Note.

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place or not. While the other did exhort him to call to minde the promiſes of God, and the vertue of Chriſts death: He anſwered, *Nay my Lord, let me alone, for you and I never agreed in our life, and I thinke we ſhall not agree now at my death, I pray you therefore let me alone.* The ſaid Lord *Fames* departed to his Lodging, and the other ſhortly after departed this life; whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.

When the word of the departing of ſo many Patrons of Papiſtry, and of the manner of their departing, came unto the Queene Regent, after aſtoniſhment and muſing, ſhe ſaid; *What ſhall I ſay of ſuch men? They left me as beaſts, and as beaſts they die: God is not with them, neither with that which they enterpriſe.* While theſe things were in doing in *Scotland* and *France*, that perfect hypocrite, Maſter *John Synclare*, then Deane of *Leſtarrige*, and now Lord Preſident, and Biſhop of *Brechin*, began to Preach in his Church of *Leſtarrige*, and at the beginning held himſelfe ſo indifferent, that many had opinion of him, That he was not far from the Kingdom of God. But his hypocriſie could not long be cloaked: for when he underſtood that ſuch as feared God began to have a good opinion of him, and that the Friers and others of that ſect began to whiſper, That if he took not heed in time to himſelf and unto his Doctrine, he would be the deſtruction of the whole ſtate of the Church. This by him underſtood, he appointed a Sermon, in the which he promiſed to give his judgement upon all ſuch heads, as then were in controverſie in the matters of Religion. The bruit hereof made his audience great at the firſt: But that day he ſo handled himſelf, that after that no godly man did credit him: for he not onely gainſaid the Doctrine of Juſtification and of Prayer, which before he had taught, but alſo he ſet up and maintained Papiſtry to the uttermoſt prick, yea, Holy-water, Pilgrimage, Purgatory, and Pardons were of ſuch vertue in his conceit, That without them he looked not to be ſaved. In this mean time the Clergy made a brag, That they would diſpute. But M. *David Panter*, which then lived and lay at *Leſtarrige*, diſſwaded them therefrom, affirming, That if ever they diſputed, but where themſelves were both Judge and partie, and where that fire and ſword ſhould obey their decree, that then their cauſe was marred for ever: For their victory ſtood neither in God nor in his Word; but in their own wills, and in the things concluded by their own counſells (together with ſword and fire) whereto (ſaid he) theſe new up-ſtart fellows will give no place, but they will call you to your Count-book, and that is, to the Bible; and by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, then the Devil will be approved to be God. And therefore if ye love your ſelves enter never into diſputation, neither yet call ye the matter into queſtion, but defend your poſſeſſion, or elſe all is loſt. *Caiaphas* could not give any better counſell to his companions, but yet God diſappointed both them and him, as after we ſhall heare. At this ſame time ſome of the Nobility directed their Letters to call *John Knox* from *Geneva*, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the Preachers, and others that then couragiouſly fought againſt the enemies of Gods Trueth. The Tenour of their Letter is this.

The Queen Regents ſentence of the death of her Papiſts.

Dean of *Leſtarrige* hypocrite began to preach.

M. *David Panters* counſell to his forſworne brethren the Biſhops.

Grace,

Anno

Grace, Mercy, and Peace for Salvation.

DEarly Beloved in the Lord, the faithfull that are of your acquaintance in theſe parts (thanks be unto God) are ſtedfaſt in the beliefe wherein yee left them, and have a godly thirſt and deſire day by day of your preſence againe: Now if the Spirit of God will ſo move you, and grant time unto you, we all heartily deſire you, in the Name of the Lord, That ye would returne again into theſe parts, where you ſhall finde all the faithfull that ye left behinde you, not onely glad to heare your doctrine, but alſo ready to jeopard their lives and goods for the ſetting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit. And albeit the Magiſtrates in this Countrey be as yet but in the ſtate ye left them in, yet at the making hereof we have no experience of any more cruelty to be uſed, then was before: But rather we have beliefe, That God will augment his Flock, becauſe we ſee daily the Friers, enemies to Chriſts Goſpel, in leſſe eſtimation with the Queen, and the Nobility of our Realm. This, in few words, is the minde of the faithfull being preſent, and others abſent. The reſt of our mindes this faithfull Bearer will ſhew you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord.

The ſecond Vocation of *John Knox*, by Letters of the Lords.

At Sterlin *the tenth of March*, Anno 1556.

This is the true Copy of the Letter, being ſubſcribed by the names under-written.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Glencarne. *Erskin.*

Lorne, now *Argyle.* *James Stewart.*

The Letters were delivered to the foreſaid *John* in *Geneva*, by the hands of *James Sym*, who now reſteth with Chriſt, and of *James Barrone*, who yet liveth. In the Moneth of *May*, immediately after theſe Letters were received and adviſed upon, he took conſultation, as well with his owne Church, as with that notable ſervant of God *Iohn Calvine*, and with other godly Miniſters; who all with one conſent ſaid, That he could not refuſe that Vocation, unleſſe he would declare himſelfe rebellious unto his God, and unmercifull to his Countrey: And ſo he returned anſwer, with promiſe to viſite them with reaſonable expedition, and ſo ſoon as he might put order to that deare Flocke that was committed to his Charge. And ſo in the end of the next *September* after, he departed from *Geneva*, and came to *Deape*, where there met him contrary Letters, as by his anſwer thereto we may underſtand.

The Spirit of Wiſedome, Conſtancie and Strength, be multiplied with you, by the favour of God our Father, and by the grace of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

ACcording to my promiſe, my Right Honourable, I came to *Deape* the four and twentieth day of *October*, of full minde, by the good will of God, with the firſt Ships, to have viſited you. But becauſe two Letters not very pleaſing unto the fleſh were there preſented unto me, I was compelled to ſtay for a time. The one was directed to my ſelf, from

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a faithfull brother, which made mention, that a new conſultation was appointed for finall concluſion of the matter before purpoſed; and willed me therefore to abide in theſe parts till the determination of the ſame. The other Letter was directed from a Gentleman to a friend, with charge to advertiſe me, That he had communed with all thoſe that ſeemed moſt franke and fervent in the matter; and that in none did he finde ſuch boldneſſe and conſtancy as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe; but that ſome did (as he writeth) repent that ever any ſuch thing was moved: Some were partly aſhamed, and others were able to deny that ever they did conſent to any ſuch purpoſe, if any tryall or queſtion ſhould be taken thereof, &c. Which Letters when I had conſidered, I was partly confounded, and partly was pierced with anguiſh and ſorrow. Confounded I was, that I had ſo far travelled in the matter, moving the ſame to the moſt godly and moſt learned that this day we know to live in *Europe*, to the effect that I might have their judgements and grave counſells, for aſſurance as well of your conſciences, as of mine, in all enterpriſes. And then that nothing ſhould ſucceed of ſo long conſultation, cannot but redound, either to your ſhame or mine. For either it ſhall appeare that I was marvellous vain, being ſo ſolicited, where no neceſſity required; Or elſe that ſuch as were movers thereto, lacked the ripeneſſe of judgement in their firſt Vocation. To ſome it may appeare, a ſmall and light matter, that I have caſt off, and as it were abandoned, as well my particular care, as my publike Office and Charge, leaving my houſe and poor family deſtitute of all head, ſave God only, and committing that ſmall (but to Chriſt dearly beloved) flock, over the which I was appointed one of the Miniſters, to the charge of another. This, I ſay, to worldly men, may appeare a ſmall matter: But to me, it was and is ſuch, that more worldly ſubſtance then I will expreſſe, could not have cauſed me willingly to behold the eyes of ſo many grave men weep at once for my cauſe, as that I did in taking my laſt good night from them: To whom if it pleaſe God that I returne, and queſtion be demanded, What was the impediment of my purpoſed journey, judge you what I ſhall anſwer. The cauſe of my dolour and ſorrow (God is my witneſſe) is for nothing pertaining either to my corporall contentment, or worldly diſpleaſure; but it is for the grievous plagues and puniſhments of God, which aſſuredly ſhall apprehend, not onely you, but every inhabitant of that miſerable Realm and Iſle, except that the power of God, by the liberty of his Goſpel, deliver you from Bondage. I mean

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not onely that perpetuall fire and torment prepared for the devil, and for ſuch as denying Chriſt Jeſus, and his knowne Verity, do follow the ſons of wickedneſſe to perdition (which moſt is to be feared) but alſo that thraldome and miſery that ſhall apprehend your owne bodies, your children, ſubjects, and poſterity, whom ye have betrayed (in conſcience I can except none that beare the name of Nobility) and preſently fight to betray them and your Realme to the ſlavery of ſtrangers. The War begun (although I acknowledge it to be the work of God) ſhall be your deſtruction, unleſſe that betime remedie be provid d. God open your eyes, that ye may eſpie and conſider your owne

own miſerable eſtate. My words ſhall appear to ſome, ſharp, and undiſcreetly ſpoken. But as charity ought to interpret all things to the beſt, ſo ought wiſe men to underſtand, That *a true friend cannot be a flatterer.* Eſpecially, when the queſtions of ſalvation both of body and ſoule are moved; and that not of one, nor of two, but as it were of a whole Realm or Nation. What are the ſobs, and what is the affection of my troubled heart, God ſhall one day declare: But this will I adde to my former rigour and ſeverity, to wit, If any perſwade you for fear of dangers that may follow, to faint in your former purpoſe, be he ſo wiſe and friendly, let him be judged of you both fooliſh, and your mortall enemy: Fooliſh, for becauſe he underſtood nothing of Gods approved wiſedome; and enemy unto you, becauſe he laboured to ſeparate you from Gods favour, provoking his vengeance, and grievous plagues againſt you: becauſe he would, That ye ſhould prefer your worldly reſt to Gods praiſe and glory; and the friendſhip of the wicked, to the ſalvation of your brethren. *I am not ignorant that fearfull troubles ſhall enſue your enterpriſe (as in my former Letters I did ſignifie unto you.) But O joyfull and comfortable are the troubles and adverſities, which man ſuſtaineth for accompliſhment of Gods will revealed by his word! For how terrible ſoever they appeare to the judgement of the naturall man, yet are they never able to devour, nor utterly to conſume the ſufferers: For the inviſible and invincible power of God ſuſtaineth and preſerveth according to his promiſe, all ſuch as with ſimplicity do obey him.* The ſubtill craft of *Pharaoh* many yeers joyned with his bloody cruelty, was not able to deſtroy the male children of *Iſrael*; neither were the waters of the Red Sea, much leſſe the rage of *Pharaoh* able to confound *Moſes*, and the company which he conducted, and that becauſe the one had Gods Promiſe that they ſhould multiply; and the other had his Commandment to enter into ſuch dangers. I would your wiſedoms ſhould conſider that our God remaineth one, and is immutable; and that the Church of Chriſt Jeſus hath the ſame promiſe of protection and defence, that *Iſrael* had of multiplication: And farther, That no leſſe cauſe have ye to enter into your former enterpriſe, then *Moſes* had to go to the preſence of *Pharaoh* (for your vaſſalls, yea your brethren are oppreſſed, their bodies and ſouls holden in bondage, and God ſpeaketh to your conſciences, (unleſſe ye be dead with the blinde world) that ye ought to hazard your owne lives (be it againſt Kings or Emperours) for their deliverance. For onely for that cauſe are ye called Princes of the people. And ye receive of your Brethren, Honour, Tribute, and Homage, at Gods Commandment, not by reaſon of your Birth and Progenie (as the moſt part of men do falſly ſuppoſe) but by reaſon of your Office and Duty, which is to vindicate and deliver your ſubjects and brethren from all violence and oppreſſion to the uttermoſt of your power. Adviſe diligently, I beſeech you, with the points of that Letter which I directed to the whole Nobility; and let every man apply the matter and caſe to himſelf; for your conſcience ſhall one day be compelled to acknowledge, That the Reformation of Religion, and of publike enormities, doth appertaine to more then to the Clergie, or chief Rulers, called Kings. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jeſus rule and guide your counſells to your eternall glory, your eternall comfort,

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Note.

Let the Papiſts themſelves judge of what ſpirit theſe ſentences could proceed.

The duty of the Nobility.

The letter loſt by negligence and troubles.

God grant that our Nobility would yet underſtand.

Anno comfort, and to the conſolation of your brethren. *Amen.* From *Deape* the 27 of *October.* 1557.

Theſe Letters received and read, togethet with others directed to the whole Nobility, and ſome to particular Gentlemen, as to the Lairds of *Dun* and *Petarrow*, new conſultation was had what was beſt to be done; and in the end it was concluded, That they would follow forward their purpoſe once intended, and would commit themſelves, and whatſoever God had given them, into his hands, rather then they would ſuffer Idolatry ſo manifeſtly to raigne, and the Subjects of that Realme ſo to be defrauded, as long as they had been of the onely food of their ſouls, the true Preaching of Chriſts Goſpel. And that every one ſhould be the more aſſured of other, a common Bond was made, and by ſome ſubſcribed: The tenor thereof followeth.

Note.

The firſt Covenant of *Scotland.*

1557 Thoſe that then did oppoſe Popery, were called the Congregation.

WE perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichriſts of our time, cruelly do rage, ſeeking to overthrow and deſtroy the Goſpel of Chriſt, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to ſtrive in our Maſters Cauſe, even unto the death, being certaine of the Victory in him: The which our duty being well conſidered, We do promiſe before the Majeſtie of God, and his Congregation, That we (by his grace) ſhall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed Word of God, and his Congregation: And ſhall labour according to our power, to have faithfull Miniſters, truely and purely to miniſter Chriſts Goſpel and Sacraments to his people. We ſhall maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them, the whole Congregation of Chriſt, and every Member thereof according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, againſt Sathan and all wicked power that doth intend Tyranny or trouble againſt the foreſaid Congregation. Unto the which holy Word, and Congregation, we do joyne us; and ſo do forſake and renounce the Congregation of Sathan, with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, ſhall declare our ſelves manifeſtly enemies thereto, By this our faithfull Promiſe before God, teſtified to this Congregation, by our Subſcription at theſe Preſents. At *Edinburgh* the third of *December*, *anno* 1557. God called to witneſſe.

Note. The Earl of *Argyle* the firſt man in this Covenant.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

A. Earle of *Argyle.* *Archibald*, Lord of *Lorne.*
Glencarne. *Iohn Erskin* of *Dun*,
Morteun. *Et cætera.*

The third Vocation of *Iohn Knox*, by the Lords and Churches of *Scotland.*

A little before that this Bond was ſubſcribed by the fore-written, and many other Letters were directed again to *Io. Knox* from the ſaid Lords, together with their Letters to M. *Calvin*, craving of him, That by his authority he would command the ſaid *Iohn* once again to viſite them. Theſe Letters were delivered by the hands of M. *Iohn Gray*, in the Moneth of *November*, *anno* 1558. who at that ſame time paſt to *Reme*, for expedition of the Bowes of the B^p^. of *Roſſe*, to M. *Henry Sinclar*. Immediately after the ſubſcription of this foreſaid Bond, the Lords and Barons profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus, convened frequently in counſell: in the which theſe Heads were concluded: *Firſt, It is thought expedient, adviſed, and ordained, That*

in

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in all Pariſhes of this Realm the Common-Prayer be read weekly on Sunday, and other Feſtivall dayes publikely in the Pariſh Churches, with the Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament, conformed to the order of the Book of Common Prayers. And if the Curats of the Pariſhes be qualified, to cauſe them to read the ſame. And if they be not, or if they refuſe, that the moſt qualified in the Pariſh uſe and reade the ſame. Secondly, It is thought neceſſary, that Doctrine, Preaching, and Interpretation of Scriptures be had and uſed privately in quiet houſes, without great conventions of the people thereto, while afterward that God move the Prince to grant publike Preaching by faithfull and true Miniſters.

Theſe two heads concerning the Religion, and ſome others concerning the policie being concluded, the old Earle of *Argyle* took the maintenance of *Iohn Dowglas*, cauſed him to Preach publikely in his houſe, and reformed many things according to his counſell. The ſame boldneſſe tooke divers others, as well within Towns, as in the country, which did not a little trouble the Biſhops and Queen Regent: As by this Letter and Credit committed to Sir *David Hamilton*, from the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* to the ſaid Earle of *Argyle* may be clearly underſtood.

The Biſhops Letter to the old Earle of *Argyle*.

MY Lord, after moſt hearty commendations, this is to advertiſe your Lordſhip that we have directed this Bearer our Couſin towards your Lordſhip, in ſuch buſineſſe and affaires as concerneth your Lordſhips honour, profit, and great well-being, as the ſaid Bearer will declare to your Lordſhip at more length. I pray your Lordſhip, effectuouſly to advert thereto, and to have care to uſe your Lordſhips friends, that alwayes hath wiſhed the honour, profit, and proſperity of your Lordſhips houſe, as of our own. I pray you give credit to the Bearer. Jeſu have your Lordſhip in everlaſting keeping. Of Edinburgh, *the five and twentieth day of March, Anno* 1558.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your Lordſhips at all power
Saint Andrews.

Followes the Credit.

MEmorandum, To Sir *David Hamilton*, to my Lord Earle of *Argyle*, in my behalfe, and let him ſee and heare every Article.

1. Imprimis, *To repeat the ancient blood of his houſe, how long it hath ſtood, how notable it hath been, and ſo many Noble-men hath been Earles, Lords and Knights thereof: How long they have reigned in their parts, true and obedient both to God and the Prince, without any ſpot in their dayes in any manner of ſort: And to remember how many notable men are come of his houſe.*

2. *Secondly, To ſhew him the great affection I beare towards him, his blood, houſe, and friends, and of the ardent deſire I have of the perpetuall ſtanding of it in honour and fame, with all them that are come of it: Which is my part, for many and divers cauſes, as you ſhall ſee.*

3. *Thirdly, To ſhew, my Lord, how heavy and diſpleaſing it is to me, now to heare, That he who is and hath been ſo Noble a man, ſhould be ſeduced and abuſed, by the flattery of ſuch an infamed perſon of the Law, and men-ſworne Apoſtate, that under the pretence that he giveth himſelf forth as a Preacher of the*

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Gospel and Veritie, under that colour, setteth forth Schismes and Divisions in the holy Church of God, with Hereticall Propositions, thinking that under his maintenance and defence, to infect this Countrey with Heresie, perswading my said Lord, and others, his children and friends, that all that he speaketh is Scripture, and conform thereunto, albeit that many of his Propositions are many yeers past condemned by generall Councels, and the whole state of Christian people.

4. *Fourthly, To shew to my Lord how perillous this is to his Lordship and his house, and decay thereof, in case that authority should be sharp, and should use rigour conform both to Civill and Canon, and also your own Municipall law of this Realm.*

5. *Fifthly, to shew his Lordship how woe I would be, either to heare, see, or know any displeasure that might come to him, his son, or any of his house or friends, and especially in his own time and dayes. And as how great displeasure I have now to hear great and evil bruites of him that should in his old age, in a manner, vary from his faith, and to be altered therin when the time is that he should be most sure and firme therein.*

6. *Sixthly, To shew his Lordship that there is delation of that man called* Dowglas, *or* Grant, *of sundry Articles of Heresie which lieth to my charge and conscience to put remedie to, or else all the pestilentious Doctrine he sowes, and such like, all that are corrupt by his Doctrine, and all that he draweth from our Faith and Christian Religion, will lie to my charge before God: and I to be accused before God for overseeing of him, if I put not remedy thereto, and correct him for such things he is delated of. And therefore that my Lord consider, and weigh it well, how highly it lieth both to my honour and conscience: for if I favour him, I shall be accused for all them that he infects and corrupts in Heresie.*

7. *Seventhly, Therefore I pray my Lord, in most hearty maner to take this matter in the best part for his own conscience, honour, and weale of himselfe, house, friends, and servants: and sik like for my part, and for my conscience and honour. Then considering that there are divers Articles of Heresie to be laid to him, that he is dilated of, and that he is presently in my Lords company: That my Lord would by some honest way part with this man, and put him from him, and from his sons company: For I would be right sorry that any being in any of their companies should be called for such causes, or that any of them should be bruited to hold any sik man. And this I would advertise, my Lord, and have his Lordships Answer and Resolution, before any Summons passed upon him.*

8. *Eighthly*, Item, *If my Lord would have a man to instruct him truely in the Faith, and Preach to him, I would provide a learned man to him, and I shall answer for his true Doctrine, and shall Pand my soule that he shall teach nothing but truly, according to our Catholike Faith.* Of *Edinburgh*, this last of March 1558.

Sic subscribiter.
Saint Andrews.

Moreover, I hope your Lordship will call to good remembrance, and weigh the great and heavie murmure against me, both by the Queene, the Church-men, Spirituall and Temporall estates, and well given people, moaning, crying, and murmuring at me greatly, That I do not my Office:

To

To thoſe ſuch infamous perſons with ſuch perverſed Doctrine within my Dioceſſes, and this Realme, by reaſon of my Legacie and Primacie, which I have the rather ſuſtained and long ſuffered, for the great love that I had to your Lordſhip and poſterity, and your friends and your houſe: As beleeving ſurely your Lordſhips wiſedome ſhould not have maintained and medled with ſuch things that might do me diſhonour or diſpleaſure, conſidering that I have bin ready to put good order thereto alwayes, but have modeſtly abſtained, for the love of your Lordſhip and houſe aforeſaid, that I beare truely; knowing and ſeeing the great harm, and diſhonour, and lack apparantly that might come therethrough, in caſe your Lordſhip remedie not the ſame haſtily, whereby we might both be quiet of all danger, which doubtleſſe will come upon us both, if I uſe not my Office, or that he be called, while that he is now with your Lordſhip, and under your Lordſhips protection.

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Flesh & blood is preferred to God with the Biſhop.

Subſcribed againe.
Saint Andrews.

By theſe former Inſtructions thou mayeſt perceive (Gentle Reader) what was the care that this Paſtour, or rather Impoſtour, with his Complices took to feed the flock committed to their charge (as they alleadge) and to gain-ſtand falſe Teachers. Here is oft mention of conſcience, of Hereſie, & ſuch other terms that might fray the ignorant, and deceive the ſimple. But we hear no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accuſed, and yet is he condemned as a forſworn Apoſtata. This was my Lords conſcience, which he learned of his fathers the Phariſees, old enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, who condemned him before they heard him. But who ruled my Lords conſcience, when he took his couſins wife, *the Lady Gilton*. Conſider thou the reſt of his perſwaſions, & thou ſhalt clearly ſee, That honour, eſtimation, love to houſe and friends, is the beſt ground that my Lord Biſhop hath, why he ſhould perſecute Jeſus Chriſt in his members. We thought good to inſert the anſwers of the ſaid Earle, which follow.

Memorandum, *This preſent Writ is to make anſwer particularly to every Article, directed from my Lord of S.* Andrews *to me, by Sir* David Hamilton, *which Articles are in number nine; and heere repeated and anſwered, as I truſt, to his Lordſhips contentment.*

1. THe firſt Article putteth me in remembrance of the antiquity of the blood of my houſe, how many Earles, Lords, and Knights hath been thereof; how many Noble-men deſcended of the ſame houſe, how long it continued true to God and the Prince, without ſpot, in their dayes, in any manner of ſort.

Anſwer, True it is, my Lord, that there is well-long continuance of my houſe, by Gods providence, and benevolence of our Princes whom we have ſerved, and ſhall ſerve truely, next to God. And the like obedience, towards Gods and our Princes remaineth with us yet, or rather better, (praiſed be the Lords Name) neither know we any ſpot towards our Princeſſe, and her due obedience. And if there be offence towards God, he is mercifull to remit our offences. For he will not the death of a ſinner. Like as it ſtandeth in his omnipotent power to make up houſes, to

Note.

Anno continue the ſame to alter them, to make them ſmall or great, or to extinguiſh them according to his own inſcrutable wiſdom. For in exalting, depreſſing, and changing of houſes, the laud and praiſe muſt be given to that one eternall God, in whoſe hands the ſame ſtandeth.

2. The ſecond Article beareth the great affection and love your Lordſhip beareth towards me and my houſe, and of the ardent deſire ye have of the perpetuall ſtanding thereof in honour and fame with all them that are coming of it.

Anſw. Forſooth it is your dutie to wiſh good unto my houſe, and unto them that are coming of the ſame; not onely for the faithfulneſſe, amity, and ſociety that hath been between our forefathers; but alſo for the late conjunction of blood that is between our ſaid houſe, if it be Gods pleaſure that it have ſucceſſe. Which ſhould give ſufficient occaſion to your Lordſhip to wiſh good to my houſe and perpetuity, with Gods glory, without which nothing is perpetuall, unto whom be praiſe and worſhip for ever and ever. Amen.

3. Thirdly, Your Lordſhip declareth how diſpleaſant it is to you that I ſhould be ſeduced by an infamed perſon of the Law, and by the flattery of a forſworn Apoſtata, that under pretence of his giving forth, maketh us to underſtand, That he is a Preacher of the Goſpel, and therewith raiſeth Schiſmes and Diviſions in the whole Church of God: And by our maintenance and defence would infect this Countrey with Hereſie, alleadging that to be Scripture, which theſe many yeeres paſt hath been condemned as Hereſie by the generall Councells, and whole eſtate of Chriſtian people.

Anſw. The God that created heaven and earth, and all that is therein, preſerve me from ſeducing: for I dread others, many under the colour of godlineſſe are ſeduced, and think that they do God a pleaſure, when they perſecute one of them that profeſſe his Name. What that man of the Law is, we know not; we hear none of his flattery, his perjured Oath of Apoſtaſie is unknown unto us: But if he have made any unlawfull Oath, contrary to Gods commandment, it were better to violate it, then to obſerve it. He Preaches nothing to us but the Goſpel, if he would do otherwiſe, we would not beleeve him, nor yet an Angel of heaven: we heare him ſowe no Schiſmes nor Diviſions, but ſuch as may ſtand with Gods Word, which we ſhall cauſe him to confeſſe, in preſence of your Lordſhip and the Clergy, when ye require us thereto. And as to it that hath been condemned by generall Councels, we truſt you know well, that all the generall Councels have been at diverſity among themſelves, and never two of them univerſally agreeing in all points, in ſo much as they are of men. But the Spirit of Verity that bears teſtimony of our Lord Jeſus, hath not, neither can erre. For heaven & earth ſhal periſh, ere one jot of it periſh. Beyond this, my Lord, neither teacheth he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with the Word of God, ſet forth by the Patriarks, Prophets, Apoſtles, and Evangeliſts, left to our ſalvation in expreſſe words. And ſo, my Lord, to condemn the Doctrine not examined, is not required: For when your Lordſhip pleaſeth to hear the confeſſion of that mans Faith, the manner of his Doctrine, which agreeth with the Goſpel of

Jeſus

Jeſus Chriſt, I will cauſe him to aſſiſt to judgement, and ſhall be preſent there at Gods pleaſure, that he may render reckoning of his belief, and our Doctrine to the ſuperiour Powers, according to the preſcription of that blood of the eternall Teſtament, ſealed by the Immaculate Lambe; To whom with the Father and the holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. *Amen.* Anno

4. The fourth Article puts me in remembrance, how dangerous it is, if the Authority would put me to it, and my Houſe, according to comely and common Laws, and our own municipiall Lawes of this Realme, and how it appeareth to the decay of our Houſe.

Anſw. All Laws are (or at leaſt ſhould be) ſubject to Gods Law, which Law ſhould be firſt placed, and planted in every mans heart, it ſhould have no impediment. Men ſhould not abrogate it, for the defence and ſetting up of their owne advantage. If it would pleaſe Authorities to put at our Houſe, for confeſſing of Gods Word, or for maintenance of his Law: God is mighty enough in his own Cauſe, he ſhould be rather obeyed then man. I will ſerve my Prince, with body, heart, goods, ſtrength, and all that is in my power, except that which is Gods duty, which I will reſerve to him alone; that is, To worſhip him in truth and verity, and as neer as I can to conform to his written Word, to his owne honour, and obedience of my Princeſſe. Note diligently.

5. The fifth Article puts me in remembrance how woe your Lordſhip would be, to hear, to ſee, or know any diſpleaſure that might come to me, my ſon, or any of my Houſe, and eſpecially in my time and dayes: And as to heare the great and evill brute of me, that ſhould now in my old age in a manner, begin to vary in my Faith, and to be altered therein, when it is time that I ſhould be moſt ſure and firm therein.

Anſ. Your Lordſhips good will is ever made manifeſt unto me in all your Articles, that you ſhould be ſorry to hear, ſee, or know my diſpleaſure, for the which I am bound to render your Lordſhip thanks, & ſhall do the ſame aſſuredly. But as for wavering in my Faith, God forbid that I ſhould ſo do: For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven & earth; And in Jeſus Chriſt his onely Son our Saviour. My Lord, I vary not in my Faith; but I praiſe God, that of his goodneſſe now in my latter days, hath of his infinite mercy opened his boſome of grace unto me, to acknowledge him the eternall Wiſedome, his Son Jeſus Chriſt, my one ſufficient Satisfaction, to refuſe all Idolatry, Superſtition, and Ignorance, wherewith I have been blinded in times paſt, and now believe that God will be mercifull unto me; for now he hath declared his bleſſed Will clearly to me, before my departing out of this tranſitory life.

6. The ſixth Article declareth, That there are delations of ſundry points of Hereſie upon that man, *Dowglas* or *Grant*, which lies to your charge and conſcience to put remedie to; or elſe that all the peſtilentious doctrine he ſowes, and all whom he corrupteth with his ſeed, will be required at your hands, and all whom he draws from your Chriſtian Faith; and if ye ſhould ſuffer him, that ye will be accuſed for all them whom he infecteth with Hereſie; and therefore to regard your Lordſhips honour and conſcience therein.

Anno

Anſw. What is his firname I know not, but he calleth himſelf *Douglas*; for I know neither his father nor his mother: I have heard him teach no Articles of hereſie, but that which agreeth with Gods Word. For I would maintain no man in hereſie or errour. Your Lordſhip regards your conſcience in the puniſhment thereof: I pray God that ye do ſo, and examine well your conſcience. He preacheth againſt Idolatry; I remit to your Lordſhips conſcience, if it be hereſie or not. He preacheth againſt adultery and fornication, I refer that to your Lordſhips conſcience. He preacheth againſt hypocriſie, I refer that to your Lordſhips conſcience. He preaches againſt all manner of abuſes, and corruption of Chriſts ſincere Religion, I refer that to your Lordſhips conſcience. My Lord, I exhort you, in Chriſts Name, to weigh all theſe affairs in your conſcience, and conſider if it be your duty alſo, not onely to ſuffer this, but in like manner to do the ſame. This is all, my Lord, that I vary in my old age, and in no other thing, but that I knew not theſe offences to be abominable to God, and now knowing his will by manifeſtation of his Word, abhor them.

7. The ſeventh Article deſireth me to weigh theſe matters in moſt hearty manner, and to take them in beſt part, for the weale of both our conſciences, my houſe, friends and ſervants, and put ſuch a man out of my company, for fear of the rumour and brute that ſhould follow thereupon, by reaſon he is delated of ſundry hereſies: And that your Lordſhip would be ſorry to hear any of your ſervants delated or bruted for ſuch a cauſe, or for holding of any ſuch men; and that your Lordſhip would underſtand mine anſwer hereunto, or any ſummons paſſed thereupon.

Anſw. I thank your Lordſhip greatly, that ye are ſo ſolicited for the weale of me and of my houſe, and are ſo humane, as to give me advertiſement, before ye have ſummoned, of your owne good will and benevolence. I have weighed theſe matters, as highly as my judgement can ſerve me, both for your Lordſhips honour and mine. And when that I have reaſoned all that I can do with my ſelf in it; I think it alwayes beſt to ſerve God, and obey his manifeſt Word, and not be obſtinate in the contrary, and to give their due obedience to our Princes, Rulers, and Magiſtrates, and to hear the voice of Gods Prophets, declaring his good promiſe to them that repent, and threatning to obſtinate wicked doers, everlaſting deſtruction. Your Lordſhip knows well the man, he hath ſpoken with your Lordſhip: I thought you content with him, I heare no occaſion of offence in him, I cannot well want him, or ſome Preacher. I cannot put away ſuch a man, without I knew him an offender, as I know not; for I heare nothing of him, but ſuch as your Lordſhips ſelf heares of him, and ſuch as he yet will profeſſe in your preſence, whenſoever your Lordſhip requires. Such a man that is ready to preſent himſelf to judgement, ſhould not be expelled without knowledge of the cauſe; for like as I anſwered before in another Article, when your Lordſhip pleaſeth, that all the Spirituall and Temporall men of eſtate in *Scotland* be aſſembled, I ſhall cauſe him to render an account of his belief and Doctrine in your preſences, then if he deſerves puniſhment and correction, let him ſo ſuffer; if he be found faithfull, let him live in his faith.

Note.

8. The

8. The eight Article propoſes to me, That your Lordſhip, would take the labour to get me a man to inſtruct me in your Catholike Faith, and to be my Preacher, for whoſe Doctrine ye would lay your ſoul, that he would teach nothing, but truely conform to your faith. Anno

Anſw. God Almighty ſend us many of that ſort, that will preach truely, and nothing but a Catholike or Univerſall Chriſtian Faith; and we Highland rude people have miſſe of them. And if your Lordſhip would get and provide me ſuch a man, I ſhould provide him a corporall Living, as to my ſelf, with great thanks unto your Lordſhip: For truely, I and many more have great miſſe of ſuch men. And becauſe I am able to ſuſtain more then one of them, I requeſt your Lordſhip earneſtly, to provide me a man as ye wrote; *for the harveſt is great, but the labourers are few.*

9. The laſt and ninth Article putteth me in remembrance to conſider what murmure your Lordſhip ſuffers, and great brute, at many mens hands, both Spirituall and Temporall, and at the Queens hand, and other well given people, for not putting order to theſe affairs; and that your Lordſhip hath abſtained from execution hereof, for love of my Houſe and Poſterity, to the effect that my ſelf ſhould remedy it, for fear of the diſhonour that might come upon us both for the ſame: which being remedied, might bring us out of all danger.

Anſw. My Lord, I know well what murmure and indignation your Lordſhip ſuffers at enemies hands of all eſtates, for not purſuing of poor ſimple Chriſtians: And I know, That if your Lordſhip ſhould uſe their counſell, who would by blood-ſhedding and burning of poor men, to make your Lordſhip ſerve their wicked appetites; Yet your Lordſhip knows your owne duty, and ſhould not fear the danger of men, as of him whom ye profeſſe. And verily, my Lord, there is nothing that may be to your Lordſhips relief in this behalf, but I will uſe your Lordſhips counſell therein, and further the ſame, Gods honour being firſt provided, and the Truth of his eternall Word having liberty. And to abſtain for my love from purſuit, as your Lordſhip hath ſignified, I am indebted to your Lordſhip, as I have written divers times before. But there is one above, for whoſe fear ye muſt abſtain from blood-ſhedding, or elſe, my Lord, knock in your conſcience. Laſt of all, your Lordſhip pleaſe to conſider how deſirous ſome are to have ſedition amongſt friends; how mighty the devill is to ſow diſcord; how that many would deſire no better game, but to hunt us at other. I pray your Lordſhip beguile them, we will agree upon all purpoſes with Gods pleaſure, ſtanding to his glory. There are divers Houſes in *Scotland* neer us, that profeſſe the ſame God ſecretly; they deſire but that ye begin the bargaine at us; and when it begins at us, God knows the end therof, and who ſhall bide the next put. My Lord, conſider this; make no Preparative of us: Let not the vain exhortation of them that regard little of the weale and ſtrength of both our Houſes, ſtirre up your Lordſhip as they would, to do againſt God, your owne conſcience, and the weale of your poſterity for ever. And therefore now in the end I pray your Lordſhip weigh theſe things wiſely; and if ye do otherwiſe, God is God, was, and ſhall be God, when all is wrought that man can work.

Anno

This anſwer received, the Biſhop and his complices found themſelves ſomewhat diſappointed; for the Biſhops looked for nothing leſſe, then for ſuch Anſwers from the Earle of *Argyle*; and therefore they made them for their extreme defence, that is, To corrupt, and by buds to ſtirre up the Queen Regent againſt us; as in the ſecond Booke we ſhall more plainly heare. Shortly after that, God called to his mercy the ſaid Earle of *Argyle* from the miſeries of this life; whereof the Biſhops were glad; for they thought that their great enemy was taken out of the way, but God diſappointed them: For as the ſaid Earle departed moſt conſtant in the true Faith of Jeſus Chriſt, with a plain renounciation of all Impiety, Superſtition, and Idolatry; ſo he left it to his Son in his Teſtament, That he ſhould ſtudie to ſet forward the publike and true preaching of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and to ſuppreſſe all Superſtition and Idolatry to the uttermoſt of his power. In which point ſmall fault can be found with him unto this day. 10 *Maii, Anno* 1568. God be mercifull unto other offences. *Amen.*

Note the Earl of *Argyle* his Teſtament.

The Blinde, Crooked, Lame, Widows, Orphans, and all other poor, ſo viſited by the hand of God as cannot work:

To all the flock of Friers within this Realme, we wiſh reſtitution of wrongs paſt, and reformation in times coming, for Salvation.

YE your ſelves are not ignorant (and though ye would be) it is now (thanks be to God) well knowne to the whole world, by his moſt infallible Word, That the Benignity or Almes of all Chriſtian people pertaineth to us alone; which ye, being whole of bodie, ſtrong, ſturdie, and able to work, what under pretence of poverty (and yet nevertheleſſe poſſeſſing moſt eaſily all abundance) what through cloked and hidden humility (though your proudneſſe is knowne) and what fained holineſſe (which now is declared to be Superſtition and Idolatry) have theſe many yeers, expreſly againſt Gods Word, and the practice of his holy Apoſtles, to our great torment (alas) moſt falſly ſtollen from us. And as ye have by your falſe doctrine and wreſting of Gods Word, learned of your father Sathan, induced the whole people, high and low, into a ſure hope and belief, That to clothe, feed, and nouriſh you, is the onely moſt acceptable Almes allowed before God; and to give a penny, or a piece a bread once in a week is enough for us. Even ſo ye have perſwaded them to build you great Hoſpitals, and maintain you therein by their force, which onely pertains now to us by all Law, as builded and given to the poore, of whoſe number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the Law of God, nor yet by no other Law proceeding of Nature, Reaſon, or Civill Policy. Wherefore ſeeing our number is ſo great, ſo indigent, and ſo heavily oppreſſed by your falſe meanes, that none taketh care of out miſery: And that it is better for to provide there our impotent members, which God hath given us, to oppoſe to you in plain controverſie, then to ſee you hereafter (as ye have done afore) ſteale from us our houſes, and our ſelves in the meane time to periſh and die for want of the ſame. We have thought good therefore, ere we enter with you in the conflict to warne you, in the Name of the great God, by this publike writing, affixt in your

your gates where ye now dwell, that ye remove forth of our ſaid Hoſpitals, betwixt this and the Feaſt of Whit-ſunday *next: So that we the only lawfull proprietaries thereof, may enter thereinto, and afterward enjoy the commodities of the Church, which ye have hereunto wrongfully holden from us. Certifying you, if ye faile, we will at the ſaid terme, in whole number (with the help of God, and aſſiſtance of his Saints in earth, of whoſe ready ſupport we doubt not) enter and take poſſeſſion of our ſaid Patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the ſame.* Anno

Let him therefore that before hath ſtollen, ſteal no more, but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpfull to the poore.

From all Cities, Towns, and Villages of Scotland, *January* 1. 1558.

The Biſhops continued in their Provinciall Councell even unto that day that *John Knox* arrived in *Scotland*, and that they might give ſome ſhew to the people that they minded Reformation; they diſperſed abroad a rumour thereof, and ſet forth ſomewhat in Print, which of the people was called, *The two-penny Faith*. Amongſt their acts there was much a do, for Caps, Shaven crowns, Typpets, Long Gowns, and ſuch other trifles.

Item, *That none ſhould enjoy Office, or Benefice Eccleſiaſticall, except a Prieſt.*

Item, *That no Church-man ſhould nouriſh his owne children, in his own company but that every one ſhould hold the children of others.*

That none ſhould put his own ſon in his own benefice.

That if any were found in open Adulterie, for the firſt fault he ſhould loſe the third of his Benefice, for the ſecond time the halfe, and for the third the whole Benefice.

But herefrom appealed the Biſhop of *Murray*, and other Prelates, ſaying, That they would abide at the Canon-Law. And ſo they might well enough do, ſo long as they remained Interpreters, Diſpenſators, Makers, and Diſanullars of the Law. But let the ſame Law have the true interpretation, and juſt execution, and the Devil ſhall as ſoon be proved a true and obedient ſervant unto God, as any of that ſort ſhall be proved a Biſhop, or yet to have any juſt authority within the Church of Chriſt Jeſus. But we will return to our Hiſtory.

The perſecution was decreed as well by the Queen Regent as by the Prelates. But there reſted a point which the Queen Regent and *France* had not at that time obtained; to wit, That the Crown matrimoniall ſhould be granted to *Francis*, husband to our Soveraign, and ſo ſhould *France* and *Scotland* be but one kingdome. The Subjects of both the Realmes to have equall libertie, Scottiſhmen in *France*, and Frenchmen in *Scotland*. The gliſter of the profit that was judged hereof to have enſued to Scottiſhmen, at the firſt ſight blinded many mens eyes. But a ſmall winde cauſed that miſt ſuddenly to vaniſh away: For the greateſt Offices and Benefices within the Realme were appointed for the Frenchmen: *Monſieur Ruby* kept the great Seale; *Vielmort* was Controller; *Melroſſe* and *Kelſo* ſhould have been a commends to the poore Cardinall of *Loraine*. The freedomes of Scottiſh Merchants were reſtrained in *Roane*, and they compelled to pay Tole and Taxations others then their ancient Liberties did beare. To bring this head to paſſe; to wit, to the Matrimoniall Crown, the Queen Regent left no point of the Compaſſe unſailed with the

Note. Here is one Soleciſme in State expreſſion, newly invented by the Court Paraſites.

Anno

the Biſhops and Prieſts. She practiſed on this manner; *Ye may clearely ſee that I cannot do what I would within this Realme: for theſe Hereticks and Confederates of* England *are ſo banded together, that they ſtop all good order. But will ye be favourable unto me in this ſuit of the Matrimoniall Crowne, to be granted to my daughters husband, Then ſhall we ſee how I ſhall handle theſe Hereticks and Traitours ere it be long.* And in very deed in theſe her promiſes ſhe meant no deceit in that behalfe. Unto the Proteſtants ſhe ſaid; *I am not unmindfull how oft ye have ſolicited me for Reformation in Religion, and gladly would I conſent thereunto, but ye ſee the power and craft of the Biſhop of S.* Andrews, *together with the power of Duke* Hamilton, *and of Church-men ever to be bent againſt me in all my proceedings: ſo that I may do nothing, unleſſe the full authority of this Realme be delivered to the King of* France, *which cannot be, but by donation of the Crowne Matrimoniall, which thing, if ye will bring to paſſe, then deviſe ye what ye pleaſe in matters of Religion, and they ſhall be granted.* With this Commiſſion and Credit, was Lord *Fames*, then Prior of S. *Andrews*, directed to the Earle of *Argyle*, with moe other promiſes then we liſt to rehearſe. By ſuch diſſimulation to thoſe that were ſimple and true of heart, inflamed ſhe them to be more fervent in her Petition, then her ſelfe appeared to be. And ſo at the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh*, in the moneth of October, in the yeere of God 1558. it was clearely voed, no man reclaiming (except the Duke for his intereſt) and yet for it there was no better Law produced, except that there was a ſolemne Maſſe appointed for that purpoſe in the Pontificall. This head obtained, whereat *France* and ſhe principally ſhot, what faith ſhe kept to the Proteſtants, in this our ſecond Book ſhall be declared. In the beginning whereof we may more amply rehearſe ſome things, that in this our firſt are ſummarily touched.

Note. To call the Crowne Matrimoniall, is an abſurd Soleciſme, newly then invented at Court.

The end of the firſt Booke.

The Second Booke

OF

THE HISTORY OF

Things done in *SCOTLAND*, in *the Reformation of Religion:*

Beginning in the yeere of our Lord God

1558.

OUr purpoſe was to have made the beginning of our Hiſtory, from the things that were done, from the yeere of God 1558. till, The Reformation of Religion, which of Gods mercy we once poſſeſſed, and yet in Doctrine, and in the right uſe of adminiſtration of Sacraments do poſſeſſe.

Note. And now in theſe later dayes it hath pleaſed God in his goodneſſe to grant the pure and Primitive Diſcipline alſo unto the Church of *Scotland.*

R But

Anno But becauſe divers of the godly (as before is ſaid) earneſtly required, That ſuch perſons as God raiſed up in the midſt of darkeneſſe, to oppoſe themſelves to the ſame, ſhould not be omitted: We obeyed their Requeſt, and have made a ſhort Rehearſall of all ſuch matters as concerne Religion, from the death of that notable Servant of God, Maſter *Patricke Hamilton*, unto the aforeſaid yeere, when that it pleaſed God to looke upon us more mercifully then we deſerve, and to give unto us greater boldneſſe, and better (albeit not without hazard and trouble) ſucceſſe in all our enterprizes then we looked for, as the true Narration of this ſecond Booke ſhall witneſſe. The PREFACE whereof followeth.

The

Anno

The Preface.

LEſt that Sathan by our ſilence ſhall take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſlander *us the Proteſtants of the Realme of Scotland*, as that our fact tended rather to Sedition and Rebellion, then to Reformation of *Manners*, and abuſes in *Religion*, We have thought expedient ſo truely and briefly as we can, to commit to writing the cauſes moving us (as we ſay, and great part of the Nobility and Barons of the Realme) to take the ſword of juſt Defence, againſt thoſe that moſt unjuſtly ſeek our deſtruction. And in this our confeſſion we ſhall faithfully declare, What moved us to put our hands to the Reformation of Religion; How we have proceeded in the ſame; What we have asked, and what preſently we require of the ſacred Authority. To the end that our Cauſe being knowne, as well our *enemies* as our *brethren* in all Realmes, may underſtand how falſly we are accuſed of tumult and Rebellion, and how unjuſtly we are perſecuted by *France*, and by their Faction. And alſo that our brethren naturall *Scotiſh-men*, of whatſoever Religion they be, may have occaſion to examine themſelves, If they can with ſafe conſcience oppoſe themſelves to us, who ſeek nothing but *Chriſt Jeſus his glorious Goſpel to be preached, his holy Sacraments to be truely miniſtred, Superſtition, Tyranny, and Idolatry to be ſuppreſſed in this Realme*, And finally, *This our native Countrey to remaine free from the Bondage and Tyranny of Strangers.*

Anno

While that the Queen Regent practiſed with the Prelats, how that Chriſt Jeſus bleſſed Goſpel might utterly be ſuppreſſed within *Scotland*, God ſo bleſſed the labours of his weak ſervants, that no ſmall part of the Barons of this Realme began to abhorre the Tyranny of the Biſhops: God did ſo open their eyes, by the light of his Word, that they could cleerly diſcerne betwixt Idolatry, and the true honouring of God: Yea, men almoſt univerſally began to doubt whether they could (God not offended) give their bodily preſence to the Maſſe, or yet offer their children to the Papiſticall Baptiſme. The doubts when the moſt godly, and the moſt learned in *Europe* had anſwered, both by word and writing, affirming, *That neither of both we might do, without perill of our ſouls*, we began to be more troubled: For then alſo began men of eſtimation, and thoſe that bare rule amongſt us, to examine themſelves concerning their duties, as well towards Reformation of Religion, as towards the juſt defence of their brethren moſt cruelly perſecuted. And ſo began divers queſtions to be moved; to wit, *If that with ſafe conſcience ſuch as were Judges, Lords, and Rulers of the People, might ſerve the higher Powers in maintaining of Idolatry, in perſecuting their Brethren, and in ſuppreſſing Chriſts Truth*: Or, *Whether they to whom God in ſome caſe hath committed the Sword of Juſtice, might ſuffer the blood of their Brethren to be ſhed in their preſence, without any declaration that ſuch Tyranny diſpleaſed them.* By the plain Scriptures it was found, *That a lively faith required a plaine Confeſſion when Chriſts Truth is oppugned, That not onely are they guilty that do evil, but alſo they that conſent to evil.* And plain it is, That they conſent to evil, who ſeeing iniquity openly committed, by their ſilence ſeem to juſtifie and avow whatſoever is done.

The firſt doute.

The ſecond.

Note.

Scriptures anſwering the doubts.

These things being reſolved, and ſufficiently proved by evident Scriptures of God, we began every man to look more diligently to his Salvation: For the Idolatry and Tyranny of the Clergy (called the Church-men) was and is ſo manifeſt, that whoſoever doth deny it, declareth himſelf ignorant of God, and enemy to Chriſt Jeſus. We therefore, with humble confeſſion of our former offences, with Faſting, and Supplication unto God, began to ſeek ſome remedy in ſo preſent a danger.

And

And firſt it was concluded, *That the Brethren in every Towne at certaine times ſhould aſſemble together, to Common Prayers, to exerciſe, in reading of the Scriptures, till it ſhould pleaſe God to give the gift of Exhortation by Sermon unto ſome, for the Comfort and Inſtruction of the reſt.* Anno

And this our weake beginning God did ſo bleſſe, that within a few Moneths the hearts of many were ſo ſtrengthned, that we ſought to have the face of a Church amongſt us, and open crimes to be puniſhed without reſpect of perſons: And for that purpoſe by common Election, were Elders appointed, to whom the whole Brethren promiſed Obedience: For at that time we had no publike Miniſters of the Word; onely did certaine zealous men (amongſt whom was the Laird of *Dun*, *David Forreſſe*, Maſter *Robert Lockhart*, Maſter *Robert Hammilton*, *William Harlawe*, and others) exhort their Brethren, according to the gifts and graces granted unto them. But ſhortly after did God ſtirre up his ſervant *Paul Methuen* (his latter fall ought not to deface the work of God in him) who in boldneſſe of ſpirit began openly to Preach Chriſt Jeſus in *Dundie*, in divers parts of *Angus*, and in *Fyfe*; and ſo did God worke with him, that many began openly to renounce their old Idolatry, and to ſubmit themſelves to Chriſt Jeſus, and unto his bleſſed Ordinances; Inſomuch that the Towne of *Dundie* began to erect the face of a Publike Church Reformed, in the which the Word was openly Preached, and Chriſts Sacraments truely miniſtred. This was called the privie Church.

In this meane time did God ſend to us our deare Brother *John Willock*, a man godly, learned, and grave, who after his ſhort abode at *Dundie*, repaired to *Edinburgh*, and there (notwithſtanding his long and dangerous ſickneſſe) did ſo encourage the Brethren by godly Exhortations, that we began to deliberate upon ſome publike Reformation; For the corruption in Religion was ſuch, that with ſafe conſcience we could no longer ſuſtaine it: Yet becauſe we would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the ſacred Authority, with one conſent, after the deliberation of many dayes, it was concluded, That by our publike and common Supplication, *John Willock.*

Anno plication, we ſhould attempt the favour, ſupport, and aſſiſtance of the Queen then Regent, to a godly Reformation: And for that purpoſe, with all diligence after we had drawn our Oration and Petition as followeth, we appointed from amongſt us a man whoſe age and yeers deſerved Reverence, whoſe honeſty and worſhip might have craved audience of any Magiſtrate on the earth; and whoſe faithfull Service to the Authority at all times hath been ſuch, that in him could fall no ſuſpition of unlawfull diſobedience. This Orator was that ancient and honourable Father, Sir *James Sandelandes* of *Calder*, Knight; to whom we gave Commiſſion and Power in all our names then preſent, before the Queene Regent to ſpeak this:

The Laird of *Calder*, elder.

The

Anno

THE FIRST ORATION AND PETITION

Of the Proteſtants of *SCOTLAND*: *To the Queene Regent.*

ALbeit we have of long time contained our ſelves in that modeſtie (moſt noble Princeſſe) that neither the exile of body, loſſe of goods, nor periſhing of this mortall life, was able to make us to aske at your Majeſtie Reformation, and redreſſe of thoſe wrongs, and of that ſore griefe patiently borne by us in bodies and mindes of long time: Yet are we now by very conſcience, and by the feare of our God compelled to crave at your Majeſties feet, remedy againſt the moſt unjuſt tyrannie, uſed againſt your Majeſties moſt obedient Subjects, by thoſe that be called the State Eccleſiaſticall. Your Majeſtie cannot be ignorant what controverſie hath been, and yet is, concerning the true Religion, and right worſhipping of God. And how the Clergie (as they will be termed) uſurpe to themſelves ſuch Empire above the conſciences of men; That whatſoever they command, muſt be obeyed; and whatſoever they forbid, muſt be avoided; without further reſpect to Gods Pleaſure, Commandment, or Will, revealed to us in his moſt holy Word; or elſe there abideth nothing for us but Fagot, Fire, and Sword. By the which many of our brethren moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly have been ſtrucken of late yeeres within this Realme, which now we finde to trouble and wound our conſciences. For we acknowledge it to have been our bounden duties before God, either to have defended our brethren from thoſe cruell murtherers (ſeeing we are a part of that power which God hath eſtabliſhed in this Realme) or elſe to have given open teſtification of our Faith with them: Which now we offer our ſelves to do,

The tyrannie of the Clergy

Anno do, leſt that by our continuall ſilence we ſhall ſeem to juſtifie the cruell tyrannie of thoſe men, which doth not onely diſpleaſe us: but your Majeſties wiſdome moſt prudently doth foreſee, that for the quieting of this inteſtine diſſention, a publike Reformation, as well in the Religion, as in the temporall government were moſt neceſſary. And to the performance thereof, moſt gravely and moſt godly (as we are informed) ye have exhorted as well the Clergie as the Nobility, to imploy their ſtudie, diligence, and care. We therefore, in conſcience, dare not any longer diſſemble in ſo weighty a matter, which concerneth the glory of God, and our ſalvation: Neither now dare we withdraw our preſence or counſell, or Petitions, leſt that the adverſaries hereafter ſhould object to us, That place was granted for Reformation, and yet no man ſued for the ſame: and ſo ſhall our ſilence be prejudiciall unto us in time to come. And therefore we knowing no order placed in this Realme, but your Majeſtie, and your grave counſell, ſet to amend, as well the diſorder Eccleſiaſticall, as the defaults in the temporall Regiment, moſt humbly proſtrate our ſelves before your feet, asking juſtice and your gracious help, againſt them that falſly traduce and accuſe us, as that we were Hereticks, and Schiſmatikes, under that colour ſeeking our deſtruction, for that we ſeek the amendment of their corrupted lives, and Chriſts Religion to be reſtored to the originall puritie. Further we crave of your Majeſtie with open and patent eares, to heare thoſe our ſubſequent requeſts, and to the joy and ſatisfaction of our troubled conſciences, bountifully to grant the ſame, unleſſe by Gods plaine Word any be able to prove that juſtly they ought to be denied.

Note.

The Petition.

Here beginneth the particular Demands.

FIrſt, Humbly we ask, That as we have by the Lawes of this Realme, after long debate obtained to reade the holy Books of the Old and New Teſtament, in our Vulgar Tongue, as Spirituall food to our ſoules: ſo from henceforth it may be lawfull, that we may meet publikely or privately to our Common-Prayers in our Vulgar Tongue, to the end that we may increaſe and grow in knowledge, and be induced by fervent and oft Prayer, to commend to God the holy Univerſall Church, the Queene our Soveraigne, her honourable and gracious Husband, the abilitie of their ſucceſſion, your Majeſtie Regent, the Nobilitie, and whole State of this Realme.

Secondly, If it ſhall happen in our ſaid meetings any hard place of Scripture to be read, of which, without explanation, hardly can ariſe any profit to the hearers, that it ſhall be lawfull to any qualified perſons in knowledge, being preſent, to interpret and open up the ſaid hard places, to Gods glory, and to the profit of the Auditory. And if any thinke that this libertie ſhould be occaſion of Confuſion, Debate, or Hereſie, we are content that it be provided that the ſaid Interpretation ſhall underly the judgement of the godly, and moſt learned within the Realme at this time.

Thirdly, That the holy Sacrament of Baptiſme may be uſed in the Vulgar Tongue, that the God-fathers and Witneſſes may not onely underſtand the points of the League and Contract made betwixt God and the Infant, but alſo that the Church then aſſembled, more gravely may be informed and inſtructed of their

duties,

duties, which at all times they owe to God, according to that promiſe made unto him, when they were received into his houſhold by the lavacre of ſpirituall regeneration. Anno

Fourthly, We deſire that the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or of his bleſſed Body and Blood may likewiſe be miniſtred unto us in the Vulgar Tongue, and in both kindes, according to the plaine Inſtitution of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus.

And laſtly, We moſt humbly require, That the wicked, ſlanderous, and deteſtable life of Prelats, and of the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall, may be reformed, that the people by them have not occaſion (as of many dayes they have had) to contemne their Miniſterie, and the Preaching, whereof they ſhould be Meſſengers. And if they ſuſpect that we rather envying their honours, or coveting their riches and poſſeſſions, then zealouſly deſiring their amendment and ſalvation, do travell and labour for this Reformation: We are content, that not onely the Rules and Precepts of the New Teſtament, but alſo the Writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly and approved Lawes of Juſtinian *the Emperour, decide the controverſie betwixt us and them. And if it ſhall be found, that either malevolently or ignorantly we aske more then theſe three forenamed have required, and continually do require of able and true Miniſters in Chriſts Church, we refuſe not correction, as your Majeſtie with right judgement ſhall think meet. But if all the forenamed ſhall condemne that which we condemne, and approve that which we require; Then we moſt earneſtly beſeech your Majeſtie, that notwithſtanding the long cuſtome which they have had to live at their luſt, that they be compelled either to deſiſt from Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration, or to diſcharge their duties, as becometh true Miniſters. So that the grave and godly face of the Primitive Church reduced; Ignorance may be expelled; True Doctrine and good Manners may once againe appeare in the Church in this Realme. Theſe things we, as moſt obedient Subjects, require of your Majeſtie, in the Name of the eternall God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in preſence of whoſe Throne judiciall, ye, and all other that heere in earth beareth authority ſhall give account of your temporall regiment. The ſpirit of the Lord Jeſus move your Majeſties heart to Juſtice and Equity.* The offer.

Theſe our Demands being propoſed, the State Eccleſiaſticall began to ſtorme, and to deviſe all manner of lies to deface the equitie of our cauſe. They bragged as that they would have publike Diſputation, which alſo we moſt earneſtly required, two things being provided; Firſt, That the plaine and written Scriptures of God ſhould decide all Controverſies: Secondly, That our brethren, of whom ſome were then exiled, and by them unjuſtly condemned, might have free acceſſe to the ſaid Diſputation, and ſafe-conduct to return to their dwelling places, notwithſtanding any Proceſſe which before had been laid againſt them in matters concerning Religion. But theſe being by them utterly denied (for no Judge would they admit, but themſelves, their Counſels, and Canon Law) They and their faction began to draw certain Articles of reconciliation, promiſing unto us, If we would admit the Maſſe to ſtand in its former reverence and eſtimation, Grant Purgatory after this life, Confeſſe prayer to Saints, and for the dead, and ſuffer them to enjoy their accuſtomed Rents, Poſſeſſion, and Honour: That then they would grant us to pray, The practiſe of Satan. Diſputation with condition The offer of the Papiſts.

Anno

and baptize in the Vulgar Tongue, ſo that it were done ſecretly, and not in the open aſſembly. But the groſeneſſe of theſe Articles was ſuch, that with one voice we refuſed them, and conſtantly craved juſtice of the Queene Regent, and a reaſonable anſwer of our former Petitions. The Queene then Regent, a woman crafty, diſſimulate, and falſe-thinking, to make her profit of both parties, gave to us permiſſion to uſe our ſelves godly, according to our deſires provided, that we ſhould not make publike aſſemblies in *Edinburgh* nor *Lieth*, and did promiſe her aſſiſtance to our Preachers, untill ſome uniform order might be eſtabliſhed by a Parliament. To them (we mean the Clergie) ſhe quietly gave ſignification of her minde, promiſing that how ſoon any opportunity ſhould ſerve, ſhe ſhould ſo put order to theſe matters, that after they ſhould not be troubled: for ſome ſay, they gave her a large purſe 40000. l. *Turn.* or *Scots*, gathered by the Laird of *Earleſhale*. We nothing ſuſpecting her doubleneſſe nor falſhood, departed fully contented with her anſwer, and did uſe our ſelves ſo quietly, that for her pleaſure we put ſilence to *John Dowglas*, who publikely would have preached in the Town of *Lieth*; for in all things we ſought the contentment of her minde, ſo far as God ſhould not be offended againſt us, for obeying her in things as we thought unlawfull.

The grant of the Queene Regent.

Shortly after theſe things, that cruell Tyrant and unmercifull hypocrite, falſly called, Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, apprehended that bleſſed Martyr of Chriſt Jeſus, *Walter Mill*, a man of decrepite age, whom moſt cruelly and moſt unjuſtly he put to death by fire in Saint *Andrews*, the twenty eighth day of April, in the yeere of God 1558. Which thing did ſo highly offend the hearts of all godly, that immediatly after his death, began a new fervencie among the whole people, yea, even in the Towne of Saint *Andrews*, began the people plainely to condemne ſuch unjuſt crueltie. And in teſtification that they would his death ſhould abide in recent memory, there was caſt together a great heap of ſtones in the place where he was burnt. The Biſhop and Prieſts thereat offended, cauſed once or twice to remove the ſame, with denunciation of curſing, if any man ſhould there lay any ſtones. But in vaine was that winde blowne, for ſtill was the heape made, till that the Prieſts and Papiſts did ſteale away by night the ſtones to build their walls, and to other their private uſes.

The apprehenſion of *Walter Mill*.

1558.

Note.

We ſuſpecting nothing that the Queene Regent was conſenting to the forenamed murther, moſt humbly did complain of ſuch unjuſt crueltie, requiring that juſtice in ſuch caſes ſhould be miniſtred with greater indifferencie. She as a woman born to diſſemble, and deceive, began with us to lament the cruelty of the Biſhop, excuſing her ſelfe as innocent in that cauſe, for that the ſentence was given without her knowledge. Becauſe the man ſometimes had been a Prieſt; therefore the Biſhops Officiall did proceed upon him without any commiſſion of the Civill authority, *ex officio*, as they terme it. We yet nothing ſuſpecting her falſhood, required ſome order to be taken againſt ſuch enormities, which ſhe promiſed as oft before. But becauſe ſhortly after there was a Parliament to be holden, for certain affaires, pertaining rather to the Queens profit particular, then to the commodity of the Common-wealth, we thought good to

The hypocriſie of the Queene Regent.

expoſe

expoſe our matter unto the whole Parliament, and by them to ſeek ſome redreſſe: we therefore with one conſent did offer to the Queen and Parliament a Letter, in this Tenor: Anno

The Forme of the Letter given in Parliament.

UNto your Majeſty, and unto your Right honorable Lords, Barons, and Burgeſſes of this preſent Parl. Humbly means, and ſheweth your Majeſties faithfull and obedient ſubjects, That where we are daily moleſted, ſlandered, and injured by wicked and ignorant perſons, place-holders of the Miniſters of the Church, who moſt untruely ceaſe not to infame us, as hereticks, & under that name they moſt cruelly have perſecuted divers of our brethren; and farther intend to execute their malice againſt us, unleſſe by ſome godly order their fury and rage be bridled and ſtayed. And yet in us they are able to prove no crime worthy of puniſhment, unleſſe that to reade the holy Scriptures in our Aſſemblies, to invocate the Name of God in publike Prayers, with all ſobriety to interpret and open the places of Scripture that be read to the further edification of the brethren aſſembled; and truely, according to Chriſt Jeſus his holy Inſtitution, to miniſter the Sacraments, be crimes worthy of puniſhment: other crimes (we ſay) in us they are not able to convince. And to the premiſes we are compelled, for that the ſaid Place-holders diſcharge no part of their duties rightly to us, neither yet to the people ſubject to us; and therefore, unleſſe we ſhould declare our ſelves altogether unmindfull of our own ſalvation, we are compelled in very conſcience to ſeek how that we and our brethren may be delivered from the thraldom of Sathan: For now it hath pleaſed God to open our eyes, and manifeſtly we ſee, That without extreme danger of our ſouls, we may in no wayes communicate with the damnable Idolatry, and intolerable abuſes of the Papiſticall Church. And therefore moſt humbly require we of your Majeſty, and of your Right Honorable Lords, Barons, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, prudently to weigh, and as it becometh juſt Judges, to grant theſe our moſt juſt and reaſonable Petitions:

First, *Seeing that the controverſie in Religion which hath long continued betwixt the Proteſtants of Almany, Helvetia, and other Provinces; and the papiſticall Church is not yet decided by a lawfull and generall Counſell: And ſeeing that our conſciences are likewiſe touched with the fear of God, as was theirs in the beginning of their controverſie, we moſt humbly deſire, That all ſuch Acts of Parliament as in the time of darkneſſe gave power to the Church-men to execute their tyrannie againſt us, by reaſon that we to them were delated as hereticks, may be ſuſpended and abrogated, till a Generall Councell lawfully aſſembled, have decided all controverſies in Religion. And leſt that this mutation ſhould ſeem to ſet all men at liberty to live as they liſt, we ſecondarily require that it be Enacted by this preſent Parliament, That the Prelats and their Officers be removed from place of Judgement, onely granting unto them nevertheleſſe the place of accuſators in the preſence of a Temporall Judge; before whom the Church-men accuſators ſhall be bounden to call any by them accuſed of hereſie: To whom alſo they ſhall be bounden to deliver an authenticke Copy of all Depoſitions, Accuſations, and Proceſſe laid againſt any perſon accuſed. The Judge likewiſe* Proteſtation.

Anno

delivering the ſame to the partie accuſed, aſſigning unto him a competent terme to anſwer to the ſame, after he hath taken ſufficient caution. De judicio ſiſti.

Thirdly, We require, That all lawfull defences be granted to the perſon accuſed; as, if he be able to prove that the witneſſes be perſons unable by Law to teſtifie againſt him, that then their Accuſations and Depoſitions be null, according to juſtice.

Item, *That place be granted to the party accuſed to explaine and interpret his owne minde and meaning; which confeſſion we require be inſerted in publike Acts, and be preferred to the depoſition of any witneſſe,* ſeeing that none ought to ſuffer for Religion, that is not found obſtinate in his damnable opinion.

Laſt, We require that our brethren be not condemned for heretickes, unleſſe by the manifeſt Word of God they be convinced to have erred from that faith which the holy Spirit witneſſeth to be neceſſary to Salvation: And if ſo they be, we refuſe not but that they be puniſhed according to juſtice; Unleſſe by wholeſome admonition they can be reduced to a better minde.

Theſe things require we to be conſidered of by you, who are in the Place of the Eternall God (who is God of Order and Truth) even in ſuch ſort, as ye will anſwer in preſence of his Throne judiciall: Requiring further, That favourably you would have reſpect to the tenderneſſe of our conſciences, and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this Common-wealth, if the tyranny of the Prelates, and of their adherents be not bridled by God and juſt Lawes. God move your hearts deeply to conſider your owne duties, and our preſent troubles.

Theſe our Demands did we firſt preſent to the Queen Regent, becauſe that we were determined to enterpriſe nothing without her knowledge, moſt humbly requiring her favourably to aſſiſt us in our juſt action. She ſpared not amiable looks, and good words in abundance. But alwayes ſhe kept our Petition cloſe in her pocket. When we required ſecretly of her Majeſty that our Petition ſhould be propoſed to the whole Aſſembly: She anſwered, That ſhe thought not that expedient; for then would the whole Eccleſiaſticall Eſtate be contrary to her proceedings, which at that time was great: For the Matrimoniall Crowne was asked, and in that Parliament granted. But, ſaid ſhe, how ſoon order can be taken with theſe things, which now may be hindred by the Churchmen, ye ſhall know my good minde. And in the meane time whatſoever I can grant unto you, ſhall gladly be granted. We yet nothing ſuſpecting her falſhood, were content to give place for a time to her pleaſure and pretended reaſon. And yet thought we expedient ſomewhat to proteſt, before the diſſolution of the Parliament: For our Petition was manifeſtly knowne to the whole Aſſembly; as alſo how that for the Queens pleaſure we had ceaſed to purſue the uttermoſt. Our Proteſtation was formed in manner following.

The Forme of the Proteſtation made in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, Anno 1558.

IT is not unknowne to this Honourable Parliament, what controverſie is now lately riſen betwixt thoſe that will be called the Prelats and Rulers

Rulers of the Church, and a great number of us the Nobility and Communalty of the Realme, for the true worſhipping of God, for the duty of Miniſters, for the right Adminiſtration of Chriſt Jeſus holy Sacraments. How that we have complained by our ſupplication to the Queen Regent, That our conſciences are burthened with unprofitable Ceremonies; And that we are compelled to adhere to Idolary: That ſuch as take upon them the Office Eccleſiaſticall, diſcharge no part thereof as becometh true Miniſters to do; and finally, That we and our brethren are moſt injuriouſly oppreſſed by their uſurped authority. And alſo we ſuppoſe it is a thing ſufficiently known, That we were of minde at this preſent Parliament to ſeek redreſſe of ſuch enormities: but conſidering that the troubles of the time do not ſuffer ſuch Reformation as we by Gods plain Word do require, we are enforced to delay that which moſt earneſtly we deſire: And yet leſt that our ſilence ſhould give occaſion to our adverſaries to thinke that we repent of our former enterpriſers, we cannot ceaſe to proteſt, for remedy againſt that moſt unjuſt tyranny which we heretofore have moſt patiently ſuſtained. Anno

And firſt we proteſt, *That ſeeing we cannot obtain a juſt Reformation according to Gods Word, that it be lawfull to us to uſe our ſelves in matters of Religion and conſcience, as we muſt anſwer unto God, unto ſuch time as our adverſaries be able to prove themſelves the true Miniſters of Chriſts Church, and to purge themſelves of ſuch crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering our ſelves to prove the ſame whenſoever the ſacred Authority pleaſe to give us audience.*

Secondly we proteſt, *That neither we, nor yet any other of the godly that liſt to joyn with us in the true Faith which is grounded upon the invincible Word of God, ſhall incur any danger of life or lands, or any politicall pain, for not obſerving ſuch Acts as heretofore have paſſed in favour of our adverſaries, neither yet for violating of ſuch Rites as man without Gods Commandment or Word hath commanded.*

We thirdly proteſt, *That if any tumult or uprore ſhall ariſe amongſt the members of this Realme for the diverſity of Religion; and if it ſhall chance that abuſes be violently reformed, that the crime thereof be not imputed to us, who moſt humbly do now ſeek all to be reformed by an Order. But rather whatſoever inconvenience ſhall happen to follow for lack of Order taken, that may be imputed to thoſe that do refuſe the ſame.* Let the Papiſts obſerve. *Note.*

And laſt we proteſt, *That theſe our requeſts, proceeding from conſcience, do tend to none other end, but to the reformation of the abuſes in Religion onely: Moſt humbly beſeeching the ſacred Authority to take us faithfull and obedient ſubjects into protection againſt our adverſaries, and to ſhew unto us ſuch indifferency in our moſt juſt Petition, as it becometh Gods Lieutenants to do to thoſe that in his Name do call for defence, againſt cruell oppreſſors,* and blood-thirſty Tyrants.

This our Proteſtation publikely read, we deſired it to have been inſerted in the common Regiſter, but that, by the labor of enemies, was denied unto us. Nevertheleſſe the Queen Regent ſaid, *We will remember what is proteſted, and we ſhall put good order after this to all things that now be in controverſie.* And thus after ſhe by craft had obtained her purpoſe, we departed ed, in good hope of her favour, praiſing God inour hearts, that ſhe was

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ſo well inclined towards godlineſſe. The good opinion that we had of her ſincerity, cauſed us not onely to ſpend our goods, and hazard our bodies at her pleaſure, but alſo by our publike Letters written to that excellent ſervant of God *John Calvine* we did praiſe and commend her, for her excellent knowledge in Gods Word, and good will towards the advancement of his glory; requiring of him, That by his grave counſell, and godly exhortation, he would animate her Majeſtie conſtantly to follow that, which godlily ſhe had begun. We did farther ſharply rebuke both by word and writing, all ſuch as appeared to ſuſpect in her any venom or hypocriſie, or that were contrary to that opinion which we had conceived of her godly minde. But how far we were deceived in our opinion, and abuſed by her craft, did ſuddenly appear: For how ſoon that all things pertaining to the commodity of *France* were granted by us, and that Peace was contracted betwixt King *Philip* and *France*, and *England* and us, ſhe began to ſpue forth, and diſcloſe the latent venom of her double heart. Then began ſhe to frowne, and to look frowardly to all ſuch as ſhe knew did favour the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. She commanded her houſhold to uſe all abominations at *Eaſter*; and ſhe firſt her ſelf, to give example to others, did communicate to the Idol in open audience; ſhe controlled her houſhold, and would know where that every one received ther Sacrament. And it appeared, That after that day that malice took more violent and ſtrong poſſeſſion in her, then it did before; for from that day forward ſhe appeared altogether altered, inſomuch that her countenance and facts did declare the venom of her heart: For incontinent ſhe cauſed our Preachers to be ſummoned; for whom when we made interceſſion, beſeeching her Majeſty not to moleſt them in their Miniſtry, unleſſe any man were able to convince them of falſe Doctrine, ſhe could not bridle her tongue from open blaſphemy, but proudly ſhe ſaid, *In deſpight of you and your Miniſters both, they ſhall be baniſhed out of Scotland, albeit they preached as true as ever did Saint* Paul. Which proud and blaſpemous anſwer, did greatly aſtoniſh us: and yet ceaſed we not moſt humbly to ſeek her favour; and by great diligence, at laſt we obtained that the Summons at that time were delayed: For to her were ſent *Alexander* Earl of *Glenclarne*, and Sir *Hues Campbell* of *Lowdone* Knight, Sheriff of *Air*, to reaſon with her, and to crave ſome performance of her manifold promiſes; to whom ſhe anſwered, *It becomes not ſubjects to burthen their Princes with promiſes, further then it pleaſed them to keep the ſame.* Both the Noble men faithfully and boldly diſcharged their duty, and plainly forewarned her of the inconveniences that were to follow: wherewith ſhe ſomewhat aſtonied, ſaid ſhe would adviſe.

Letters to Iohn Calvine.

Blaſphemy.

Note. She had gotten her leſſon from the Cardinall.

Forefather to the now Earle of *Lowdone*, Chancellor.

Queen Regents anſwer.

In this mean time did the Town of *Perth*, called Saint *Johnſton*, embrace the Truth, which did provoke her to a new fury; in which ſhe willed the Lord *Ruthuein* Proveſt of that Towne, to ſuppreſſe all ſuch Religion there. To the which when he anſwered, That he could make their bodies to come to her Majeſty, & to proſtrate themſelves before her, till that ſhe was fully ſatiate with her blood: but to cauſe them to do againſt their conſcience, he could not promiſe. She in fury did anſwer, That he

S. Johnſton embraced the Goſpel.

Lord Ruthuens anſwer.

he was too mallapart, to give her ſuch anſwer, affirming that both he and they ſhould repent it. She ſolicited M. *James Haliburntoun* Proveſt of *Dundie*, to apprehend *Paul Methuen*, who fearing God, gave ſecret advertiſement to the man to avoid the Town for a time. She ſent forth ſuch as ſhe thought moſt able to perſwade at *Eaſter*, to cauſe *Montroſſe*, *Dundie*, S. *Johnſton*, and other ſuch places as had received the Goſpel, to communicate with the Idoll of the Maſſe, but they could profit nothing, the hearts of many were bent to follow the Trueth revealed, and did abhorre Superſtition and Idolatry. Whereat ſhe more highly commoved, did Summon again all the Preachers to appear at *Sterlin*, the tenth day of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1559. Which underſtood by us, we with all humble obedience ſought the means how ſhe might be appeaſed, and our Preachers not moleſted: but when we could prevaile nothing, it was concluded by the whole brethren, That the Gentlemen of every Countrey ſhould accompany their Preachers, to the day and place appointed; Whereto all men were moſt willing. And for that purpoſe, the Town of *Dundie*, the Gentlemen of *Angus* and *Mernes*, paſſed forward with their Preachers to S. *Johnſton*, without Armour, as peaceable men, minding onely to give confeſſion with their Preachers. And leſt that ſuch a multitude ſhould have given feare to the Queene Regent, the Laird of *Dun*, a zealous, prudent, and godly man, paſſed before to the Queene, then being at *Sterlin*, to declare to her, That the cauſe of their Convocation, was onely to give confeſſion with their Preachers, and to aſſiſt them in their juſt defence. She underſtanding the fervencie of the people, began to uſe craft with him, ſoliciting him to ſtay the multitude, and the Preachers alſo, with promiſe that ſhe would take ſome better order. He a man moſt gentle of nature, and moſt addict to pleaſe her in all things not repugnant to God, wrote to thoſe that then were aſſembled at S. *Johnſton*, to ſtay, and not to come forward, ſhewing what promiſe and hope he had of the Queens favour. At the reading of his Letters, ſome did ſmell the craft and deceit, and perſwaded to paſſe forward, untill that a diſcharge of the former Summons ſhould be had, alleadging that otherwiſe their Proceſſe of Rebellion ſhould be executed againſt the Preachers: And ſo ſhould not onely they, but alſo all ſuch as did accompany them, be involved in a like crime. Others did reaſon, That the Queens promiſe was not to be ſuſpected, neither yet the Laird of *Duns* requeſt to be contemned, and ſo did the whole multitude with their Preachers ſtay.

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The firſt aſſembly at S. Johnſton.

The Laird of Dun, ſtayed the congregation, and the Preachers.

Note.

In this mean time that the Preachers were ſummoned, to wit, the ſecond of May 1559. arrived *John Knox* from *France*, who lodging two nights onely in *Edinburgh*, hearing the day appointed to his brethren, repaired to *Dundie*, where he earneſtly required them, That he might be permitted to aſſiſt his brethren, and to give confeſſion of his Faith with them, which granted unto him, he departed unto S. *Johnſton* with them, where he began to exhort, according to the grace of God granted unto him. The Queen perceiving that the Preachers did not appear, began to utter her malice; and notwithſtanding any requeſt made to the contrary, gave commandment to put them to the *Horne*; inhibiting all men, under pain of high Rebellion, to aſſiſt, comfort, receive, or maintain them in any ſort: which

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which extremity perceived by the ſaid Laird of *Dun*, he prudently withdrew himſelfe (for otherwiſe by all appearance he had not eſcaped impriſonment.) For the Maſter of *Maxwell*, a man zealous and ſtout in Gods Cauſe (as then appeared) under the cloke of another ſmall crime, was that ſame day committed to ward, becauſe he did boldly affirme, That to the uttermoſt of his power, he would aſſiſt the Preachers and the Congregation, notwithſtanding any ſentence which unjuſtly was, or ſhould be pronounced againſt them. The Laird of *Dun* coming to S. *Johnſton*, expoſed the caſe even as it was, and did conceal nothing of the Queens craft and falſhood: Which underſtood, the multitude was ſo inflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the Preachers, nor the commandment of the Magiſtrate, ſtay them from deſtroying the places of Idolatry. The manner whereof was: The Preachers had declared before how odious Idolatry was in Gods preſence: What commandment he had given for the deſtruction of the monuments thereof: What Idolatry, and what abomination was in the Maſſe. It chanced that the next day, which was the eleventh of May, after that the Preachers were exiled, that after the Sermon, which was very vehement againſt Idolatry, a certaine Prieſt in contempt would go to the Maſſe; and to declare his malapart preſumption, he would open up a glorious Tabernacle, which ſtood upon the high Altar: There ſtood beſide, certain godly men, and amongſt others, a young boy, who cryed with a bold voice, *This is intolerable, that when God by his Word hath plainely condemned Idolatry, we ſhall ſtand and ſee it uſed in deſpight.* The Prieſt hereat offended, gave the childe a great blow; who in anger took up a ſtone, and caſting at the Prieſt, hit the Tabernacle, and brake down an Image: And immediatly, the whole multitude threw ſtones, and put hands on the ſaid Tabernacle, and on all other Monuments of Idolatry; Which they diſpatched before the tenth man in the Town were adverтiſed (for the moſt part were gone to diner) which noiſed abroad, the whole multitude aſſembled, not of the Gentlemen, neither of them that were earneſt Profeſſours, but of the raſcall multitude, who finding nothing to do in that Church, did run without deliberation to the *Gray* and *Black-Friers*, and notwithſtanding that they had within them very ſtrong guards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burſt up. The firſt invaſion was upon Idolatry, and thereafter the common people began to ſeek ſome ſpoile. And in very deed the *Gray-Friers* was a place ſo well provided, that unleſſe honeſt men had ſeen the ſame, we would have feared to have reported what proviſion they had, their ſheets, blankets, beds, and coverlets were ſuch, that no Earle in *Scotland* had better: Their naperie was fine, they were but 8 perſons in the Convent, and yet had they 8 puncheons of ſalt Beef (conſider the time of the yeere, the eleventh of May) wine, beere, and ale, beſide ſtore of victuals belonging thereto. The like abundance was not in the Black-Friers, and yet there was more then became men profeſſing poverty. The ſpoile was permitted to the poore: For ſo had the Preachers before threatned all men, That for covetouſneſſe ſake, none ſhould put their hand to ſuch a Reformation, that no honeſt man was inriched thereby the value of a groat. Their conſcience ſo moved them, that they ſuffered

Note. At this time the Profeſſors of the Goſpel were called the Congregation

The taking down of the Friers in Saint *Johnſton.*

Note.

The *Gray friers* their proviſion.

ſuffered thoſe hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places. The Prior of the *Charter-houſe* was permitted to take with him even as much gold and ſilver as he was able to carry. So were mens conſciences beaten with the Word, that they had no reſpect to their own particular profit, but onely to aboliſh Idolatry, the places and Monuments thereof, in which they were ſo buſie, and ſo laborious, that within two dayes theſe three great places, Monuments of Idolatry, to wit, the Black and Gray Theeves, and *Charter-houſe* Monks (a building of wonderous coſt and greatneſſe) was ſo deſtroyed, that the walls onely did remain of all thoſe great edifices. Which reported to the Queen, ſhe was ſo inraged, That ſhe did vow utterly to deſtroy S. *Johnſton*, man, woman, and childe, and to conſume the ſame by fire, and thereafter to ſalt it, in ſigne of a perpetuall deſolation. We ſuſpecting nothing ſuch cruelty, but thinking that ſuch words might eſcape her in choler without purpoſe determined, becauſe ſhe was a woman, ſet on fire by the complaints of thoſe hypocrites, who flocked unto her as Ravens to a carion. We (we ſay) ſuſpecting nothing ſuch beaſtly cruelty, returned to our own houſes: leaving in S. *Johnſton*, *John Knox* to inſtruct the people, becauſe they were yong and rude in Chriſt. But ſhe, ſet on fire partly by her own malice, partly by commandment of her friends in *France*, and not a little by bribes, which ſhe and *Monſieur Doſell* received from the Biſhops and the Prieſts here at home, did continue ſtill in her rage. And firſt ſhe ſent for all the Nobility, to whom ſhe complained, That we meaned nothing but Rebellion: She did grievouſly lament the deſtruction of the *Charter-houſe*, becauſe it was a Kings foundation, and there was the tombe of King *James* the firſt, and by ſuch other perſwaſions ſhe made the moſt part of them grant to purſue us. And then incontinent ſent ſhe for her French men: For that was, and ever hath been her joy, to ſee Scottiſh men dip one with anothers blood. No man was at that time more franke againſt us then was Duke *Hamilton*, led by that cruell beaſt the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, and by thoſe that yet abuſe him, the Abbot of *Kilvinning*, and *Matthew Hamilton* of *Milburne*, two chiefe enemies to the Duke and to his whole houſe, but in ſo far as thereby they may procure their own particular profit. Theſe and ſuch other peſtilent Papiſts ceaſed not to caſt fagots on the fire continually, crying, Forward upon theſe Hereticks, we ſhall once rid this Realme of them. The certaintie hereof coming to our knowledge, ſome of us repaired to the Towne againe, about the two and twentieth day of May, and there did abide for the comfort of our brethren: Where after Invocation of the Name of God, we began to put the Town and our ſelves in ſuch ſtrength, as we thought might beſt ſerve for our juſt defence. And becauſe we did not utter deſpaire of the Queens favour, we cauſed to forme a Letter to her Majeſtie, as followeth.

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Note.

Note.

A godly vow.

The complaint of the Queene Regent.

Note.

To the Queenes Majeſtie Regent, all humble obedience and dutie premiſed.

AS heretofore with jeopard of our lives, and yet with willing hearts we have ſerved the authoritie of Scotland, *and your Majeſtie now Regent in this*

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Realme, in ſervice to our bodies dangerous, and painefull, ſo now with moſt dolorous mindes we are conſtrained by unjuſt tyrannie purpoſed againſt us, to declare unto your Majeſtie, That except this crueltie be ſtayed by your wiſdome, we ſhall be compelled to take the ſword of juſt defence, againſt all that ſhall purſue us for the matter of Religion, and for our conſcience ſake: which ought not, nor may not be ſubject to mortall creatures, further then by Gods Word man is able to prove that he hath power to command us. *We ſignifie moreover unto your Majeſtie, That if by rigour we be compelled to ſeek the extreame defence, that we will not onely notifie our innocencie and Petition to the King of* France, *to our Miſtreſſe and to her husband, but alſo to the Princes and Counſell of every Chriſtian Realme, declaring unto them, That this cruell, unjuſt, and moſt tyrannicall murther intended againſt Townes and multitudes, was, and is the onely cauſe of our revolt from our accuſtomed obedience, which in Gods preſence we faithfully promiſe to our Soveraigne Miſtreſſe, to her husband, and unto your Majeſtie Regent. Provided that our conſciences may live in that Peace and Libertie, which Chriſt Jeſus hath purchaſed to us by his blood, and that we may have his Word truely Preached, and holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred unto us, without which we firmely purpoſe never to be ſubject to mortall man: For better we think to expoſe our bodies to a thouſand deaths, then to hazard our ſouls to perpetuall damnation, by denying Chriſt Jeſus, and his manifeſt Veritie, which thing not onely do they who commit open Idolatry, but alſo all ſuch as ſeeing their brethren purſued for the cauſe of Religion, and having ſufficient means to comfort and aſſiſt them, do nevertheleſſe withdraw from them their dutifull ſupport. We would not your Majeſtie ſhould be deceived, by the falſe perſwaſions of thoſe cruell beaſts the Church-men, who affirme, That your Majeſtie needeth not greatly to regard the loſſe of us that profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus in this Realme. If (as God forbid) ye give ear to their peſtilent counſell, and ſo uſe againſt us this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, That neither ye, neither yet your poſteritie ſhall at any time after this finde that obedience and faithfull ſervice within this Realme, which at all times you have found in us. We declare our judgements freely, as true and faithfull Subjects. God move your Princely heart favourably to interpret our faithfull meaning: Further adverti ſing your Majeſtie, That the ſelfe ſame thing, together with all things that we have done, or yet intend to do, we will notifie by our Letters to the King of* France. *Asking of you, in the Name of the eternall God, and as your Majeſtie tenders the peace and quietneſſe of this Realme: That ye invade us not with any violence, till we receive anſwer from our Miſtreſſe and her husband, and from their adviſed Counſell there. And thus we commit your Majeſtie to the protection of the omnipotent. From Saint* Johnſton, *the 22 of May* 1559.

Note.

Note.

O where is this fervencie now?

O would God that the Nobility ſhould yet conſider.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your Majeſties obedient Subjects in all things, not repugnant to God.

The faithfull congregation of Chriſt Jeſus in Scotland.

To the ſame purpoſe we wrote to *Monſieur Doſell* in French, requiring of him, That by his wiſdome he would mitigate the Queenes rage, and the rage of the Prieſts, otherwiſe that flame which then began to

to burn, would ſo kindle, that when ſome men would, it could not be ſlackned. Adding further, That he declared himſelf no faithfull ſervant unto his Maſter the King of *France*, if for the pleaſure of the Prieſts he would perſecute us, and ſo compell us to take the ſword of juſt defence. In like manner we wrote to Captain *Serre la Bourſe*, and to all other Captains and French Souldiers in generall, admoniſhing them that their Vocation was not to fight againſt us naturall Scotiſh-men, nor yet that they had any ſuch Commandment of their Maſter: We beſought them therefore not to provoke us to enmity againſt them, and to conſider that they had found us favourable, in their moſt great extremities. We declared farther unto them, That if they entred in hoſtility and bloody War againſt us, that the ſame ſhould remain longer then their owne lives, to wit, even in all poſteritie to come, ſo long as naturall Scotiſh-men ſhould have power to revenge ſuch cruelty, and moſt horrible ingratitude. Theſe Letters were cauſed to be ſpread abroad in great abundance, to the end that ſome might come to the knowledge of men. The Queen Regent her Letter was laid upon her Cuſhion in the Chappel Royall at *Sterlin*, where ſhe was accuſtomed to ſit at Maſſe; ſhe looked upon it, and put in the pocket of her Gown: Monſieur *d'Oſel* and the Captains, received theirs, delivered even by their own ſouldiers (for ſome amongſt them were favourers of the Truth) who after the reading of them, began to pull their own beards, for that was the modeſt behaviour of Monſieur *d'Oſell*, when truth was told unto him, ſo that it repugned to his fantaſie. Theſe our Letters were ſuppreſſed to the utmoſt of their power, and yet they came to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the Queen and the Prieſts could not be ſtayed, but forward they move againſt us, who then were but a very few and mean number of Gentlemen in S. *Johnſton*; we perceiving the extremity to approach, did write to all brethren to repair towards us for our relief, to the which we found all men ſo ready bent, that the Work of God was evidently to be eſpied: the Tenour whereof followeth. And becauſe that we would omit no diligence to declare our innocency to all men, we formed a Letter to thoſe of the Nobility, who then perſecuted us, as after followeth:

Anno

To the Nobility of Scotland. *The Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame, deſire the ſpirit of righteous Judgement*

BEcauſe we are not ignorant that ye the Nobility of this Realme, who now perſecute us, employing your whole ſtudy and force to maintain the kingdom of Sathan, of ſuperſtition and Idolatry, are yet nevertheleſſe divided in opinion. We the Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus, by you unjuſtly perſecuted, have thought good, in one Letter, to write unto you ſeverally. Ye are divided, we ſay, in opinion; for ſome of you think that we who have taken this enterpriſe to remove Idolatry, and the Monuments of the ſame, to erect the true Preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, in the bounds committed to our Charges, are hereticks, ſeditious men, and troublers of this Commonwealth, and therefore no puniſhment is ſufficient for us; and ſo blinded with this rage, and under pretence to ſerve the Authority, ye proclaim War and deſtruction without all order of Law againſt us. To you, we ſay, that neither your blinde zeal, neither yet the colour of Authority,

The firſt of the Nobility.

Anno

ſhall excuſe you in Gods preſence, who commandeth none to ſuffer death till that he be openly convinced in judgement, to have offended againſt God, and againſt his Law written; which no mortall creature is able to prove againſt us: for whatſoever we have done, the ſame we have done at Gods commandment, who plainly commands Idolatry, and all Monuments of the ſame to be deſtroyed and aboliſhed. Our earneſt and long requeſt hath been, and is, That in open Aſſembly it may be diſpured, in preſence of indifferent auditors, Whether that theſe abominations, named *by the peſtilent Papiſts*, Religion, which they by fire and ſword defend, be the true Religion of Jeſus Chriſt or not?. Now this humble requeſt denied unto us, our lives are ſought in moſt cruell manner: And the Nobility (whoſe duty is to defend innocents, and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of Princes or Emperors) do notwithſtanding follow their appetites, and arme your ſelves againſt us your brethren, and naturall Countrey-men: yea, againſt us that be innocent and juſt, as concerning all ſuch crimes as be laid to our charges. If ye think that we be criminall, becauſe that we diſſent from your opinion, conſider, we beſeech you, that the Prophets under the Law, the Apoſtles of Chriſt Jeſus after his Aſcenſion, his Primitive Church and holy Martyrs, did diſagree from the whole world in their dayes. And will ye deny but that their action was juſt, and that all thoſe that perſecuted them were murtherers before God? May not the like be true this day? What aſſurance have ye this day of your Religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? ye have a multitude that agree with you, and ſo had they: ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not: ye have Counſells, Laws, and men of reputation, that have eſtabliſhed all things, as ye ſuppoſe: but none of all theſe can make any Religion acceptable unto God, which onely depended upon his owne will, revealed to man in his moſt ſacred Word. It is not then a wonder that ye ſleep in ſo deadly a ſecurity in the matter of your owne ſalvation; conſidering that God giveth unto you ſo manifeſt tokens, that ye and your leaders are both declined from God. For if the tree ſhall be judged by the fruit (as Chriſt Jeſus affirmeth that it muſt needs be) then of neceſſity it is, That your Prelats, and the whole rabble of their Clergie be evill trees: For if Adultery, Pride, Ambition, Drunkenneſſe, Covetouſneſſe, Inceſt, Unthankfulneſſe, Oppreſſion, Murther, Idolatry, and Blaſphemy, be evill fruits, there can none of that Generation which claim to themſelves the title of Churchmen, be judged to be good trees: For all theſe peſtilent and wicked fruits do they bring forth in greateſt abundance. And if they be evil trees (as ye your ſelves muſt be compelled to confeſſe they are) adviſe prudently with what conſciences ye can maintain them to occupy the room and place in the Lords Vine-yard. Do ye not conſider that in ſo doing ye labour to maintain the ſervants of ſin in their filthy corruption, and ſo conſequently ye labour that the devill may raigne, and ſtill abuſe this Realme by all iniquity and tyranny, and that Chriſt Jeſus and his bleſſed Goſpel be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed. The name and the cloke of the authority which ye pretend, will nothing excuſe you in Gods preſence, but rather ſhall ye bear double condemnation, for that ye burden

The conſtant requeſt of the Proteſtants of Scotland.

Note the duty of Noblemen.

Note.

Probation againſt the Papiſts.

Againſt ſuch as under colour of authority perſecute their brethren.

burden God, as that his good Ordinances were the cauſe of your iniquity: All Authority which God hath eſtabliſhed, is good and perfect, and is to be obeyed of all men, yea, under pain of damnation. But do ye not underſtand, That there is a great difference betwixt the Authority which is Gods Ordinance, and the perſons of thoſe which are placed in Authority; the Authority and Gods Ordinances can never do wrong, for it commandeth that vice and wicked men be puniſhed, and vertue with vertuous men and juſt be maintained. But the corrupt perſon placed in this Authority, may offend, and moſt commonly doth contrary to this Authority: and is then the corruption of man to be followed, by reaſon that it is clothed with the name of Authority? Or ſhall thoſe that obey the wicked commandment of thoſe that are placed in Authority, be excuſable before God? Not ſo, not ſo, but the plagues and vengeances of God taken upon Kings their ſervants and ſubjects, do witneſſe to us the plain contrary. *Pharaoh* was a King, and had his Authority of God, who commanded his ſubjects to murther and torment the Iſraelites, and at laſt moſt cruelly to perſecute their lives: But was their obedience (blinde rage it ſhould be called) excuſable before God? the Univerſall plague doth plainly declare, That the wicked Commander, and thoſe that obeyed, were alike guilty before God. And if the example of *Pharaoh* ſhall be rejected, becauſe he was an *Ethnicke*, then let us conſider the facts of *Saul*: He was a King anoynted of God, appointed to raign over his people; he commanded to perſecute *David*, becauſe (as he alleadged) *David* was a Traytor, and Uſurper of the Crowne: And likewiſe commanded *Ahimeleck* the High Prieſt and his fellows to be ſlaine: But did God approve any part of this obedience? evident it is, That he did not. And think ye that God will approve in you, that which he did condemne in others? be not deceived; with God there is no ſuch partiality. If ye obey the unjuſt commandments of wicked Rulers, ye ſhall ſuffer Gods vengeance and juſt puniſhment with them. And therefore, as ye tender your owne ſalvation, we moſt earneſtly require of you moderation, and that ye ſtay your ſelves, and the fury of others, from perſecuring of us, till our cauſe be tried in open and lawfull Judgement. And now to you who are perſwaded of the juſtice of our cauſe, who ſometimes have profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus with us, and who alſo have exhorted us to this enterpriſe, and yet have left us in our extreme neceſſity, at leaſt looke out thorow your fingers in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not unto you, we ſay, That unleſſe (all fear and worldly reſpects ſet aſide) ye joyn your ſelves with us, that as of God ye are reputed Traytors, ſo ſhall ye be excommunicated from our Society, and from all participation with us in the Adminiſtration of Sacraments: the glory of this Victory which God ſhall give to his Church, yea, even in the eyes of men, ſhall not appertain to you, but the fearful judgement which apprehended *Ananias*, and his wife *Saphira*, ſhall apprehend you and your poſterity. Ye may perchance contemn and deſpiſe the Excõmunication of the Church now by Gods mighty power erected amongſt us, as a thing of no force: But yet doubt we nothing, but that our Church, and the true Miniſters of the ſame, have the ſame power which our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus granted to

Anno

Difference betwixt the perſon and the Authority. *Note.*

Note diligently.

Pharaoh his fact

Note.

The fact of King Saul.

The ſecond ſort of the Nobility. *Note.*

Let both the one part and the other judge if God have not juſtified the cauſe of the innocents.

Anno

his Apoſtles in theſe words, *Whoſe ſins ye ſhall forgive, ſhall be forgiven; and whoſe ſins ye ſhall retain, ſhall be retained,* and that becauſe they preach, and we believe the ſame Doctrine which is contained in his moſt bleſſed Word: and therefore, except that ye will contemne Chriſt Jeſus, ye neither can deſpiſe our threatning, neither yet refuſe us calling for your juſt defence. By your fainting, and by extracting of your ſupport, the enemies are encouraged, thinking that they ſhall finde no reſiſtance: in which point, God willing, they ſhall be deceived; for if they were ten thouſand, and we but one thouſand, they ſhall not murther the leaſt of our brethren, but we (God aſſiſting us) ſhall firſt commit our lives into the hands of God for their defence. But this ſhall aggravate your condemnation, for ye declare your ſelves both Traytors to the Truth once profeſſed, and murtherers of us and of our brethren, from whom ye withdraw your dutifull and promiſed ſupport, whom your onely preſence (to mans judgement) might preſerve from this danger. For our enemies look not to the power of God, but to the force and ſtrength of man; when the number is mean to reſiſt them, then rage they as bloody wolves; but a part equall or able to reſiſt them by appearance, doth bridle their fury. Examine your owne conſciences, and weigh that Sentence of our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus, ſaying, *Whoſoever denieth me, or is aſhamed of me before men, I ſhall deny him before my Father.* Now is the day of his Battell in this Realm, if ye deny us your brethren, ſuffering for his Names ſake, ye do alſo deny him, as himſelfe doth witneſſe, in theſe words, *Whatſoever ye did to any of theſe little ones, that ye did to me, and what ye did not to one of theſe little ones, that ye did not to me:* If theſe ſentences be true as concerning meat, drink, cloathing, and ſuch things as appertain to the body, ſhall they not be likewiſe true in theſe things that appertain to the preſervation of the lives of thouſands, whoſe blood is now ſought, for profeſſion of Chriſt Jeſus? And thus ſhortly we leave you, who ſometimes have profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus with us, to the examination of your own conſciences. And yet once again of you, who blinded by ſuperſtition, perſecute us: We require moderation, till our cauſe may be tried; which if ye will not grant unto us for Gods Cauſe, yet we deſire you to have reſpect to the preſervation of your common Countrey, which we can no ſooner betray into the hands of ſtrangers, then that one of us deſtroy and murther another. Conſider our Petitions, and call for the ſpirit of righteous judgement.

From whence this courage did proceed the iſſue did declare.

Note.

Theſe our Letters being divulgate, ſome began to reaſon, Whether in conſcience they might invade us, or not, conſidering that we offred due obedience to the Authority, requiring nothing, but liberty of conſcience, and our Religion and fact to be tried by the Word of God. Our Letters came with convenient expedition to the hands of our brethren in *Cuninghame* and *Kyle*, who aſſembled at the Church of *Craggie*; where after ſome contrarious reaſons, *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*, in zeal burſt forth in theſe words, *Let every man ſerve his conſcience, I will, by Gods grace, ſee my brethren in S.* Johnſton: *Yea, albeit never man ſhould accompany me, yet I will go, and if it were but a Pike upon my ſhoulder; for I had rather die with that company, then live after them.* Theſe words ſo encouraged the reſt, that all decreed to go forward, as that they did ſo ſtoutly, that when the

The Earle of Glencarne his reſolution.

Lyon

Lion Herault in his coat of Arms, commanded all men under pain of treaſon to return to their houſes by publike ſound of trumpet in *Glaſgow*, never man obeyed that charge, but all went forward, as we ſhall after heare. When it was clearly underſtood that the Prelates and their adherents ſuppreſſing our Petitions ſo far as in them lay, did kindle the furie of all men againſt us: it was thought expedient to write unto them ſome Declaration of our minds, which we did in this forme following. Anno

To the generation of Antichriſt, the peſtilent Prelats, and their Shavelings within Scotland, *the Congregation of Chriſt Jeſus within the ſame faith,*

TO the end that ye ſhall not be abuſed, thinking to eſcape juſt puniſhment, after that ye in your blinde furie have cauſed the blood of many to be ſhed: This we notifie and declare unto you, That if ye proceed in this your malicious crueltie, ye ſhall be dealt withall whereſoever ye ſhall be apprehended, as murtherers and open enemies to God and unto mankinde. And therefore betimes ceaſe from this blinde rage: Remove firſt from your ſelves, your bands of bloodie men of war, and reform your ſelves to a more quiet life, *and hereafter mitigate ye the authority, which without crime committed on our part ye have inflamed againſt us*, or elſe be ye aſſured, That with the ſame meaſure that ye have meaſured againſt us, and yet intend to meaſure to others, it ſhall be meaſured unto you; that is, As ye by tyrannie intend not onely to deſtroy our bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our ſouls in bondage of the Devil, ſubject to Idolatry: So ſhall we with all force and power, which God ſhall grant unto us, execute juſt vengeance and puniſhment upon you, yea, we ſhall begin that ſame war which God commandeth Iſrael to execute againſt the Canaanites, that is, contract of peace ſhall never be made till that ye deſiſt from your open Idolatry and cruell perſecution of Gods children. And this we ſignifie unto you, in the name of the eternall God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe Verity we profeſſe, and Goſpel we have Preached, and holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred, ſo long as God will aſſiſt us to gain ſtand your Idolatry. Take this for advertiſement and be not deceived.

Notwithſtanding theſe our Requeſts and Advertiſements, *Monſieur Doſell* and his French men, with the Prieſts and their bands, marched forward againſt S. *Johnſton*, and approached within ten miles of the Town; then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our reliefe. The Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, with the Town of *Dundie* were there, they that firſt hazarded to reſiſt the enemy: and for that purpoſe was choſen a place of ground, a mile and more diſtant from the Town. In this mean time, the Lord *Ruthuen*, Proveſt of the Town of S. *Johnſton*, and a man whom many judged godly and ſtout in that action (as in very deed he was even unto his laſt breath) left the Town, and departed firſt to his own place, and after to the Queen; whoſe defection and revolt was a great diſcouragement to the hearts of many, and yet did God ſo comfort them, that within the ſpace of twelve houres after, the hearts of all men were

Anno

were ſet up againe. *For thoſe that were then aſſembled, did not ſo much hope of victory by their own ſtrength, as by the power of him, whoſe Verity they profeſſed,* and began one to comfort another, till the whole multitude was erected in a reaſonable hope. The day after that the Lord *Ruthuen* departed, which was the foure and twentieth of May, came the Earle of *Argyle*, Lord *Iames* Prior of S. *Andrews*, and the Lord *Semple*, directed from the Queen Regent, to enquire the cauſe of that Convocation of Lieges there. To whom when it was anſwered, That it was onely to reſiſt the cruell tyrannie deviſed againſt that poore Towne, and the inhabitants of the ſame. They asked if we minded not to hold that Towne againſt the authority, and againſt the Regent. To the which Queſtion anſwered the Lairds of *Dun* and *Pitarro*, with the Congregation of *Angus* and *Mernes*, the Maſter of *Lindſay*, the Lairds of *Londy*, *Balvarde*, and others Barons of *Fyfe*. That if the Queenes Majeſtie would ſuffer the Religion there begun to proceed, and not trouble their brethren and ſiſters that had profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus with them, That the Towne, they themſelves, and whatſoever to them pertained, ſhould be at the Queens commandment. Which anſwer underſtood, the Earle of *Argyle* and the Prior (who both were then Proteſtants) began to muſe, and ſaid plainly, That they were far otherwiſe informed by the Queen, to wit, *That we meant no Religion, but a plaine Rebellion.* To the which when he had anſwered ſimply, and as the trueth was, to wit, That we Convened for none other purpoſe, but onely to aſſiſt our brethren, who then were moſt unjuſtly perſecuted, and therefore we deſired them faithfully to report our anſwer, and to be interceſſors to the Queen Regent, That ſuch cruelty ſhould not be uſed againſt us; conſidering that we had offered in our former Letters, as well to the Queens Majeſty, as to the Nobility, our matter to be tried in lawfull judgement. They promiſed fidelity in that behalfe, which alſo they kept. The day after, which was the five and twentieth of May, before that the ſaid Lords departed, in the morning *John Knox* deſired to ſpeak with the ſame Lords, which granted unto him, he was conveyed to their Lodging by the Laird of *Balvarde*; and thus began,

Speakers ſent by the Queene to S. Iohnſton.

Note the anſwer.

The falſe ſuggeſtion of the Queen Regent

The Oration of *John Knox* to the Lords.

THe preſent troubles, honourable Lords, ought to move the hearts, not onely of the true ſervants of God, but alſo of all ſuch as beare any favour unto our Countrey and naturall Countrey-men, to deſcend within themſelves, and deepely to conſider, what ſhall be the end of this pretended tyrannie. The rage of Satan ſeeketh the deſtruction of all thoſe that within this Realme profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus, and they that inflame the Queene, and you the Nobles againſt us, regard not who prevaile, provided that they may abuſe the world, and live at their pleaſure, as heretofore they have done: yea, I feare that ſome ſeek nothing more, then the effuſion of Scottiſh blood, to the end that their poſſeſſions may be more patent to others. But becauſe that this is not the principall which I have to ſpeak, omitting the ſame to be conſidered, by the wiſdome of thoſe to whom the care of the Common-wealth appertaineth.

1. *I moſt humbly require of you, my Lords, in my name, to ſay to the Queene Regent,*

Regent, That we in whom ſhe in her blinde rage doth perſecute, are Gods ſervants, faithfull and obedient Subjects to the authoritie of this Realme: That that Religion which ſhe pretendeth to maintaine by fire and ſword, is not the true Religion of Chriſt Jeſus, but is expreſſe contrary to the ſame, a ſuperſtition deviſed by the braine of man, which I offer my ſelfe to prove againſt all that within Scotland *will maintaine the contrary, liberty of tongue being granted unto me, and Gods written Word being admitted for judge.* Anno

Let the Papiſts rather ambitious Romaniſts, judge.

2. *I further require your honours in my name to ſay unto the Queen, That as oft before I have written, ſo now I ſay, That this her enterpriſe ſhall not proſperouſly ſucceed in the end, and albeit for a time ſhe trouble the Saints of God, for ſhe fights not againſt man only, but againſt the eternall God, and his invincible Verity, and therefore the end ſhall be her confuſion, unleſſe betimes ſhe repent and deſiſt.*

Theſe things I require of you, in the Name of the eternall God, as from my mouth, to ſay unto her Majeſtie, adding, That I have been, and am a more aſſured friend to her Majeſtie, then they, that either flattering her, as ſervants to her corrupt appetites, or elſe inflame her againſt us, who ſeek nothing but Gods glory to be advanced; Vice to be ſuppreſſed; and Veritie to be maintained in this poore Realme.

They all three did promiſe to report his words ſo far as they could, which afterwards we underſtood they did; yea the Lord *Sempill* himſelfe, a man ſold unto ſin, enemie to God and all godlineſſe, did yet make ſuch report, That the Queen was ſomewhat offended, that any man ſhould uſe ſuch libertie in her preſence. She ſtill proceeded in her malice, for immediately thereafter ſhe ſent her Lion Herald with Letters, ſtraitly charging all men to avoid the Towne under the paine of Treaſon. Which Letters, after he had declared them to the chiefe men of the Congregation, he publikely proclaimed the ſame upon Sunday the 27 of May. In this meane time came ſure knowledge to the Queen, to Duke *Hamilton*, and to *Monſieur Doſell*, That the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Lords *Uchiltrie* and *Boyde*, the young Sheriffe of *Air*, the Lairds of *Craggy*, *Wallace*, *Seſnock*, *Carnell*, *Bar*, *Gairgirth*, and the whole congregation of *Kyle* and *Cuninghame* approached for our reliefe, and in very deed they came in ſuch diligence, and ſuch a number, That as the enemy had juſt cauſe to fear; ſo have all that profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus, juſt matter to praiſe God, for their fidelity and ſtout courage in that need: For by their preſence was the tyrannie of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was ſuch, that albeit the paſſage by *Sterlin* and ſix miles above was ſtopped (for there lay the Queen with her bands, and cauſed the Bridges to be cut upon the waters of *Forth*, *Gudy*, and *Teith*, above *Sterlin*) yet made they ſuch expedition through deſert and mountaine, that they prevented the enemy, and approached within ſixe miles of our Campe, which then lay without the Towne awaiting upon the enemy, before that any aſſured knowledge came to us of their coming. Their number was judged to twentie five hundred men, whereof there was twelve hundred Horſemen. The Queene underſtanding how the ſaid Earle and Lords, with their company approached, cauſed to beſet all wayes, that no advertiſement ſhould come to us: To the end, That we deſpairing of ſupport, might condiſcend to ſuch appointment as ſhe required. And ſent

The diligence of the Earle of *Glencarne*, and of the brethren of the weſt, for the relief of S. *Iohnſtoun*.

Anno

firſt to require that ſome diſcreet men of our number would come and ſpeak to Duke *Hamilton* and *Monſieur Doſell*, (who then with their Army lay at *Achtererdoch*, ten miles from S. *Johnſton*) to the end, that ſome reaſonable appointment might be had. She had perſwaded the Earle of *Argyle* and all others, That we meant nothing but Rebellion; and therefore had he promiſed unto her, That in caſe we would not ſtand content with a reaſonable appointment, he would declare himſelfe open enemy unto us, notwithſtanding that he profeſſed the ſame Religion with us. From us were ſent the Laird of *Dun*, the Laird of *Innerquhartye*, and *Thomas Scot* of *Abbotſhall*, to hear what appointment the Queene would offer. The Duke and *Monſieur Doſell* required, That the Towne ſhould be made patent, and that all things ſhould be referred to the Queenes pleaſure. To the which they anſwered, That neither they had commiſſion ſo to promiſe, neither durſt they in conſcience ſo perſwade their brethren: But if the Queene would promiſe, That no inhabitant of the Town ſhould be troubled for any ſuch crimes as might be alleadged againſt them, for the late mutation of Religion and aboliſhment of Idolatrie, and for down-caſting the places of the ſame; If ſhe would ſuffer the Religion begun to go forward, and leave the Towne at her departing free from the Garriſons of French Souldiers; That they would labour at the hands of their brethren, that the Queene ſhould be obeyed in all things. *Monſieur Doſell* perceiving the danger to be great, if that a ſudden appointment ſhould be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyrannie againſt us, after that the Congregation of *Kyle* (of whoſe comming we had no advertiſement) ſhould be joyned with us, with good words diſmiſſed the ſaid Lairds to perſwade the brethren to quiet concord. To the which we were all ſo well minded, that with one voice they cried; *Curſed be they that ſeek effuſion of blood; Let us poſſeſſe Chriſt Jeſus, and the benefit of his Goſpel, and none within* Scotland *ſhall be more obedient Subjects then we ſhall be.* With all expedition were ſent from *Sterlin* againe (after that the coming of the Earle of *Glencarne* was knowne, for the enemie for feare quaked) the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* aforeſaid. And in their company a crafty man Maſter *Gauin Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, who were ſent by the Queen to finiſh the appointment aforeſaid. But before that they came, was the Earle of *Glencarne* and his honourable company arrived in the Towne: and then began all men to praiſe God, for that he had ſo mercifully heard them in their moſt extreame neceſſitie, and had ſent unto them ſuch reliefe as was able without effuſion of blood to ſtay the rage of the enemie. The Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* did earneſtly perſwade the agreement, to the which all men were willing: but ſome did ſmell the craft of the adverſary, to wit, That they were minded to keep no point of the promiſe longer then they had obtained their intent. With the Earle of *Glencarne* came our loving brother *John Willock*; *John Knox* was in the Town before. Theſe two went to the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James*, accuſing them of infidelity, in ſo far as they had defrauded their brethren of their dutifull ſupport, and comfort in their greateſt neceſſity. They anſwered both, That their heart was conſtant with their brethren, and that they would defend that Cauſe to the utter-

The Petition of the Proteſtants, for the rendering of S *Iohnſton.*

The anſwer of the Earle of *Argyle* and L. *Iames*, Prior of S. *Andrews.*

uttermoſt of their power. But becauſe they had promiſed to labour concord, and to aſſiſt the Queen in caſe we refuſed reaſonable offers, in conſcience and honour they could do no leſſe then be faithfull in their promiſe made: And therefore they required that the brethren might be perſwaded to conſent to that reaſonable appointment; promiſing in Gods preſence, That if the Queen did break in any jot thereof, that they with their whole powers would aſſiſt and concurre with the brethren in all times to come. This promiſe made, the Preachers appeaſed the multitude, and obtained in the end that all men did conſent to the appointment foreſaid; which they obtained not without great labours; and no wonder, for many foreſaw the danger to follow: yea the Preachers themſelves in open Sermon did affirme plainly, That they were aſſuredly perſwaded that the Queen meant no truth. But to ſtop the mouth of the adverſary, who unjuſtly did burthen us with Rebellion, they moſt earneſtly required all men to approve the appointment, and ſo to ſuffer hypocriſie to diſcloſe it ſelf. This appointment was concluded the 28 of May, and the day following, at two in the after noon, departed the Congregation from Saint *Iohnſton*, after that *Iohn Knox* had in his Sermon exhorted all men to conſtancy, and unfainedly to thanke God, for that it had pleaſed his mercy to ſtay the rage of the enemy without effuſion of blood; Alſo that no brother ſhould be weary, nor faint, to ſupport ſuch as ſhould after be likewiſe perſecuted: for (ſaid he) I am aſſured that no part of this promiſe made ſhall be longer kept, then till the Queen and her French-men to have the upper hand. Many of the enemies were at the ſame Sermon: For after that the appointment was made, they had free entry in the Towne to provide Lodgings. Before the Lords departed, was this Bond, whoſe Tenour followeth, as it was written and ſubſcribed.

Anno

The promiſe of the foreſaid.

Note.

The ſecond Covenant at *Perth*.

AT Perth *the laſt of May, the yeere of God* 1559 *yeers, the Congregations of the Weſt Countrey, with the Congregations of* Fyſe, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Mernes, *and* Monroſſe, *being convened in the Towne of* Perth, *in the Name of Ieſus Chriſt, for ſetting forth of his glory, underſtanding nothing more neceſſary for the ſame, then to keepe a conſtant amity, unity, and fellowſhip together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bounden and obliged in the preſence of God, to concurre and aſſiſt together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; And at their whole powers to deſtroy and put away all things that doth d ſhonour to his Name, ſo that God may be truely and purely worſhipped. And in caſe that any trouble be intended againſt the ſaid Congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole Congregation ſhall concurre, aſſiſt, and convene together, to the defence of the ſame Congregation or perſon troubled: And ſhall not ſpare Labours, Goods, Subſtance, Bodies and Lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof, againſt whatſoever perſon ſhall intend the ſaid trouble for cauſe of Religion, or any other cauſe depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence therof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cauſe. In witneſſing and*

1559

Anno *teſtimony of the which, the whole Congregation aforeſaid have ordained and appointed the Noble-men and perſons under-written, to ſubſcribe theſe Preſents.*

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Arch Argyle, *R.* Lord *Boid*, Lord *Wchiltrie*,
Fames Steward, *Matthew Campbell of* Tarmganart.
Glencarne.

The 29 of *May* entred the Queen, the Duke, Monſieur *d'Oſell*, and the French-men, who in diſcharging their Volley of Hacquebutes, did well mark the houſe of *Patrike Murray*, a man fervent in Religion, and that boldly had ſuſtained all danger in that trouble; againſt whoſe ſtayr they directed ſix or ſeven Shot even againſt the faces of thoſe that were there lying; all men eſcaped, except the ſon of the foreſaid *Patrike*, a boy of ten or twelve yeers of age; who being ſlain, was had to the Queens preſence: but ſhe underſtanding whoſe ſon he was, ſaid in mockage, *It is pity it chanced on the ſon, and not on the father; but ſeeing that ſo it is chanced, me cannot be againſt fortune.* This was her happy entry in Saint *Johnſton*, and the great zeal ſhe beareth to Juſtice. The ſwarme of Papiſts that entred with her, began ſtraight to make proviſion for their Maſſe; and becauſe the Altars were not ſo eaſie to be repaired again, they provided Tables, whereof ſome before uſed to ſerve for Drunkards, Dicers, and Carders, but they were holy enough for the Prieſt and his Pageant. The Queen began to rage againſt all godly and honeſt men, their houſes were oppreſſed by the French, the lawfull Magiſtrates, as well Proveſt as Baylies, were unjuſtly, and without all order, depoſed from their Authority: a wicked man, void of Gods fear, and deſtitute of all vertue, the Laird of *Kilſans*, was intruſted by her, Proveſt of the Towne: Whereat all honeſt men offended, left their owne houſes, and with their wives and children ſought amongſt their brethren ſome reſting place for a time. She took order that four Colours of the Souldiers ſhould abide in the Town to maintain Idolatry, and to reſiſt the Congregation. Honeſt and indifferent men asked why ſhe did ſo manifeſtly violate her promiſe? She anſwered, That *ſhe was bound to keep no promiſe to hereticks*: And moreover, That ſhe promiſed onely to leave the Towne free of French Souldiers; which (ſaid ſhe) ſhe did, becauſe that theſe that therein were left were Scotiſhmen. But when it was reaſoned in her contrary, That all thoſe that took wages of *France* were counted French Souldiers, ſhe anſwered, *Princes muſt not be ſtraitly bounden to keep their promiſes: My ſelfe* (ſaid ſhe) *would make little conſcience to take from all thas ſort their lives and inheritance, if I might do it with as honeſt an excuſe.* And then ſhe left the Towne in extreme Bondage: After that her ungodly French-men had moſt cruelly uſed the moſt part of thoſe that remained in the ſame, the Earle of *Argyle*, and Lord *Fames* foreſaid perceiving in the Queen nothing but meer tyranny and falſhood, mindefull of their former promiſes made to their brethren, did ſecretly convey themſelves, and their Companies of the Town, and with them departed the Lord *Ruthuen*, of whom before mention is made;

The firſt ſlaughter at the entry of the French-men.

Idolatry erected againſt the appointment.

Againſt the appointment the ſecond time.

Second anſwer of the Queen Regent.

The third anſwer.

The departure of the Earle of *Argyle*, and Lord *Iames* from the Queen Regent.

made; then the Earle of *Menteth*, and the Laird of *Tullybardin*, who in Gods preſence did confederate and binde themſelves together, faithfully promiſing one to aſſiſt and defend another againſt all perſons that would purſue them for Religion ſake; and alſo that they with their whole force and power would defend the brethren perſecuted for the ſame Cauſe. The Queen highly offended at the ſudden departure of the perſons aforeſaid, ſent charges to them to return, under the higheſt pain of her diſpleaſure. But they anſwered, That with ſafe conſcience they could not be partakers of ſo manifeſt tyranny as was by her committed, and of ſo great iniquity as they perceived deviſed by her, and her ungodly counſell the Prelats. This anſwer was given to her the firſt day of *June*, and immediately the Earle of *Argyle*, and Lord *James* repaired toward S. *Andrewes*; and in their Journey gave advertiſement by writing to the Laird of *Dun*, to the Laird of *Petarrow*, to the Proveſt of *Dundie*, and others, profeſſors in *Angus*, to viſite them in S. *Andrewes* the fourth of *June*, for Reformation to be made there: which day they kept, and brought in their company *John Knox*, who the firſt day after his coming to *Fyfe*, did preach in *Carreal*, the next day in *Anſtruther*, minding the third day, which was the Sunday, to preach in S. *Andrews*. The Biſhop hearing of Reformation to be made in his Cathedrall Church, thought time to ſtirre, or elſe never, and therefore aſſembled his colleagues, and confederate fellows, beſides his other friends, and came to the Towne upon the Saturday at night, accompanied with a hundred Spears, of minde to have ſtopped *John Knox* from Preaching. The two Lords and Gentlemen aforeſaid were onely accompanied with their quiet houſholds, and therefore was the ſudden coming of the Biſhop the more fearfull; for then was the Queen and her French-men departed from Saint *Johnſton*, and were lying in *Falkland*, within twelve miles of S. *Andrews*; and the Town at that time had not given profeſſion of Chriſt, and therefore could not the Lords be aſſured of their friendſhip. Conſultation being had, many were of minde that the Preaching ſhould be delayed for that day, and eſpecially that *Jo. Knox* ſhould not preach, for that did the Biſhop affirme that he would not ſuffer, conſidering that by his Commandment the Picture of the ſaid *John* was before burnt. He willed therefore an honeſt Gentleman, *Robert Colwill* of *Cleiſſe*, to ſay to the Lords, That in caſe *John Knox* preſented himſelfe to the Preaching-place, in his Towne and principall Church, he ſhould make him be ſaulted with a Dozen of Culverings, whereof the moſt part ſhould light upon his noſe. After long deliberation had, the ſaid *John* was called, that his owne judgement might be had: When many perſwaſions were made that he ſhould delay for that time, and great terrours given in caſe he ſhould enterpriſe ſuch a thing, as it were in contempt of the Biſhop, he anſwered, *God is witneſſe that I never preached Chriſt Ieſus in contempt of any man, neither minde I at any time to preſent my ſelfe to that place, having either reſpect to my owne private commodity, either yet to the worldly hurt of any creature: But to delay to preach to morrow (unleſſe the body be violently with-holden) I cannot in conſcience: For in this Towne and Church began God firſt to call me to the dignity of a Preacher, from the which I was reft by the tyranny of* France, *and procurement*

Anno

The anſwer the Earle of *Argyle*.

The Biſhops good minde towards *Iohn Knox*.

Iohn Knox his anſwer to the Lords, and the reſt of the brethren.

Anno *of the Biſhops, as ye well enough know, how long I continued priſoner, what torment I ſuſtained in the Gallies, and what were the ſobs of my heart, is now no time to recite. This onely I cannot conceale, which more then one have heard me ſay when my body was abſent from* Scotland, *That my aſſured hope was, in open audience to preach in Saint* Andrewes, *before I departed this life. And therefore* (ſaid he) *my Lords, ſeeing that God above the expectation of many hath brought my bodie to the ſame place where firſt I was called to the Office of a Preacher, and from the which moſt unjuſtly I was removed: I beſeech your Honours not to ſtop me from preſenting my ſelfe unto my Brethren: And as for the feare of danger that may come to me, let no man be ſolicite, for my life is in the cuſtody of him whoſe glory I ſeek; and therefore I cannot ſo feare their boaſt nor tyrannie, that I will ceaſe from doing my duty, when of his mercy he offereth the occaſion. I deſire the hand and weapon of no man to defend me, onely do I crave audience; which if it be denied here unto me at this time, I muſt ſeek further where I may have it.* At theſe words the Lords were fully content that he ſhould occupy the place, which he did upon Sunday the tenth of June, and did treat of *the ejection of the buyers and the ſellers forth of the Temple of* Jeruſalem; as it is written in the Evangeliſts *Matthew* and *John*, and ſo he applied the corruption that was then, to the corruption that is in Papiſtry: and Chriſts fact, to the duty of thoſe to whom God giveth power and zeale thereto, that aſwell the Magiſtrates, the Proveſt and Baylies, as the communalty for the moſt part within the Towne, did agree to remove all Monuments of Idolatry, which alſo they did with expedition. The Biſhop advertiſed hereof, departed that ſame day to the Queen, who lay with her French-men, as is ſaid, in *Falkland*. The hot fury of the Biſhop did ſo kindle her choler (and yet the love was very cold betwixt them) that without farther delay concluſion was taken, to invade Saint *Andrewes*, and the two young Lords aforeſaid, who then were very ſlenderly accompanied. Poſts were ſent from the Queen with all diligence to *Cowper*, diſtant onely ſix miles from Saint *Andrewes*, to prepare Lodgings and Victualls for the Queen and her French-men. Lodgings were aſſigned, and Farriers were ſent before. Which thing underſtood, counſell was given to the Lords to march forward, and to prevent them before they came to *Cowper*: which they did, giving advertiſement to all brethren with all poſſible expedition to repair towards them, which they alſo did, with ſuch diligence, that in their Aſſemblie the wonderous Worke of God might have been eſpied: For when at night the Lords came to *Cowper*, they were not an hundred Horſe, and ſome few Foot-men whom the Lord *James*, brought from the Coaſt ſide; and yet before the next day at noon (which was Tueſday the thirteenth of June) their number paſſed three thouſand men, which by Gods providence came unto the Lords from *Lowthiane* the Lairds of *Ormeſton*, *Calder*, *Hatton*, *Leſtarrig*, and *Colſton*, who albeit they underſtood at their departing from their owne houſes no ſuch trouble, yet were they by their good counſell very comfortable that day. The Lord *Ruthuen* came from Saint *Johnſton* with ſome Horſe-men with him: The Earle of *Rotheſſe* Sheriff of *Fyfe*, came with an honeſt Company.

The Reformation of S. Andrews.

For the old Earle of Argyle was dead.

Cowper-Moore.

The

The Townes of *Dundie* and S. *Andrews* declared themſelves both ſtout and faithfull. *Cowper*, becauſe it ſtood in greateſt danger, was aſſiſted with the whole Force. Finally, God did ſo multiply our number, That it appeared as men had rained from the clouds. The enemy underſtanding nothing of our Force aſſured themſelves of Victory. Who had beene in *Falkland* the night before, might have ſeen embracing and kiſſing, betwixt the Queen, the Duke, and the Biſhop: But Maſter *Gawin Hamilton*, gaper for the Biſhoprick of S. *Andrews*, above all others, was lovingly embraced of the Queen; For he made his ſolemne Vow, That he would fight, and that he would never return till he brought thoſe Traitours to her Majeſtie, either quick or dead. And thus before midnight did they ſend forward their Ordnance, themſelves did follow before three of the clock in the morning. The Lords hereof advertiſed, aſſembled their company early in the morning upon *Cowper-moore*; where by the advice of M. *James Haliburtoun* Proveſt of *Dundie*, was choſen a place of ground convenient for our defence: For it was ſo choſen, That upon all ſides our Ordnance might have beaten the enemy, and yet we have ſtood in ſafety, if we had been purſued till we had come to hand ſtrokes. The Lord *Ruthuen* took the charge of the horſemen, and ordered them ſo, That the enemy was never permitted to eſpie our number; the day was dark, which helped thereto. The enemy (as before is ſaid) thinking to have found no reſiſtance, after that they had twice or thrice made ſhew unto us, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, and approached within a mile before that ever their horſemen ſtayed, and yet they kept betwixt us and them a water, for their ſtrength. It appeared to us, That either they marched for *Cowper* or S. *Andrews*: and therefore our Horſe-men in their Troope, and a part of the Foot-men with the Ordnance marched ſomewhat alwayes before them for ſafety of the Towne. The Lords, with the Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, and ſo many of *Angus* and *Mearns* as were preſent, kept themſelves cloſe in a knot, neere to the number of a thouſand Speares. The Townes of *Dundie* and S. *Andrews* were arrayed in another battell, who came not to the ſight of the enemy, till that after twelve of the clock the miſt began to vaniſh, and then paſſed ſome of their Horſe-men to a mountaine, from the height whereof they might diſcerne our number. Which perceived by them, their Horſe-men and Foot-men ſtayed incontinent, Poſts ran to the Duke and *Monſieur Deſell*, to declare our number, and what order we kept: And then were Mediators ſent to make appointment, but they were not ſuffered to approach neere to the Lords, neither yet to the view of our Camp; which put them in great feare. Anſwer was given unto them, That as we had offended no man, ſo would we ſeek appointment of no man; but if any would ſeek our lives (as we were informed they did) they ſhould finde us, if they pleaſed to make diligence. This anſwer received, were ſent againe the Lord *Lindſay*, and Laird of *Wauchton*, who earneſtly requeſted us to concord, and that we would not be the occaſion that innocent blood ſhould be ſhed. We anſwered, That neither had we quarrell againſt any man, neither yet ſought we any mans blood: onely we were convened for defence of our own lives unjuſtly ſought by others. We added further, That

Anno

M. *Gawin Hamiltons* Vow.

First anſwer at *Cowper-moor*.

The ſecond anſwer.

Anno That if they could finde the meane, that we and our brethren might be free from the tyrannie deviſed againſt us, that they ſhould reaſonably deſire nothing which ſhould be denied for our part. This anſwer received, the Duke and *Monſieur Doſell*, having Commiſſion of the Queen Regent, required, That Aſſurance might be taken for eight dayes; to the end that indifferent men in the mean time might commune upon ſome finall agreement of thoſe things which were then in controverſie. Hereto did we fully conſent, albeit that in number and force we were far ſuperiour, and for teſtification hereof, we ſent unto them our hand writs; and we likewiſe received theirs, with promiſe, That within two or three dayes ſome diſcreet men ſhould be ſent to us to S. *Andrews*, with further knowledge of the Queens minde. The tenour of the aſſurance was this.

The Aſſurance.

VVE James *Duke of* Chattellerault, *Earle of* Arrane, *Lord* Hamilton; *and my Lord* Doſell, *Lieutenant for the King in theſe parts, for our ſelves, our aſſiſtaries, and partakers, being preſently with us in company. By the tenor hereof promits faithfully in honour to my Lords* Archibald *Earle of* Argyle, *and* James, *Commendater of the Priory of S.* Andrews, *to their aſſiſtants and partakers being preſently with them in company: That we and our company aforeſaid, ſhall retire incontinent to* Falkland, *and ſhall with diligence tranſport the Frenth men, and our other folkes now preſently with us, and that no French men or other Souldiers of ours, ſhall remaine within the bounds of* Fyfe, *but ſo many as before the raiſing of the laſt Army lay in* Diſert, Kirkcaldie, *and* Kinghorne, *and the ſame to lie in the ſame places onely, if we ſhall think good. And this to have effect for the ſpace of eight dayes following the date hereof excluſive, That in the meane time certaine Noble-men, by the advice of the Queen and the reſt of the Councell may convene to talk of ſuch things, as may make good order and quietneſſe amongſt the Queens Lieges. And further, We, nor none of our aſſiſters being preſent with us, ſhall invade, trouble, or diſquiet the ſaid Lords nor their aſſiſters, during the ſaid ſpace. And this we binde and oblige us upon our loyall fidelitie and honour, to obſerve and keepe in every point above-written, without fraud or guile. In witneſſe whereof, we have ſubſcribed theſe preſents with our own hands. At* Garlebanke *the* 13 *day of June* 1559.

Subſcribed.

James Hamilton.

Meneits, Doſell.

And this received, we departed firſt, becauſe we were thereto requeſted by the Duke; and ſo we returned to *Cowper*, lauding and praiſing God, for his mercy ſhewed, and thereafter every man departed to his dwelling place. The Lords and a great part of the Gentlemen paſſed to S. *Andrews*, who there abode certain dayes, ſtill looking for thoſe that were promiſed to come from the Queen for appointment to be made. But we perceiving her craft and deceit (for under that aſſurance, ſhe meant nothing elſe but to convey her ſelfe, her Ordnance, and French-men over the

the water of *Forth*) took conſultation what ſhould be done for delivering S. *Johnſton* from theſe ungodly Souldiers, and how our brethren exiled from their own houſes, might be reſtored again. It was concluded, That the brethren of *Fyfe*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, and *Stratherne*, ſhould Convene at S. *Johnſton* the foure and twentieth day of June for that purpoſe, and in the mean time were theſe Letters written by the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* to the Queen then Regent. Anno

The delivery of S. Johnſton.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

MAdame, after our hearty commendations of ſervice, this ſhall be to ſhew your Majeſtie, That upon the 13 day of June, we were informed by them that were Communers betwixt the Duke, Monſieur Doſell, *and us, That we ſhould have ſpoken unreverently of your Majeſtie, which we beſeech your Majeſtie, for the true ſervice that we have made, and are ready to make at all times to your Majeſtie,* That of your goodneſſe you will let us know the ſayers thereof, *and we ſhall do the dutie of true Subjects, to defend our own innocency: As we take God to witneſſe, of the good Zeale and Love we beare towards you, to ſerve you with true hearts, and all that we have, as well lands as goods; deſiring no other thing for our ſervice, but the liberty of our conſcience to ſerve our Lord God, as we ſhall anſwer to him, which your Majeſtie ought and ſhould give us unrequired. Moreover, pleaſe your Majeſtie, That the Duke and the Noble men being in* Sterlin *for the time, by your Majeſties advice, ſolicited us to preſſe the Congregation aſſembled at the Town of* Perth, *to Commune of Concord, where we did our exact diligence, and brought it to paſſe, as your Majeſtie knows. And there is a point, that we plainly ſee it not obſerved to us, which is,* That no Souldier ſhould remain in the Town after your Majeſties departing. *And ſuppoſe it may be inferred, That it was ſpoken of French Souldiers onely, yet we took it otherwiſe, like as we do yet, That Scottiſh-men, or any other Nation, taking wages of the King of* France, *are reputed and holden French Souldiers. Therefore ſeeing we of good will and minde brought that matter to your Majeſties contentment, it will pleaſe your Majeſtie of your goodneſſe to remove the Souldiers and their Captains, with others that have gotten charge of the Town, That the ſame may be guided and ruled freely, as it was before, by the Ballyes and Counſell conforme to their infeoffments given to them, by the ancient and moſt excellent Kings of this Realme, to elect and chuſe their officers at* Michaelmas, *and they to endure for the ſpace of one yeere, conforme to the old Rite and Cuſtome of this Realme: which being done by your Majeſtie, we truſt the better ſucceſſe ſhall follow thereupon to your Majeſties content, as the bearer will declare at more length to your Majeſtie; Whom God preſerve.*

To Saint *Johnſton*, with the Gentlemen before expreſſed, did Convene the Earle of *Monteith*, the Laird of *Glaneurquhair*, and divers others, who before had not preſented themſelves for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was Convened, a Trumpet was ſent by the Lords, commanding the Captains and their Bands, To avoid the Towne, and to leave it to the ancient Libertie and juſt Inhabitants of the ſame; Alſo commanding the Laird of *Kilſawnes*, put in Proveſt by the Queen, with the Captains aforeſaid, To open the gates of the Town, and make the ſame patent to all our Soveraigns lieges, to the effect, That as well true Religion now once begun therein, may be maintained,

The ſummoning of S. Johnſton.

Anno and Idolatry utterly ſuppreſſed, as alſo the ſaid Town might enjoy and brook their ancient Laws and Liberties, unoppreſſed by men of War, according to their old Priviledges granted to them by the ancient Princes of this Realme, and conforme to the proviſion contained in the Contract of Marriage, made by the Nobility and Parliament of this Realme with the King of *Fraunce*, bearing namely, That our old Laws or Liberties ſhould not be altered: Adding thereto, If they fooliſhly reſiſted, and therein happened to commit murther, That they ſhould be treated as murtherers. To the which they anſwered proudly, That they would keep and defend that Towne, according to their promiſe made to the Queen Regent. This anſwer received, preparation was made for the Siege and aſſault. For amongſt all, it was concluded that the Towne ſhould be ſet at liberty, to what danger ſoever their bodies ſhould be expoſed. While preparation was in making, came the Earle of *Huntly*, the Lord *Erskin*, Maſter *John Ballenden*, Juſtice *Clerk*, requiring that the purſuit of the Town ſhould be delayed. To ſpeake to them were appointed, the Earle of *Argyle*, Lord *James*, and Lord *Ruthuen*, who perceiving in them nothing but a driſt of time, without any aſſurance that the former wrongs ſhould be redreſſed, gave unto them a ſhort and plaine anſwer, That they would not delay their purpoſe an houre: and therefore willed them to certifie the Captains in the Town, That if by pride and fooliſhneſſe they would keep the Town, and in ſo doing ſlay any of their brethren, that they ſhould every one die as murtherers. The Earle of *Huntly*, diſpleaſed at this anſwer, departed, and was highly offended that he could not dreſſe ſuch an appointment, as ſhould have contented the Queen and the Prieſts. After their departing the Town was again ſummoned: but the Captaines ſuppoſing that no ſudden purſuit ſhould be made, and looking for reliefe to have been ſent from the Queen, abode in their former opinion. And ſo upon Saterday the nine and twentieth of June, at ten of the clock at night, commanded the Lord *Ruthuen* who beſieged the weſt Quarter, to ſhoot the firſt Volley, which being done, the Town of *Dundie* did the like, whoſe Ordnance lay on the eaſt ſide of the Bridge. The Captaines and Souldiers within the Town, perceiving that they were unable long to reſiſt, required aſſurance till twelve houres upon the morrow, promiſing, That if before that houre there came unto them no relief from the Queen Regent, that they would render the Town: Provided that they ſhould be ſuffered to depart the Town with Enſigne diſplayed. We thirſting the blood of no man, and ſeeking onely the liberty of our brethren, condeſcended to their deſires, albeit that we might have executed againſt them judgement without mercy, for that they had refuſed our former favours, and had ſlain one of our brethren, and hurt two in their reſiſtance, and yet we ſuffered them freely to depart without any further moleſtation. The Town being delivered from their thraldom, upon Sunday the ſix and twentieth of June thanks was given to God for this great benefit received, and conſultation was taken, what was further to be done. In this meane time, zealous men conſidering, how obſtinate, proud, and deſpightfull, the Biſhop of *Murray* had been before, how he had threatned the Town by his Souldiers and friends who lay in *Scone*, thought good that ſome order

Communing at S. *Johnſton*.

Huntly.

The Biſhop of *Murray*.

order ſhould be taken with him, and with that place, which lay neer to the Towns end. The Lords wrote unto him (for he lay within two miles of S. *Iohnſton*) That unleſſe he would come and aſſiſt them, they neither could ſpare nor ſave his place. He anſwered by his writing, That he would come, and would do as they thought expedient; that he would aſſiſt them with his Force, and would conſent with them againſt the reſt of the Clergie in Parliament. But becauſe this anſwer was ſlow in coming, the Town of *Dundie* partly offended for the ſlaughter of their men, and eſpecially bearing no good favour to the ſaid Biſhop, for that he was and is chief enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and that by his counſell alone was *Walter Mile* our brother put to death, they marched forward: To ſtay them was firſt ſent the Proveſt of *Dundie*, and his brother *Alexander Halyburtonn* Captaine; who little prevailing, was ſent unto them *Iohn Knox*; but before his coming, they were entred to the pulling downe of the Idols and dortoir. And albeit the ſaid Maſter *Iames Halyburtoun*, *Alexander* his brother, and the ſaid *Iohn*, did what in them lay to have ſtayed the fury of the multitude, yet were they not able to put order univerſally, and therefore they ſent for the Lords, Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *Iames*, who coming with all diligence, laboured to have ſaved the place and the place and the Church. But becauſe the multitude had found buried in the Church a great number of hid goods, of purpoſe to have preſerved them to a better day (as the papiſts ſpeak) the Towns of *Dundie* and S. *Iohnſton* could not be ſatisfied, till that the whole reparation and Ornaments of the Church (as they terme it) were deſtroyed. And yet did the Lords ſo travell, that they ſaved the Biſhops Palace, with the Church and place for that night: For the two Lords did not depart, till they brought with them the whole number of thoſe that moſt ſought the Biſhops diſpleaſure. The Biſhop greatly offended that any thing ſhould have been enterpriſed in reformation of his place, asked of the Lords his Band and hand-writing, which not two hours before he had ſent unto them; which delivered to his Meſſenger Sir *Adam Browne*, advertiſement was given, That if any farther diſpleaſure chanced unto him, he would that he ſhould not blame them. The Biſhops ſervants that ſame night began to fortifie the place again, and began to do violence to ſome that were carrying away ſuch Baggage as they could come by. The Biſhops Girnall was kept the firſt night by the labours of *Iohn Knox*, who by exhortation removed ſuch as violently would make interruption. The ſame night departed from S. *Iohnſton* the Earl of *Argyle*, and L. *Iames*, as after ſhall be declared. The morrow following, ſome of the poor, in hope of ſpoyl, and ſome of *Dundie*, to conſider what was done, paſſed up to the ſaid Abbey of *Scone*; whereat the Biſhops ſervants offended, began to threaten and ſpeak proudly: and as it was conſtantly affirmed, one of the Biſhops ſons thruſt thorow with a Rapier one of *Dundie*, for becauſe he was looking in at the Girnell door. This brute noyſed abroad, the Town of *Dundie* was more enraged then before; who putting themſelves in Armour, ſent word to the inhabitants of S. *Iohnſton*, That unleſſe they would ſupport them to avenge that injury, they ſhould never after that day occure with them in any action. The multitude eaſily enflamed, gave the Alarm, and ſo was

Anno

The deſtruction of *Scone*.

The cauſe of the burning of *Scone*.

Anno

that Abbey and Palace appointed to Saccage, in doing whereof they took no long deliberation, but committed the whole to the merciement of fire. Whereat no ſmall number of us were ſo offended, that patiently we could not ſpeak, to any that were of *Dundie* or Saint *Johnſton*. A poor aged matron ſeeing the flame of fire to paſſe up ſo mightily, and perceiving that many were thereat offended, in plain and ſober manner of ſpeaking, ſaid, *Now I ſee and underſtand that Gods judgements are juſt, and that no man is able to ſave where he will puniſh: ſince my remembrance this place hath been nothing elſe but a Den of Whore mongers: It is incredible to believe how many wives have been adulterate, and virgins deflowred by the filthy beaſts which have been foſtered in this den; but eſpecially by that wicked man who is called the Biſhop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praiſe God, and no man would be offended.* This woman dwelt in the Towne nigh to the Abbey. At whoſe words were many pacified, affirming with her, That it was Gods juſt Judgement. And aſſuredly if the labours or travell of any man could have ſaved that place, it had not been at that time deſtroyed: for men of greateſt eſtimation laboured with all diligence for the ſafety of it. While theſe things were done at Saint *Johnſton*, the Queen fearing what ſhould follow, determined to ſend certain Bands of French Souldiers to *Sterlin*, of purpoſe to ſtop the paſſage to us that then were upon the North ſide of *Forth*. Which underſtood, the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* departed ſecretly in the night, and with great expedition preventing the French, they took the Towne (before whoſe coming the raſcall multitude put hands on the thieves, I ſhould ſay Friers places, and utterly deſtroyed them) whereat the Queen and her Faction not a little afrayed, with all diligence departed from *Edinburgh* to *Dunbar*. And ſo we with reaſonable diligence marched forward to *Edinburgh*, for Reformation to be made there; where we arrived the 29 of June. The Proveſt for that time, the Lord *Seaton*, a man without God, without honeſty, and oftentimes without reaſon, had before greatly troubled and moleſted the brethren, for he had taken upon him the protection and defence of the *Black* and *Gray Friers*; and for that purpoſe did not onely lie himſelf in one of the Colledges every night, but alſo conſtrained the moſt honeſt of the Towne to watch thoſe monſters, to their great grief and trouble. But hearing of our ſudden coming, he abandoned his charge, and left the ſpoyl to the poor, who had made havock of all ſuch things as was moveable in thoſe places before our coming, and left nothing but bare walls; yea, not ſo much as door or window: whereby we were the leſſer troubled in putting order to ſuch places. After that we had deliberate certain dayes what was beſt to be done, and what order was to be taken for ſuppreſſing all Monuments of Idolatry within that Towne, and the places next adjacent, determination was taken to ſend ſome Meſſage to the Queen then Regent. For ſhe had bruted (as her accuſtomed manner was, by advice of her counſell, ever to forge lies) that we ſought nothing but her life, and a plain *revoltment from the lawfull obedience due to our Soveraigne her Authority*, as by the Tenour of theſe Letters may be ſeen.

Speaking of an ancient matron when *Scone* was burning.

The taking of *Stirlin*.

Lord *Seaton*.

The coming of the Congregation to *Edinburg*.

Francis

Anno

FRANCIS *and* MARIE *By the Grace of God, King and Queen of* Scots, *Doulphin and Doulphineſſe of* Viennois: *To Our loved* Lyon *King of Armes,* &c. *Our Sheriffs in that part conjunctly and ſeverally ſpecially conſtitute, greeting. Foraſmuch as our deareſt Mother* Marie, *Queen Dowager Regent of Our Realme, and Lords of our Secret Councell, perceiving the ſeditious tumult raiſed by one part of our Lieges, naming themſelves,* The Congregation; *who under pretence of Religion have put themſelves in Armes. And that Our Mother, for ſatisfying of every mans conſcience, and pacifying of the ſaid troubles, had offered unto them to appoint a Parliament to be holden in* January *next to come* (this was a manifeſt lie, for this was neither offered, nor by her once thought upon, till we required it) *or ſooner, if they had pleaſed, for eſtabliſhing of a Univerſall order in matters of Religion by Our advice, and States of Our Religion, and in the meane time to ſuffer every man to live at liberty of Conſcience without trouble, unto the time that the ſaid order were taken by adviſe of Our foreſaid States. And at laſt, becauſe it appeareth much to ſtand upon Our Burrough of* Edinburgh, *offered in like manner to let the inhabitants thereof chuſe what manner of Religion they would ſet up and uſe for that time, ſo that no man might alleadge that he was forced to do againſt his conſcience. Which offer the Queen, Our ſaid deareſt Mother was at all times, and yet is ready to fulfill. Nevertheleſſe the ſaid Congregation being of minde to receive no reaſonable offers, hath ſince by open deed declared, That it is no Religion, nor any thing thereto pertaining that they ſeek, but onely the ſubverſion of Our Authority, and uſurpation of Our Crowne: In manifeſt witneſsing whereof, they daily receive* Engliſh-men *with Meſſages unto them, and ſendeth ſuch like into* England: *And laſt of all, have violently intermitted, withtaken, and yet with-holds, the Irons of Our Coyning-Houſe, which is one of the chiefe Points that concerneth Our Crowne: And ſuch like have intromitted with our Pallace of* Halyrud-houſe. *Our Will is therefore,* &c. *That ye paſſe to the Market Croſſe of Our ſaid Burrough of* Edinburgh, *or any other place within the ſame, and there by open Proclamation, in Our Name and Authority, command and charge all and ſundry perſons of the ſaid Congregation, or yet being preſently within Our ſaid Borough, other then the inhabitants thereof, that they within ſix hours next after Our ſaid Charge, depart forth of the ſame, under the pain of Treaſon. And as that ye command all and ſundry perſons to leave their company, and to adhere to Our Authority; with Certification, That ſuch as do the contrary, ſhall be reputed and holden as manifeſt Traytors to Our Crowne.*

Let the Reader marke how this agrees with our time.

Theſe Letters did not a little grieve us, who moſt unjuſtly were accuſed; for never a ſentence of the Narrative true, except, That we ſtayed the Irons, and that for juſt cauſe; to wit, Becauſe that daily there was ſuch number of hard-heads printed, that the baſeneſſe thereof made all things exceeding dear; And therefore we were counſelled by the wiſeſt to ſtay the Irons while further order might be taken. The Queen Regent with all poſſible diligence poſted for her Faction: Maſter *Iames Balfour* was not idle in the mean time. The Lords, to purge themſelves of theſe odious crimes, wrote to her a Letter in form as after followeth:

Anno

The third Letter to the Queen Regent.

PLeaſe your Majeſtie to be adverti ſed, That it is come to our knowledge, that your Majeſtie hath ſet forth by your Letters openly proclaimed, That we, called by name, The Congregation, *under pretence and colour of Religion convene together to no other purpoſe, but to uſurp our Soveraignes Authirity, and to invade your perſon, repreſenting theirs at this preſent. Which things appeare to have proceeded of ſiniſter information made to your Majeſtie by our enemies, conſidering that we never minded ſuch thing, but onely our minde and purpoſe was and is, To promote and ſet forth the glory of God, Maintain and defend the true Preachers of his Word, And according to the ſame aboliſh and put away Idolatry and falſe abuſes which may not ſtand with the ſaid Word of God. Beſeeching your Majeſtie to beare patiently therewith, and interpeſe your Authority to the furtherance of the ſame, as is the duty of every Chriſtian Prince, and good Magiſtrate. For as to the obedience of our Soveraignes Authority in all Civill and Politick matters, we are and ſhall be as obedient, as any other your Majeſties ſubjects within the Realme. And that our convention is for no other purpoſe, but to ſave our Preachers and their auditors from the injury and violence of our enemies: Which ſhould be more amply declared by ſome of us in your Majeſties preſence, if ye were not accompanied with ſuch as have purſued our lives, and ſought our blood. Thus we pray Almighty God to ſave your Highneſſe in his eternall tuition.* At Edinburgh *the 2 of July,* 1559.

And for further purgation hereof, it was thought neceſſary that we ſhould ſimply expoſe as well to her Majeſty, as to the whole people what were our requeſts and juſt petitions: And for that purpoſe after that ſafe-Conduct was purchaſed and granted, we directed unto her two grave men of counſell, to wit, the Lairds of *Pittarrow* and *Cuninghamehead*, to whom we gave commiſſion and power, firſt to expoſe our whole purpoſe and intent, which was no other then before, at all times we had required; to wit, Firſt, That we might enjoy the liberty of conſcience. Secondly, That Chriſt Jeſus might be truely preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred unto us. Thirdly, That unable Miniſters might be removed from Eccleſiaſticall Adminiſtration: And that our Preachers might be relaxed from the *Horne*, and permitted to execute their charges, without moleſtation unto ſuch as either by a generall Councell lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the Realme the controverſies in Religion were decided. And for declaration that her Majeſtie was hereto willing that the Bands of French-men, who then were a burden intolerable to the Countrey, and to us ſo fearfull, that we durſt not in peaceable and quiet manner haunt the places where they did lie, ſhould be ſent to *France* their native Countrey: Which things granted, Her Majeſtie ſhould have experience of our accuſtomed obedience. To theſe Heads ſhe did anſwer at the firſt ſo pleaſantly, that ſhe put both our Commiſſioners in full eſperance that all ſhould be granted, and for that purpoſe ſhe deſired to ſpeak with ſome of greater Authority; promiſing, That if they would aſſure her of their dutifull obedience, that ſhe would deny nothing of that which was required. For ſatisfaction of her minde, we ſent again the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Lord *Ruthwen*, the Lord *Uchiltrie*, and the ſaid Laird of *Pittarrow*, with the ſame Commiſſion as before. But then ſhe began to handle the matter more craftily, complaining that ſhe

The craftines of the Queen Regent may yet be eſpied.

was

was not ſought in a gentle manner. And that they in whom ſhe had put moſt ſingular confidence, had left her in her greateſt need. And ſuch other things pertaining nothing to the Commiſſion, ſhe propoſed to ſpend and drive the time. They anſwered, That by unjuſt tyrannie deviſed againſt them and their brethren (as her Majeſtie did well know) they were compelled to ſeek the extreame remedie, and therefore that her Majeſtie ought not to wonder though godly men left the company, where they neither found fidelity nor trueth. In the end of this communing, which was the twelfth day of July 1559. She deſired to have talked privately with the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *Iames*, Prior of S. *Andrews*, for elſe (as ſhe alleadged) ſhe could not but ſuſpect that they pretended to ſome other higher purpoſe then Religion. She and her crafty Counſell had abuſed Duke *Hamilton*, perſwading him and his friends, That the ſaid Earle and Lord *Iames* had conſpired, firſt to deprive our Soveraigne her daughter of her authority, and thereafter the Duke and his Succeſſors of their pretended Title to the Crowne of *Scotland*. By theſe inuented lyes ſhe inflamed the hearts of many againſt us, inſomuch that ſome of our own number began to murmure. Which perceived, as well the Preachers in their publike Sermons, as we our ſelves by our publike Proclamation, gave purgation and ſatisfaction to the people, plainely and ſimply declaring what was our purpoſe, taking God to witneſſe, That no ſuch crimes were ever entred into our hearts, as moſt unjuſtly was laid to our charge. The Counſell after conſultation, thought not expedient that the ſaid Earle and Lord *Iames* ſhould talke with the Queen in any ſort, for her former practiſes put all men in ſuſpition, That ſome deceit lurked under ſuch coloured communing. She had before ſaid, That if ſhe could by any meane ſundor theſe two from the reſt, ſhe was aſſured ſhortly to come by her whole purpoſe. And one of her chiefe Counſell in thoſe dayes (and we feare but too inward with her yet) ſaid, That ere *Michaelmas* day they two ſhould loſe their heads; and therefore all men feared to commit two ſuch young plants to her mercy and fidelity. It was therefore finally denied that they ſhould talk with the Queen, or any appertaining to her, but in places void of all ſuſpicion, where they ſhould be equall in number with thoſe that ſhould talk with them. The Queen perceiving that her craft could not prevaile, was content that Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earle of *Huntley*, with others by her appointed, ſhould convene at *Preſton*, to Commune with the ſaid Earle and Lord *Iames*, and ſuch others as the Lords of the Congregation would appoint, to the number of an hundred on each ſide: Of the which number, eight perſons onely ſhould meet for conference. The principals for their party, were the Duke, the Earle *Huntly*, the Lords *Erskin* and *Somerwell*, M. *Gawin Hamilton*, and the Juſtice *Clerk*. From us were directed the Earles of *Argyle* and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Ruthuen* and Lord *Iames*, *Boyde* and *Uchiltrie*, the Lairds *Dun* and *Pittarrow*. Who Convening at *Preſton*, ſpake the whole day without any certaine concluſion: For this was the practiſe of the Queen and of her faction, *By drift of time to weary our company*, who for the moſt part, had been upon the fields from the tenth day of May: That we being diſperſed, ſhe might come to her purpoſe, in which

Anno

1559

Accuſations.

Mark the craftie calumnies.

The communing at *Preſton*.

Anno

which she was not altogether deceived: For our Commons were compelled to scatter for lack of expences: And our Gentlemen partly constrained by lack of furnishing, and partly hoping some finall appointment, after so many Communings, returned for the most part to their dwelling places, for reposing of themselves. The Queen in all those Conventions seemed that she would give liberty to Religion; Provided, *That whersoever she was, our Preachers should cease, and the Masse should be maintained.* We perceiving her malicious craft, answered, *That as we would compell her Majestie, to no Religion; so could we not in conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly treasure, put silence to Gods true Messengers: neither could we suffer that the right administration of Christs true Sacraments should give place to manifest Idolatry, for in so doing we should declare our selves enemies to God, to Christ Jesus his Son, to his eternall Veritie, and to the libertie and establishment of his Church within this Realme: For your requeſt being granted, There can no Church within the same be so established, but at your pleasure, and by your residence and remaining there, ye might overthrow the same.* This our last answer we sent unto her with the Lord *Ruthuen* and Laird of *Pittarrow*, requiring of her Majestie in plaine words, to signifie unto us, What hope we might have of her favour towards the upsetting of Religion? We also required, That she would remove her French-men, who were a feare to us, and a burden most grievous to our Countrey; and that she would promise to us in the word of a Prince, That she would procure no man to be sent in. And then should we not onely support to the uttermost of our powers to furnish Ships and Victuals for their transporting, but also upon our honours should we take her body into our protection. And should promise, in the presence of God and the whole Realme, to serve our Soveraigne her daughter, and her Majestie Regent, as faithfully and as obediently, as ever did we Kings within *Scotland.* That moreover we should cause our Preachers give reason of their Doctrine in her audience to any that pleased to impugne any thing that they did or taught. Finally, That we should submit our selves to a lawfull Parliament. Provided that the Bishops, as the partie accused and our plaine enemies, should be removed from judgement.

The demand of the Queen Regent, and answer of the Protestants

The last offers of the Protestants to the Q. Regent.

To no point would she answer directly, but in all things she was so generall and so ambiguous, that her craft appeared to all men. She had gotten assured knowledge that our company was scattered (for her French-men were daily amongst us, without molestation or hurt done unto them) and therefore she began to disclose her minde, and said, The Congregation hath reigned these two moneths past; Me my selfe would reigne now other two. The malice of her heart being plainely perceived, deliberation was had what was to be done. It was concluded, That the Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen, with their chiefe domesticks, should remaine in *Edinburgh* that whole Winter, for establishing of the Church there. And because it was found, That by the corrupting of our Money the Queen made to her selfe immoderate gaines, for maintaining of her Souldiers, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth: It was thought necessary, That the Printing yrons, and all things pertaining should be stayed, for feare that she should privily cause to transport them to

The scoffing of the Queen Regent.

Note.

to *Dumbar*. In this mean time came aſſured word, firſt, That the King of *France* was hurt, and after that he was dead. Which albeit it ought to have put her in minde of her own eſtate and wicked enterpriſes: for he that ſame time in the fulneſſe of his glory (as ſhe her ſelfe uſed to ſpeak) had determined moſt cruell perſecution againſt the Saints of God in *France*, even as ſhe her ſelfe was here perſecuting in *Scotland*: and yet he ſo periſhed in his pride, That all men might ſee that Gods juſt vengeance did ſtrike him, even when his iniquity was come to full ripeneſſe. Albeit we ſay, That this wonderous work of God in his ſudden death, ought to have danted her fury, and given unto her admonition, That the ſame God could not ſuffer her obſtinate malice againſt his Truth, long to be unpuniſhed: Yet could her indurate heart nothing be moved to Repentance; for hearing of the ſtaying of the Printing yrons, ſhe raged more outragiouſly then before, and ſending for all ſuch as were of her faction, expoſed her grievous complaint, aggravating the ſame with many lies, to wit, That we had declared that which before ſhe ſuſpected: For what could we mean elſe but uſurpation of the Crown, when we durſt put hands to the Coining-houſe, which was a portion of the patrimonie of the Crown. She further alleadged, That we had ſpoiled the Coining-houſe of great ſums of money. To the which we anſwered, both by our Letters ſent to her and her Counſell, and by publike Proclamation to the people, That we without uſurpation of any ſuch thing, juſtly appertaining to the Crown of *Scotland*, did ſtay the Printing yrons, in conſideration that the Common-wealth was greatly hurt by corrupting of our money. And becauſe we were born Counſellers of this Realm, ſworn to procure the profit of the ſame, we could do no leſſe of dutie and of conſcience, then to ſtay that for a time, which we ſaw ſo abuſed, That unleſſe remedy were found, ſhould turn to the utter detriment of the whole body of this Realme. And as to her falſe accuſation of ſpoil, we did remit us to the conſcience of M. *Robert Richeſon*, maſter of the Coining-houſe, who from our hands received ſilver, gold, and mettall, as well Coined as un-Coined, ſo that with us there did not remain the value of a Bawbee, or Farthing. This our Declaration and purgation notwithſtanding, ſhe, partly by her craft and policie, and partly by the labours of the Biſhops of Saint *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, procured the whole number that were with her, to conſent to purſue us with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could have our company (which then was diſperſed for new furniſhing) aſſembled again. The certaintie hereof coming to our knowledge the Saturday at night, being the 25 of July, we did what in us lay to give advertiſement to our brethren: but impoſſible it was that the Waſt, *Angus*, *Mernes*, *Straitherne* or *Fyfe*, in any number could come to us. For the enemie Marched from *Dumbar* upon the Sunday, and approached within two miles of us before Sun-riſing upon Munday. For they verily ſuppoſed to have found no reſiſtance, being aſſured that the Lords onely with certain Gentlemen remained with their private houſes: calling upon God for counſell in that ſtraight, we ſought what was the next defence. We might have left the Town, and might have retired our ſelves without any

Anno

The death of *Henry* King of *France*.

Note how this agrees with our times.

Anſwer to the calumnie.

Note, Nobles.

Anno danger, but then we should have abandoned our brethren of *Edinburgh*, and suffered the Ministery thereof to have decayed; which to our hearts was so dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremitie then so to do. For then the most part of the Town appeared rather to favour us then the Queens faction, and did offer unto us the uttermost of their support, which for the most part they did faithfully keep. The same did the Town of *Leith*, but they kept not the like fidelity. For when we were upon the field, marching forward for their support (for the French marched nigh to them) they rendred themselves without further resistance. And this they did, as is supposed, by the treason of some within themselves, and by perswasion of the Laird of *Lestarrig*, who before declared himselfe to be one of us; and notwithstanding that same day rendred himselfe undesired to *Monsieur Doſell*. Their unprovided and sudden defection astonished many, and yet we retired quietly to the side of *Cragingate*, which place we took for resisting the enemy. In the mean time divers mediatours passed betwixt us, amongst whom the Lord *Ruthuen* for our part was principall. *Alexander Erskin* did much travell to stay us and our Souldiers, that we should not joyne with them of *Leith*, till that they, as is said, had rendred themselves to the French. The said *Alexander* did oft promise that the French would stay, provided, That we would not joyne with those of *Leith*. But after that they were rendred, we heard nothing of him but threatning and discomfortable words. Before it was eight of the clock in the morning, God had given unto us both courage, and a reasonable number to withstand their furie. The Towne of *Edinburgh*, so many as had subject themselves to discipline, and divers others besides them, behaved themselves both faithfully and stoutly. The Gentlemen of *Lowthiane*, especially *Calder*, *Hatton*, and *Ormeston*, were very comfortable, as well for their counsell as for their whole assistance. Some Gentlemen of *Fyfe* prevented the French-men, other were stopped by reason that the French had passed *Leith*. Alwayes the enemy took such a fear, That they determined not to invade us where we stood, but took purpose to have passed to *Edinburgh*, by the other side of the water of *Leith*: and that because they had the Castle to their friend, which was to us unknown, for we supposed the Lord *Erskin*, Captain of the same, either to have been our friend, or at least to have been indifferent. But when we had determined to fight, he sent word to the Earle of *Argyle*, to Lord *James*, his sisters son, and to the other Noble-men, That he would declare himselfe, both enemy to them and to the Town, and would shoot at both, if they made any resistance to the French-men to enter into the Town. This his treasonable defiance sent us, by the Laird of *Ricarton* did abate the courage of many, for we could not fight, nor stop the enemy, but under the mercy of the Castle and whole Ordnance thereof. Hereupon was consultation taken, and in conclusion, it was found lesse damage to take an appointment, albeit the Conditions were not such as we desired; then to hazard battell betwixt two such enemies. After long talking, certaine heads were drawn by us, which we desired to be granted.

Leith left us the congregation.

The Lord *Erskin* and his fact.

1. *First*,

Anno

First, *That no member of the Congregation ſhould be troubled in life, lands, goods or poſſeſſions, by the Queen her Authority, nor any other juſtice within the Realm, for any thing done in the late Innovation, till a Parliament (which ſhould begin the tenth of January) had decreed things in controverſie.*

2. *That Idolatry ſhould not be erected, where it was at that day ſuppreſſed.*

3. *That the Preachers and Miniſters ſhould not be troubled in their Miniſtery where they are already eſtabliſhed, neither yet ſtopped to preach whereſoever they ſhould chance to come.*

4. *That no Bands of men of War ſhould be laid in Garriſon within the Town of* Edinburgh.

5. *That the French-men ſhould be ſent away at a reaſonable day; and that none other ſhould be brought into the Countrey without conſent of the whole Nobility and Parliament.* But theſe our Articles were altered, and another forme diſpoſed, as followeth.

At the Linkes of *Leith*, the 24 of July, 1559. It is appointed in manner following:

IN the firſt Congregation and their company, others then the inhabitants of the ſaid Towne, ſhall remove themſelves forth of the ſaid Town the morrow at ten hours before noon the 25 of July, and leave the ſame void and rid of them and their ſaid company conform to the Queens Majeſties pleaſure and deſire.

Item, *The ſaid Congregation ſhall cauſe the Irons of the Coyning-houſe taken away by them, be rendred and delivered to Maſter* Robert Richeſon; *And likewiſe the Queens Majeſties Palace of* Halyrud-houſe *to be left, and rendred again to M.* John Balfour, *or any other, having her Majeſties ſufficient power in the ſame matter, as it was reſolved, and that betwixt the making of theſe Articles, and the morn at ten of the clock.* For obſerving and keeping of theſe two Articles above written, the Lord *Ruthuen*, and the Laird of *Pittarrow* have entred themſelves pledges.

Item, *The ſaid Lords of the Congregation, and all the members thereof, ſhall remain obedient ſubjects to our Lord and Ladies Authority, and to the Queen Regent in their place; And ſhall obey all Laws, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Realme, as they were uſed before the moving of this tumult and controverſie, excepting the cauſe of Religion, which ſhall be hereafter ſpecified.*

In contemplation of theſe Articles, aroſe this proverb, *Good day, Sir* John, *till January; Welcome, Sir* John, *till January.*

Item, *The Congregation, nor any of them, ſhall not trouble or moleſt a Churchman by way of deed, nor yet ſhall make them any impediment in the peaceable brooking, enjoying, and uptaking of their Rents, Profits, and Duties of their Benefices, but that they may freely uſe and diſpoſe upon the ſame, according to the Laws and Cuſtome of this Realme, to the tenth of January next to come.*

Item, *The ſaid Congregation, nor none of them, ſhall uſe in no wayes from thenceforth any force or violence in caſting downe of Churches, Religious places, or apparell thereof, but the ſame ſhall ſtand harmleſſe of them, unto the tenth day of* January.

Item, *The Town of* Edinburgh *ſhall without compulſion uſe and chuſe what Religion, and manner thereof they pleaſe, to the ſaid day; ſo that every man may have freedom to uſe his owne conſcience to the day aforeſaid.*

Anno Item, *The Queen ſhall not interpoſe her Authority to moleſt or trouble the Preachers of the Congregation, nor their Miniſtry (to them that pleaſe to uſe the ſame) nor no other of the ſaid Congregation, in their bodies, lands, goods, or poſſeſſions, Penſions, or whatſoever other kinde of goods they poſſeſſe; nor yet ſuffer the Clergie, or any other, either Spirituall or Temporall Juriſdiction to trouble them in any manner of ſort, privately or openly, for the cauſe of Religion, or any other action depending thereupon, to the ſaid tenth day of Januarij within written; and that every man in particular live in the mean time according to his own conſcience.*

Item, *That no men of War,* French *nor* Scots, *be laid in daily Garriſon within the Town of* Edinburgh, *but to repair thereto to do thsir lawfull buſineſſe, and thereafter to retire them to their Garriſons.*

This alteration in words, and Order was made without knowledge and conſent of thoſe whoſe counſell we had uſed in all ſuch cauſes before: For ſome of them perceiving we began to faint, and that we would appoint with unequall conditions, ſaid, *God hath wonderouſly aſſiſted us in our greateſt dangers: He hath ſtricken fear in the hearts of our enemies, when they ſuppoſed themſelves moſt aſſured of Victory: Our caſe is not yet ſo deſperate, that we need to grant to things unreaſonable and ungodly; which if we do, it is to be feared, That things ſhall not ſo proſperouſly ſucceed as they have done heretofore.*

Note.

When all things were communed and agreed upon by mid perſons, the Duke, and the Earle of *Huntlie*, who that day were againſt us, deſired to ſpeake with the Earles of *Argyle* and *Glencarne*, the Lord *Fames*, and others of our party; who obeying their requeſts, met with them at the Quarrell holes betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, who in concluſion promiſed to our Lords, That if the Queen brake to us any one jot of the Appointment then made, that they ſhould declare themſelves plain enemies to her, and friends to us. As much promiſed the Duke that he would do, in caſe that ſhe would not remove her French-men at a reaſonable day; for the oppreſſion which they did was manifeſt to all men. This Appointment made and ſubſcribed by the Duke, Monſieur *Doſell* and the Earle of *Huntlie*, the 25 of July, we returned to the Towne of *Edinburgh*, where we remained till the next day at noon, when after Sermon, dinner, and Proclamation made at the Market Croſſe, in forme as followeth, we departed.

The promiſe of the Duke and Earle of *Huntly.*

Forme of the Proclamations.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleaſed God that Appointment is made betwixt the Queen Regent and us the Lords Proteſtants of this Realme; We have thought good to ſignifie unto the chief Heads of the Appointment; which be theſe:

Firſt, *That no member of the Congregation ſhall be troubled in life, lands, goods, or poſſeſſions by the Queene, by her Authority, nor by any other juſtice within this Realme, for any thing done in this late Innovation, till that a Parliament hath decided things that be in controverſie.*

Secondly, *That Idolatry ſhall not be erected where it is now at this day ſuppreſſed.*

Third-

Anno

Thirdly, *That the Preachers and Miniſters ſhall not be troubled in the miniſtration, where they are already eſtabliſhed, neither yet ſtopped to Preach whereſoever they ſhall happen to travell within this Realme.*

Fourthly, *That no Bands of men of War ſhall be laid in Garriſon within the Town of* Edinburgh.

The chief Heads of appointment concerning the liberty of Religion, and conſervation of our brethren, we thought good to notifie unto you by this Proclamation; that in caſe wrong or injury be done by any of the contrary faction, to any member of our Body, complaint may be made unto us, to whom we promiſe, as we will anſwer to our God, our faithfull ſupport, to the uttermoſt of our powers.

At this Proclamation, made with ſound of Trumpet, were offended all the Papiſts: for firſt they alleadged, It was done in contempt of Authority. Secondarily, That we had proclaimed more then was contained in the Appointment. And laſt, That we in our Proclamation had made no mention of any thing promiſed unto them. To ſuch murmures we anſwered, That no juſt Anthority could think it ſelf contemned, becauſe that the truth was by us made manifeſt unto all, who otherwiſe might have pretended ignorance. Secondly, That we had proclaimed nothing which was not finally agreed upon in word and promiſe betwixt us and thoſe with whom the Appointment was made, whatſoever the Scribes had after written, who in very deed had altered both in words and ſentences our Articles, as they were firſt conceived: And yet if their owne writings were diligeutly examined, the ſelf-ſame thing ſhall be found in ſubſtance. And laſt, To proclaim any thing in their favours, we thought it not neceſſary, knowing that in that behalf they themſelves would be diligent enough. And in this we were nothing deceived, for within fifteen days after, there was not a *Shaveling in Scotland*, to whom Tenths, or any other Rents pertaineth, but he had that Article of the Appointment by heart, *That the Church-men ſhould be anſwered of Tenths, Rents, and all other duties; and that no man ſhould trouble or moleſt them.* We departing from *Edinburgh* the 26 of July, came firſt to *Linlithqow*, and after to *Sterlin*, where after conſultation, the Band of defence, and maintenance of Religion, and for mutuall defence every one of the other, was ſubſcribed of all that were there preſent.

Anſwer to the complaint of the Papiſts.

The tenour of the Bond was thus:

The third Bond of mutuall defence at Stirlin.

VVE foreſeeing the craft and ſleight of our Adverſaries, who trie all manner of wayes to circumvient us, and by privy means intend to aſſayle every one of us particularly, by fair heights and promiſes, therethrough to ſeparate one of us from another, to our utter ruine and deſtruction. For remedy thereof, we faithfully and truely binde us in the preſence of God, and as we tender the maintenance of true Religion, That none of us ſhall in time coming paſſe to the Queen Dowager, to talk or commune with her, for any Letter or Meſſage ſent by her unto us, or yet to be ſent with conſent of the reſt, or common conſultation thereupon: and how ſoon that either Meſſage or Writing ſhould come from her unto us, with all diligence we ſhall notifie the ſame one to another; ſo that nothing ſhall proceed therein without common conſent of us all. At Sterlin *the firſt day of Auguſt*, 1559.

Anno *Note.*

This Band ſubſcribed, and we foreſeeing that the Queen and Biſhops meant nothing but deceit, thought good to ſeek ayd and ſupport of all Chriſtian Princes againſt her tyranny, in caſe we ſhould be more ſharply purſued. And becauſe that *England* was of the ſame Religion, and lay next unto us, it was judged expedient firſt to prove them; which we did, by one or two Meſſengers, as hereafter, in its owne place, ſhall be more amply declared. After we had abided certaine dayes in *Sterlin*, the Earle of *Argyle* departed to *Glaſgow*; and becauſe he was to depart to his owne Countrey (with whom alſo paſſed the Lord *James*) to pacifie ſome trouble, which by the craft of the Queen was raiſed in his abſence; he required the Earle of *Glencarne*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, and others of *Kyle*, to meet there, for ſome order to be taken that the brethren ſhould not be oppreſſed; which with one conſent they did, and appointed the tenth of September for the next convention at *Sterlin*.

The firſt knowledge of the eſcaping of the Earle of *Arran* out of *France*.

While theſe things were in doing at *Glaſgow*, Letters and a ſervant came from the Earle of *Arran*, to the Duke his father, ſignifying unto him, That by the providence of God he had eſcaped the French Kings hands, who moſt treaſonably and moſt cruelly had ſought his life, or at the leaſt to have committed him to perpetuall priſon: For the ſame time the ſaid French King, ſeeing he could not have the Earle himſelf, cauſed put his younger brother, a childe of ſuch age as could not offend, in ſtrait priſon, where he yet remained, to wit, in the Month of October, the yeer of our Lord 1559. Which things were done by the power and craft of the Queen Dowager, at the time that the Duke and his friends were moſt ready to ſet forth her cauſe. Theſe Letters received, and the eſtate of her two ſons knowne, of whom one was eſcaped, and the other caſt in vile priſon, the Duke deſired communing with the ſaid Earle of *Argyle*; who partly againſt the will of ſome that loved him, rid unto the Duke from *Glaſgow* to *Hammilton*, where abiding a night, he declared his judgement to the Duke, and to his friends, eſpecially to Maſter *Gawane Hammilton*. The Duke required him and the Lord *James* to write their friendly and comfortable Letters to his ſon; which they moſt willingly did, and thereafter addreſſed them to their journey. But the very day of their departing, came one *Boutancourt* (from the Queen Regent with Letters, as was alleadged) from the King and Queen of *France*, to the Lord *Iames*, which he delivered with a bragging countenance, and many threatning words: the Tenour of his Letter was this:

Let this be noted.

The juſt reward of the Duke for leaving God.

The King his Letter to the Lord *Iames*.

MY Couſin, I have greatly marvelled when I underſtood the troubles that are happened in theſe parts. And yet I more marvell, That ye, in whom I had whole confidence, and who has the Honour to be ſo neer the Queen my wife, and has received from the late King my Father, from the Queen my wife, and from me ſuch graces and favours that ye ſhould be ſo forgetfull, as to make your ſelfe the Head, and one of the principall beginners and nouriſhers of the tumults and ſeditions that are ſeen there: The which becauſe it is ſo ſtrange to me, and ſo farre againſt the profeſſion that ye at all times have made, I can-

I cannot well beleeve it. But if it be ſo, I cannot think but ye have been emiſed and led thereto by ſome perſons, that have ſeduced you and cauſed you commit ſuch a fault as I am aſſured you repent of already, which will be a great pleaſure to me, to the effect I may loſe a part of the occaſion I have to be miſcontent with you, as I will you to underſtand I am. Seeing you have ſo far deceived the eſperance I had of you and your affection toward God, and the weale of our ſervice, unto the which ye know, ye are as much and more obliged then any other of the Lords there. For this cauſe, deſiring that the matters may be duely amended, and knowing what ye can therein, I thought good on this manner to write unto you, and pray you to take heed to return to the good way, from which ye have declined, and cauſe me know the ſame by the effects, That you have another intention then this, which the follies by-paſt maketh me now to beleeve, doing all that ever ye can to reduce all things to their firſt eſtate, and put the ſame to the right and good obedience that you know to be due unto God and unto me. Otherwiſe ye may be well aſſured, that I will put to my hand, and that in good earneſt, that you and all they who have done and do as ye do, ſhall feele (through your own fault) that which ye have deſerved and merited. Even as I have given charge to this Gentle-man, preſent bearer, to make you know more largely of my part: for which cauſe I pray you credit him, even as ye would do my ſelfe. Praying God, my couſin, to have you in his holy and worthy protection.

Anno

Bragienow.

Written at *Paris* the 17 day of Ju'y 1559.

The ſame Meſſenger brought alſo Letters from the Queen our Soveraigne, more ſharp and threatning then the former: For her concluſion was: *Vous en ſentires la poincture a iamais.*

His credit was, That the King would ſpend the Crown of *France*, if that he were not revenged upon ſuch ſeditious perſons. That he would never have ſuſpected ſuch inobedience, and ſuch defection from his own ſiſter in him. To the which the ſaid Lord *James* anſwered firſt by word, and then by writing, as followeth:

Note.

The Lord *James* his Letter to the King.

SIR,

MY moſt humble duty remembred, Your Majeſties Letters I received from Paris *the 17 of July laſt, importing in effect, That your Majeſtie doth marvell that I being forgetfull of the graces and favours ſhewed me by the King of bleſſed memorie, your Majeſties father, and the Queen my Soveraigne, ſhould declare my ſelfe head, and one of the principall beginners of theſe alleadged Tumults and Seditions in theſe parts, deceiving thereby your Majeſties expectation in all times had of me, with aſſurance, That if I did not declare by contrary effects my repentance, I, with the reſt that had put, or yet putteth hand to this Work, ſhould receive that reward, which we had deſerved and merited.*

SIR, It grieves me very heavily that the crime of ingratitude ſhould be laid to my charge, by your Majeſtie; and the rather, That I perceive the ſame to have proceeded of ſiniſter information of them (whoſe part it was not to have reported ſo, if true ſervice paſt had been regarded.) And as touching the repentance, and declaration of the ſame by certaine effects, That your Majeſty deſires I ſhew.

My

Anno

My conſcience perſwades me in theſe proceedings to have done nothing againſt God, nor the dutifull obedience towards your Majeſty, and the Queen my Soveraigne. Otherwiſe it ſhould not have been to be repented and alſo amended already, accord ng to your Majeſties expectation of me. But your Majeſtie being truely informed and perſwaded, That the thing which we have done, maketh for the advancement of Gods glory, without any manner of derogation to your Majeſties due obedience; We doubt not but your Majeſtie ſhall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded upon the commandment of the eternall God, we dare not leave the ſame unaccompliſhed, onely wiſhing and deſiring, your Majeſtie did know the ſame, and the truth thereof, as we were perſwaded in our conſciences, and all them that are truly inſtructed in the eternall Word of our God, upon whom we caſt our care from all dangers that may follow the accompl.ſhment of his eterna' will, and to whom we commend your Ma-

Note. *jeſtie, beſeeching him to illuminate your heart with the Goſpel of his eternall Truth, to know your Majeſties duty towards your poore Subjects, Gods choſen people, and what you ought to crave juſtly of them againe: for then we ſhould have no occaſion to feare your Majeſties wrath and indignation, nor your Majeſties ſuſpition in our inobedience. The ſame God have your Majeſtie in his eternall ſaveguard.* At Dunbartane *the* 12 *of Auguſt* 1559.

This anſwer directed to the Queen our Soveraigne, and *Francis* her huſband, the Queen Dowager received, and was bold upon it, as ſhe might well enough, for it was ſuppoſed; That the former Letters were forged here at home in *Scotland*. The anſwer read by her, ſhe ſaid, That ſo proud an anſwer was never given to King, Prince, nor Princeſſe. And yet indifferent men, thought that he might have anſwered more ſharply, and not have tranſgreſſed modeſty nor trueth: For where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had received, if in plain words he had purged himſelfe; affirming, That the greateſt benefit that ever he

Note. received of them, was to ſpend in their ſervice, that which God by others had provided for him; no honeſt man would have accuſed him, and no man could have been able to have convinced him of a lye; *But Princes muſt be pardoned to ſpeak what they pleaſe.*

The reſidence of Iohn Willock in Edinburg. For the comfort of the brethren, and continuance of the Church in *Edinburgh*, was left there our deare brother *John Willock*, who for his faithfull labours and bold courage in that battell, deſerves immortall praiſe. For when it was found dangerous that *John Knox*, who before was elected Miniſter to the Church, ſhould continue there: the brethren requeſted the ſaid *John Willock* to abide with them, leſt that for lack of Miniſters, Idolatry ſhould be erected up again. To the which he ſo gladly conſented, That it might evidently appeare, that he preferred the comfort of his brethren and the continuance of the Church there to his own life. One part of the French-men were appointed to lye in Garriſon at *Leith*, (that was the firſt benefit which they gate for their confederacie with them) the other part were appointed to lye in the Canon-gate, the Queen and her train abiding in the Abbey. Our brother *John Willock* the day after our departure preached in S. *Giles* Church, and fervently exhorted the brethren to ſtand conſtant to the Truth which they had profeſſed.

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At this, and ſome other Sermons was the Duke, and divers other of the Queens faction. This liberty of Preaching, and reſort of all people thereto did highly offend the Queen and the other Papiſts. And firſt they began to give terrours to the Duke, affirming, That he would be reputed as one of the Congregation, if he gave his preſence to the Sermons. Thereafter they began to require, That *Maſſe* might be ſet up again in S. *Giles* Church, and that the people ſhould be ſet at liberty to chuſe what Religion they would. For that ſaid they was contained in the appointment, That the Town of *Edinburgh* ſhould chuſe what Religion they liſted. For obtaining hereof were ſent to the Town the Duke, the Earle of *Huntly*, and the Lord *Seaton*, to ſolicite all men to condiſcend to the Queens minde, wherein the two laſt did labour what they could, the Duke not ſo, but as a beholder, of whom the brethren had good hope, and after many perſwaſions and threatnings made by the ſaid Earle and Lord, the brethren ſtoutly and valiantly in the Lord Jeſus, gain-ſaid their moſt unjuſt Petitions. Reaſoning, That as in conſcience they might not ſuffer Idolatry to be erected, where Chriſt Jeſus was truely Preached; ſo could not the Queen nor they require any ſuch thing, unleſſe ſhe and they would plainely violate their Faith, and chiefe Article of the appointment. For it is plainely appointed, *That no member of the Congregation ſhall be moleſted in any thing; That at the day of the appointment they peaceably poſſeſſed.* But ſo it was, That we the brethren and Proteſtants of the Town of *Edinburgh*, with our Miniſters the day of the appointment, did peaceably enjoy Saint *Giles* Church, appointed us for Preaching of Chriſts true Goſpel, and right miniſtration of his holy Sacraments. Therefore without manifeſt violation of the appointment, you cannot remove us therefrom, untill a Parliament have decided the Controverſie. This anſwer given, the whole brethren departed, and left the foreſaid Earle, and Lord *Seaton*, then Proveſt of *Edinburgh*, ſtill in the *Tolbuith*. Who perceiving that they could not prevaile in that manner, began to entreat that they would be quiet, and that they would ſo far condiſcend to the Queens pleaſure, as that they would chuſe them another within the Town, or at the leaſt be content that *Maſſe* ſhould be ſaid, either after or before their Sermon. To the which, anſwer was given; That to give place to the devil (who was the chiefe Inventer of the Maſſe) for the pleaſure of any creature, they could not. They were in poſſeſſion of that Church which they could not abandon, neither yet could they ſuffer Idolatry to be erected in the ſame, unleſſe by violence they ſhould be conſtrained ſo to do. And then they were determined to ſeek the next remedy. Which anſwer received, the Earle of *Huntly* did lovingly intreat them to quietneſſe, faithfully promiſing, That in no ſort they ſhould be moleſted, ſo that they would be quiet, and make no farther uproare. To the which they were moſt willing, for they ſought onely to ſerve God, as he had commanded, and to keep their poſſeſſion, according to the appointment: which by Gods grace they did, till the moneth of November, notwithſtanding the great boaſting of the enemy. For they did not onely convene to the Preaching, daily ſupplications and adminiſtration of Baptiſme, but alſo the Lords Table was miniſtred

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ſtred, even in the eyes of the very enemy, to the great comfort of many afflicted conſciences, and as God did ſtrongly work with his true Miniſters, and with his troubled Church: ſo did not the devil ceaſe to inflame the malice of the Queen, and of the Papiſts with her. For that after her coming to the Abbey of *Halyrud-houſe*, ſhe cauſed Maſſe to be ſaid firſt in her own Chappell, and after in the Abbey where the Altars before were caſt down. She diſcharged the Common-Prayers, and forbade to give any portion to ſuch as were the principall young men who read them. Her malice extended in like manner to *Cambuskenneth*, for there ſhe diſcharged the portions of as many of the Canons as had forſaken Papiſtry: She gave commandment and inhibition, that the Abbot of *Lyndors* ſhould be anſwered of any part of his living in the North, becauſe he had ſubmitted himſelfe to the Congregation, and had put ſome Reformation to his place: By her conſent and procurement was the Preachers Chaire broken in the Church of *Leith*, and Idolatry was erected in the ſame, where it was before ſuppreſſed. Her French Captains, with their Souldiers in great companies, in time of Preaching and Prayers reſorted to Saint *Giles* Church in *Edinburgh*, and made their common deambulation therein with ſuch loud talking, as no perfect audience could be had. And although the Miniſter was there-through oft times compelled to cry out on them, Praying to God to rid them of ſuch Locuſts, they nevertheleſſe continued ſtill in their wicked purpoſe deviſed and ordained by the Queen, to have drawn our brethren of *Edinburgh* and them in cumber, ſo that ſhe might have had any coloured occaſion to have broken the League with them. Yet by Gods grace they behaved themſelves ſo, that ſhe could finde no fault in them, albeit in all theſe things before-named, and in every one of them ſhe is juſtly accounted to have gaine-ſaid the ſaid appointment. We paſſe over the oppreſſing of our brethren in particular, which had been ſufficient to have proved the appointment to have been plainly violated. For the Lord *Seaton*, without any occaſion offered unto him, brake a chaſe upon *Alexander Whitlaw*, as he came from *Preſton*, accompanied with M. *William Knox*, towards *Edinburgh*, and ceaſed not to purſue him, till he came to the Towne of *Ormeſton*. And this he did, ſuppoſing that the ſaid *Alexander* had been *John Knox*. In all this mean time, and while that moe French-men arived, they are not able to prove that we brake the appointment in any jote, except that a horned Cap was taken off a proud Prieſts head, and cut in four quarters, becauſe he ſaid, He would wear it in deſpight of the Congregation. In this mean time, the Queen, then Regent, knowing aſſuredly what force was ſhortly to come unto her, ceaſed not, by all meanes poſſible to cloke the in-coming of the French, and to inflame the hearts of our Countrey-men againſt us. And for that purpoſe ſhe firſt wrote unto Duke *Hamilton*, in forme, as followeth.

The Queen Regents malice againſt poore men.

Note.

The Queen Regents falſe flattering Letter to Duke *Hamilton*.

MY Lord and Couſin, after hearty commendations, We are informed that the Lords of the Weſt-land Congregation intend to make a Convention and

and aſſembly of your kin and friends upon Gowan *Moore, beſides* Glaſgow, *on Munday come eight dayes, the* 28 *day of Auguſt inſtant, for ſome high purpoſe againſt us, which we can ſcantly believe, conſidering they have no occaſion on Our part ſo to do. And albeit we know the Appointment was made againſt and without Our adviſe, yet we accepted the ſame at your deſire, and have ſince made no cauſe, whereby they might be moved to come in the contrary thereof. Like as we are yet minded to keep firme and ſtable all things promiſed by you in Our behalfe. We thinke on the other part, it is your duty to require them, that they violate not their part thereof in no wiſe. And in caſe they mean any evil towards Us, and ſo will break their promiſe, We believe ye will at the uttermoſt of your power convene with us, and compell them to do that thing which they ought, if they will not; praying you to have your ſelf, your kin and friends, in readineſſe to come to us, as ye ſhall be advertiſed by Proclamation, in caſe the Congregation aſſemble themſelves for any purpoſe againſt Us, or the Tenour of the ſaid Appointment: Aſſuring you, without they gather, and give firſt occaſion, We ſhall not put you to any pains in that behalf. And that you advertiſe Us by writ what we may truſt to herein by this Bearer, who will ſhew you the fervent minde we bear to have good concord with the ſaid Congregation, what offers We have made them, and how deſirous we are to draw them to the obedience of Our Soveraignes Authority, to whom you ſhall give credit: and God keep you.* At *Edinburgh* the tenth of Auguſt, 1559. Anno

The like Letter ſhe wrote to every Lord, Baron, and Gentleman, of this Tenour.

The Queen Regents Letter to the Barons.

TRuſty friend, after hearty commendations, We doubt not but you have heard of the Appointment made beſide Leith, *betwixt the Duke, the Earle of* Huntlie, *and Monſieur* Doſell, *on the one part; And the Lords of the Congregation, on the other part: Which Appointment We have approved in all points, albeit it was taken without Our adviſe, and is minded to obſerve and keep all the contents thereof for Our part. Nevertheleſſe, as We are informed, the Lords of the Congregation intend ſhortly to convene all ſuch perſons as will aſſiſt them, for enterpriſing of ſome high purpoſe againſt Us, Our Authority, and Tenour of the ſaid Appointment; which we cannot believe, ſeeing they neither have, nor ſhall have any occaſion given thereto on Our part. But in caſe againſt all reaſon they ſhould mean any ſuch thing, We have thought it good to give warning to Our ſpeciall friends of the advertiſement We have gotten; and amongſt the reſt, to you, whom We eſteem of that number, praying you to have your ſelf, your kin and folks in readineſſe to come to Us,* and ſo forth, as in the other Letter above ſent to the Duke, word by word.

After that by theſe Letters, and by the decitfull ſurmiſing of her ſoliciters, ſhe had ſomewhat ſtirred up the hearts of the people againſt us, then ſhe began openly to complain, That we were of minde to invade her Perſon, That we would keep no part of the Appointment, and therefore ſhe was compelled to crave aſſiſtance of all men, againſt our unjuſt purſuit. And this practiſe ſhe uſed, as before is ſaid, to abuſe the ſimplicity of the people, that they ſhould not ſuddenly eſpie for what purpoſe ſhe brought in her new bands of men of War, who did arrive about the midſt of *Auguſt*, to the number of 1000 men: The reſt were appointed to

The practiſe of the Queen Regent. See how this agreeth with our times.

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The arrivall of th French.

come after with Monſieur *de la Broſſe*, and with the Biſhop of *Ammians*, who arrived the nineteenth day of *September* following, as if they had been Ambaſſadours: But what was their Negotiation, the effect did declare, and they themſelves could not long conceal; for by both tongue and pen they uttered, That they were ſent for the extermination of all thoſe that would not profeſſe the Papiſticall Religion in all points. The Queens practiſe and craft could not blinde the eyes of all men, neither yet could her ſubtilty hide her owne ſhame, but that many did eſpy her deceit; and ſome ſpared not to ſpeak their judgements liberally, who foreſeeing the danger, gave advertiſement, requiring that proviſion might be found, before that the evil ſhould exceed our wiſedome and ſtrength to put fit remedy to it: For prudent men foreſaw, That ſhe pretended a plain conqueſt; but to the end that the people ſhould not ſuddenly ſtir, ſhe would not bring in her full force at once (as before is ſaid) but by continuall traffique purpoſed to augment her Army, ſo that in the end we ſhould not be able to reſiſt. But the greateſt part of the Nobility, and many of the people, were ſo enchanted by her treaſonable ſoliciters, that they would not hear nor credit the truth plainly ſpoken. The French then after the arriving of their new men, began to brag: then began they to divide the Lands and Lordſhips according to their owne fantaſies; for one was ſtiled, Monſieur *de Argyle*; another, Monſieur *le Prior*; the third Monſieur *de Ruthwen*; yea, they were aſſured, in their own opinion, to poſſeſſe whatſoever they liſted; ſo that ſome asked for the Rentalls and Revenues of divers mens lands, to the end that they might chuſe the beſt: And yet in this mean time ſhe was not aſhamed to ſet out a Proclamation in this form:

Note.

The diviſion of the Lords lands by the French.

A Proclamation ſet forth by the Queen Regent, to blinde the vulgar People.

How like to the Proclamations of our times this is, let the Reader judge.

FOraſmuch as We underſtand that certain ſeditious perſons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumours and evill brutes, intending thereby to ſtir up the hearts of the people, and ſo to ſtop all manner of reconciliations betwixt us and our ſubjects being of the number of the Congregation, and conſequently to kindle and nouriſh a continuall ſtrife and diviſion within this Realme, to the manifeſt ſubverſion of the whole State thereof; And amongſt other purpoſes, have maliciouſly deviſed for that effect, and have perſwaded too many, That We have violated the Appointment lately taken, in ſo far as any more French men ſince came in, and that we do minde to draw in great Forces of men of War forth of *France*, to ſuppreſſe the Liberty of this Realm, oppreſſe the inhabitants thereof, and make up ſtrangers with their lands & goods. Which reports are all (God knoweth) moſt vain, fained, and untrue: For it is of truth, That nothing hath been done on our part ſince the ſaid Appointment, whereby it may be alleadged that any part thereof contravened; nor yet was at that time any thing commoved or concluded to ſtop the ſending in of French-men, as may clearly appear by inſpection of the ſaid Appointment, which the Bearer hereof hath preſent to ſhew.

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Whatſoever number of men of War be arrived, We have ſuch regard to Our honor, and quietneſſe of this Realm, that in caſe in the room of every French-man that is in *Scotland*, there were an hundred at our command, yet ſhould not for that any jot that is promiſed be broken, or any alteration made by our provocation, but the ſaid Proclamation truely and ſurely ſhould be obſerved in every point. If the ſaid Congregation will in like manner faithfully keep their part thereof: Nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their goods, & rooms: Nor yet to enrich the Crowne, and far leſſe any ſtrangers, with your ſubſtance; for Our deareſt ſon and daughter the King and Queen, are by Gods proviſion placed in the room where all men of judgement may well conſider they have no need of any mans goods. And for Our Self, we ſeeking nothing but dutifull obedience unto them, ſuch as good ſubjects ought to give to their Soveraigne, without diminution of your liberties and priviledges, or alteration of your Laws. Therefore We have thought good to notifie unto you Our good minde foreſaid, and deſire you not to give ear nor credit to ſuch vain imaginations, whereof, before God, no part entered in our conceit, nor ſuffer your ſelves be thereby led from your due obedience, aſſuring you, ye ſhall ever finde with Us truth in promiſe, and a motherly love towards all you, behaving your ſelves as Our obedient ſubjects. But of one thing We give you warning, That whereas ſome Preachers of the Congregation in their publike Sermons ſpeak irreverently and ſlanderouſly, as well of Princes in generall, as of Our Selfe in particular, and of the obedience of higher Powers, inducing the people by that part of their Doctrine, to defection from their duty; which pertaineth nothing to Religion, but rather ſedition and tumult, things direct quite contrary to Religion. Therefore We deſire you to take order in your Towns and bounds, that when the Preachers repair thither, they uſe themſelves more modeſtly in theſe behalfs, and in their Preaching not to meddle ſo much with Civill Policy, and Publike Government, nor yet name Us, or other Princes, but with reverence, otherwiſe it will not be ſuffered. And ſeeing you have preſently the Declaration of Our Intention, We deſire likewiſe to know what ſhall be your part to Us, that We may underſtand what to truſt for at your hands, whereof we deſire a plain Declaration in writing with this Bearer, without delay. At *Edinburgh* the 28 of *Auguſt*, 1559.

Let the Biſhop of *Amiens* Letters, and Monſieur *de la Broſſe* Letters written to *France* witneſſe that.

Confer this with our times.

Few dayes after declareth the truth of this.

This Proclamation ſhe ſent by her Meſſengers thorow all the Countrey, and had her ſolicitors in all parts, who painfully travelled to bring men to her opinion; amongſt whom theſe were the principall; Sir *John Ballenden*, Juſtice *Clerke*, Maſter *James Balfour*, Officiall of *Lowthian*; Maſter *Thomas* and Maſter *William Scots*, ſons to the Laird of *Balwerie*; Sir *Robert Carnegie*, and Maſter *Gawan Hammilton*, who for fainting of the brethrens hearts, and drawing many to the Queens faction againſt their native Countrey, have declared themſelves enemies to God, and Traytors to the Common-weal: But above all others, Maſter *James Balfour*, Official for the time, ought to be abhorred; for he of an old profeſſor, is become a new denier of Chriſt Jeſus, and manifeſt blaſphemer of his eternal

Anno Verity, againſt his knowledge and conſcience, ſeeking to betray his brethren and native Countrey into the hands of a cruell and unfaithfull Nation. The anſwer to this former Proclamation was made in forme as followeth.

To the Nobility, Burgeſſe, and Commonty of this Realme of Scotland, *the Lords, Barons, and others Brethren of the Congregation, wiſheth encreaſe of all wiſedom, with advancement of the glory of God, and of the Common-wealth.*

THe love of our native Countrey craveth, the defence of our honours requireth, and the ſincerity of our conſciences compelleth us (dear brethren) to anſwer in ſome part to the laſt Writs and Proclamations ſet forth by the Q. Regent, no leſſe to make us and our Cauſe odious, then to abuſe your ſimplicity, and to work your finall deſtruction, conſpired of old, and now already put to work. And firſt, where ſhe alleadgeth, That certain ſeditious perſons have of malice invented and blown abroad divers rumors, tending thereby (as ſhe alleadgeth) to ſtir up the hearts of the people to ſedition, by reaſon that the French-men are crept in of late in our Countrey. True it is (dear brethren) that all ſuch as bear naturall love to their Countrey, to you their brethren inhabitants thereof, to our houſes, wives, children, the eſperance of our poſterity; and to be ſhort, To our Common-wealth, and to the ancient Laws and Liberties therof, cannot but in heart lament, and with mouth & tears complain, the moſt crafty aſſaults deviſed and practiſed, to the utter ruine of all theſe things forenamed. This is ſo manifeſtly gone to work, that even in our eyes, our dear brethren, true members of our Common-wealth, are moſt cruelly oppreſſed by ſtrangers; in ſo far, as ſome are baniſhed their owne houſes, ſome robbed and ſpoiled of their ſubſtance purchaſt by their juſt labours in the ſweat of their brows, ſome cruelly murthered at the pleaſure of theſe inhumane ſouldiers, and altogether have their lives in ſuch fear and dread, as if the enemy were in the midſt of them; ſo that nothing can ſeem pleaſant unto them which they poſſeſſe in the bowells of their native Countrey; ſo neer judged every man (and not without juſt cauſe) the practiſe uſed upon their brethren, to approach next unto them, their wives, childrens, houſes, and ſubſtances, which altogether are caſt at the feet of ſtrangers men of War, to be by them thus abuſed at their unbridled luſts deſire. Now if it be ſedition (dear brethren) to complain, lament, and pour forth before God the ſorrows and ſobs of our dolorous hearts, crying to him for redreſſe of thoſe enormities (which elſewhere is to be found) which altogether do proceed of the unlawfull holding of ſtrange Souldiers over the heads of our brethren. If this to complain be ſedition, then indeed (dear brethren) can none of us be purged of that crime; for as in very heart we condemne ſuch inhumane cruelty, with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof, ſo can we not, nor dare we, neither by mouths ſpeaking, nor yet by keeping ſilence, juſtifie the ſame. Neither do we here aggravate the breaking of the Appointment made at *Leith* (which alwayes hath manifeſtly been done) but herein we remember what oath we have made to our Common-wealth, and how the duty we ought to the ſame compelleth us to cry out, That the

Confer this with our times.

the Queen by wicked and ungodly counſell goeth moſt craftily about utterly to oppreſſe the ſame, and the ancient Lawes and Liberties thereof: As well againſt the King of *France* his promiſe, her own duty, in reſpect of the high promotions that ſhe hath received thereby: which juſtly ſhould have cauſed her to have been in deed, that which ſhe would be called (and is nothing leſſe in verity) to wit, a carefull mother over this Common-wealth. But what motherly care ſhe hath uſed towards you, ye cannot be ignorant of. Have ye not been, even from the firſt entrie of her Reigne, ever ſmitten and oppreſſed with unaccuſtomed and more exorbitant Taxations then ever were uſed within this Realm? Yea, and how far was it ſought here to have been brought in upon you and your poſterity, under colour to have been laid up in ſtore for the wars. The inquiſition taken of all your goods, moveable and unmoveable by way of Teſtament, the ſeeking of the whole Coale and Salt of this Realme to have been laid up in ſtore, and in garnell, and ſhe alone to have been Merchant thereof doth teach you by experience ſome of her motherly care. Again, What favour to our Common-wealth doth ſhe at this inſtant bear, when even now preſently, and of a long time by-gone, by the Miniſtery of ſome (who better deſerve the Gallows then ever did *Cochran*) ſhe doth ſo corrupt the good money, and hath brought it to ſuch buſineſſe, and ſuch a deale of ſtrife, that all men that had their eyes open may perceive an extream beggery to be brought there-through upon the whole Realme. So that the whole exchange and traffique to be had with Forraigne nations (a thing moſt neceſſary in all Common-wealths) ſhall thereby be utterly extinguiſhed, and all the gaines received thereby is, That ſhe therewith entertaineth ſtrangers upon our heads. For brethren, you know that her money hath ſerved for no other purpoſe in our Common-wealth this long time bygone. And the impunity of thoſe wicked Miniſters (whom lately we ſpake of) hath brought the matter to ſuch a licentious enormitie and plaine contempt of the Common-weale, that now they ſpare not plainely to break down and convert the good and weighty money Coined in our Soveraignes leſſer age into this their corrupted skruife and baggages of Hard-heads and Non-ſunts, moſt like as ſhe and they had conſpired to deſtroy all the whole good Coine of this Realme, and conſequently that part of the Common weale. Beſides all this, their clipped and ronged Sols which had no paſſage theſe three yeers paſt in the Realme of *France* are commanded to have courſe in this Realme, to gratifie thereby her new-come Souldiers, and all theſe things together are done without the advice or conſent of the Nobilitie and Counſell of thi Realme, and manifeſtly there-through againſt our ancient Laws and Liberties. Thirdly, her laſt and moſt weightie proceeding, more fully declareth the motherly care her Majeſtie beareth to our Common-weale and us, when in time of Peace, without any occaſion of Forraigne Wars, thouſands of Strangers are laid here and there upon the necks of our poore members of this Common-weale. Their idle bellies fed upon the poore ſubſtance of the Commonaltie conqueſt by their juſt labours in the painfull ſweat of their brows, which to be true, *Dunbar, North-Berwick, Trayent, Preſton, Panes, Miſſilburgh, Leith, Cannow*

Anno

Let the Nobility judge hereof.

Let Sir *Robert Richardſon* and others anſwer to this.

Anno *Cannongat, Kinghorne, Kirkcaldie, Diſert*, with the depauperate ſouls that this day dwell therein can teſtifie. Whoſe oppreſſion as doubtleſſe it is entred in before the Juſtice-ſeat of God, ſo ought it juſtly to move our hearts to have pity and compaſſion upon theſe our poore brethren, and at our powers to provide remedie for the ſame. And albeit her ſtrangers had been garniſhed with money (as you know well they were not) yet can there here lying be no wayes but moſt hurtfull to our Common-wealth, ſeeing that the fertility of this Realme had never been ſo plentifull that it was able of any continuance to ſuſtain it ſelfe and inhabitants thereof, without ſupport of Forraigne Countreys, far leſſe able beſides the ſame to ſuſtain thouſands of ſtrangers wherewith it is burthened, to the dearthing of all victuals, as the murmure and complaint of *Edinburgh* this day doth teſtifie. But to what effect the Common-weale is thus burdened, the end doth declare. For ſhortly were they brought to the fields againſt our Soveraigns true Lieges, even us your brethren, who (God knoweth) ſought nothing elſe but peace of conſcience, under protection of our Soveraigne, and Reformation of theſe enormities, for no other cauſe but that we would not renounce the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſubdue our necks under the tyranny of that wicked Man of ſin, the *Romane Antichriſt* and his forſworn Shavelings, who at that time moſt tyrannically oppreſſed our ſouls with hunger of Gods true Word, and reft our goods and ſubſtances, to waſte the ſame upon their foule luſts and ſtinking harlots. But (O dear brethren) this was not the chiefe pretence and finall ſcope of her proceedings (as theſe dayes do well declare) for had not God given in our hearts to withſtand that oppreſſion, with weapons of moſt juſt defence, thou, O Saint *Johnſton* and *Dundie*, had been in no better ſtate then your ſiſter of *Leith* is this day. For though we in very deed (God is witneſſe) meant then nothing, but in the ſimplicity of our hearts, the maintenance of true Religion, and ſafetie of our brethren, Profeſſours of the ſame, yet lay there another ſerpent lurking in the breſt of our adverſaries, as this day (praiſe to God) is plainely opened to all that liſt to behold, to wit, *To bring you and us both under the perpetuall ſervitude of ſtrangers.* For we being appointed, as ye know, touching Religion to be reaſoned with all in the Councell, at the day affixed, and no occaſion made to break the ſame on our ſide (as is well known) yet come there forth writings and complaints, That this day and that day we were prepared to invade the Queens perſon (when in very truth there was never ſuch thing thought, as the very deed hath declared.) But becauſe ſhe was before deliberate to bring in French-men to both our deſtructions, that you ſhould not ſtir therewith, ſhe made you to underſtand, That thoſe Bands came onely for ſafety of her own perſon. O craft, brethren! O ſubtilty! But behold the end: They are come (yet not ſo many, no not the ſixth part that ſhe deſired and looked for) and how, not onely with weapons to defend her perſon, but with wives and children to plant in your native rooms, as they have already begun in the Town of *Leith*, the principall Port and Staple of this Realm. The gemall and furniture of the Councell, and ſeat of Juſtice. And here will they dwell, till they may reinforce themſelves with greater number of their fellow-Souldiers, to ſubdue

See how this agrees with our times.

then

then the reſt, if God withſtand not. And yet her Majeſtie feared nor ſhamed not to write, if they were a hundred French-men for every one of them that is in *Scotland*, yet they ſhould harme no man. Tell thou now *Leith* if that be true; If this be not a craftie entrie to a manifeſt conqueſt fore-thought of old, judge you deare brethren: Thus to fortifie our Towns, and even the principall Port of our Realm, and to lay ſo ſtrong Gariſons of ſtrangers therein, not onely without any conſent of the Nobility and Councell of this Realm, but alſo expreſſe againſt their minde (as our Writ ſent to her Majeſtie beareth record) if this be not to oppreſſe the ancient Lawes and Liberties of our Realme, let all wiſe men ſay to it. And further, to take the Barne-yards new gathered, the Gernalls repleniſhed, and to ſit down therein, and by force to put the juſt poſſeſſours and ancient inhabitants there-from, with their wives, children, and ſervants to ſhift for themſelves in begging, if they have no other means, they being true Scottiſh-men, members of our Common-wealth, and our deare brethren and ſiſters, borne, foſtred, and brought up in the bowels of our common and native Countrey, if this be not the manifeſt declaration of their old pretence, and minde towards the whole Scottiſh Nation; let your owne conſcience (brethren) be judge herein. Was all *Leith* of the Congregation? No, I think not, yet were all alike ſerved. Let this motherly care then be tried by the fruits thereof: Firſt, by the great and exorbitant Taxations uſed upon you, and yet ten times greater preſſed at, as ye know. Secondly, the utter depravation of our Coine, to purchaſe thereby money to entertaine ſtrangers, French Souldiers upon you, and to make them ſtrong holds, leſt you ſhould ſometime expell them out of your native roomes. Thirdly, by the daily re-inforcing of the ſaid French Souldiers in ſtrength and number, with wives and children, planting in your brethrens houſes and poſſeſſions. Indeed her Majeſtie is, and hath been at all times carefull to procure by her craft of fair words, of fair promiſes, and ſometimes of buds to allure your ſimplicity to that point, to joyn your ſelves to her Souldiers, to daunt and oppreſſe us, that you the remnant (we being cut off) may be an eaſie prey to her ſleights: Which God of his infinite goodneſſe hath now diſcovered to the eyes of all that liſt to behold. But credit the works (deare brethren) if ye will not credit us, and lay the example of Forreign nations, yea, even of our brethren, before your eyes, and procure not your own ruine willingly. If you tender true Religion, you ſee how her Majeſtie beareth her ſelfe plaine enemy thereto, and maintaineth the tyrannie of thoſe idle bellies the Biſhops, againſt Gods Church: If Religion be not perſwaded unto you, yet caſt you not away the care you ought to have over your Common-wealth, which you ſee manifeſtly and violently ruined before your eyes: If this will not move you, remember your deare wives, children and poſterity, your ancient heritages and houſes, and think well theſe ſtrangers will regard no more your right thereunto, then they have done your brethren of *Leith*, when ever occaſion ſhall ſerve. But if you purpoſe (as we doubt not but that all thoſe that either have wit or manhood will declare and prove indeed) to brook your ancient roomes and heritages, conquered moſt valiantly, and defended by

Anno

The cauſe of the French-mens coming with wives and children.

Note.

Anno your moſt noble Progenitors, againſt all ſtrangers, invaders of the ſame, as the French pretendeth plainly this day, if ye will not be ſlaves unto them, and to have your lives, your wives, your children, your ſubſtance, and whatſoever is dear unto you caſt at their feet, to be uſed and abuſed at the pleaſure of ſtrange Souldiers, as you ſee your brethrens at this day before your eyes. If you will not have experience ſome day hereof in your own perſons (as we ſuppoſe the leaſt of you all would not gladly have, but rather would chuſe with honour to die in defence of his own native roome, then live and ſerve ſo ſhamefull a ſervitude) then brethren let us joyn our forces, and both with wit and manhood reſiſt their beginnings, or elſe our liberties hereafter ſhall be dearer bought. Let us ſurely be perſwaded, when our neighbours houſes be on fire, that we dwell not without danger. Let no man withdraw himſelfe herefrom, and if any will be ſo unhappy and miſchievous (as we ſuppoſe none to be) let us altogether repute, hold and uſe him (as he is in deed) for an enemie to us, and to himſelfe, and to his Common-weale. *The eternall and omnipotent God, the true and onely revenger of the oppreſſed, be our comfort and Protectour againſt the furie and rage of the Tyrants of this world: And eſpecially from the inſatiable covetouſneſſe of the Cardinall of* Guyſe, *and the Hamiltons.* Amen.

A proverbe.

Beſides this our publike Letter, ſome men anſwered certaine heads of the Queens ſaid Proclamation on this manner.

If it be ſedition to ſpeak the trueth in all ſobriety, and to complaine, when they are wounded, or to call for help againſt unjuſt tyrannie before that their throats be cut, then can we not denie, but we are criminall and guilty of tumult and ſedition. For we have ſaid, That our Common-weale is oppreſſed, that we and our brethren are hurt by the tyrannie of ſtrangers, and that we fear bondage and ſlaverie, ſeeing that multitudes of cruell murtherers are daily brought into our Countrey without our counſell, knowledge, and conſent. We diſpute not ſo much whether the bringing in of moe French-men be violating of the appointment (which the Queen and her faction cannot deny to be manifeſtly broken by them in moe cauſes then one) as that we would know, if that the heaping of ſtrangers upon ſtrangers, above us, without our counſell or conſent, be a thing that may ſtand with the Liberty of our Realme, and with the profit of our Common-wealth. It is not unknown to all men of judgement, That the fruits of our Countrey, in the moſt common yeers, be no more then ſufficient reaſonable to nouriſh the born inhabitants of the ſame. But now ſeeing we have been vexed with wars, taken upon us at the pleaſure of *France*, by the which the moſt fruitfull portion of our Countrey in Corne hath been waſted. What man is ſo blinde, but that he may ſee, That ſuch bands of ungodly and idle Souldiers can be nothing elſe but an occaſion to famiſh our poore brethren. And in this point we refuſe not (which is the chiefe) the judgement of all naturall Scottiſh-men. The Queen Regent alleadged, That although there was an hundred French-men for one that is in *Scotland*, yet ſhe is not minded to trouble any

any unjuſt poſſeſſion. Whereto we anſwer, That we diſpute not what ſhe intended(which nevertheleſſe by probable conjectures it is to be ſuſpected) but alwayes we affirm, that ſuch a multitude of French-men is a burden not onely unprofitable, but alſo intolerable to this poor Realme; eſpecially being treated as they are by her and Monſieur *Doſell*: For if their wages be paid out of *France*, then are they both (the Queen, we ſay, and Monſieur *Doſell*) traytors to the King and Counſell; for the poor Commons of this Realme have ſuſtained them with the ſweat of their brows, ſince the contracting of the Peace, and ſomewhat before. Anno *Note.*

What motherly affection ſhe hath declared to this Realm, and to the inhabitants of the ſame, her works have evidently declared, even ſince the firſt hour that ſhe hath borne Authority. And albeit men will not this day ſee what danger hangs over our heads, yet fear we that ere it be long, experience ſhall teach ſome, that we have not feared without cauſe. The cruell murther and oppreſſion uſed by thoſe whom now ſhe foſtereth, is to us a ſufficient argument what is to be looked for when her number is ſo multiplied, that our force ſhall not be able to gainſtand their tyranny. Where ſhe complaineth of our Preachers, affirming that unreverently they ſpeak of Princes in generall, and of her in particular, inducing the people thereby to defection from their duty, &c. And therefore that ſuch a thing cannot be ſuffered. Becauſe this occaſion is laid againſt Gods true Miniſters, we cannot but witneſſe what courſe and order of Doctrine they have kept, and yet keep in that point.

In publike prayers they recommend to God all Princes in generall, and the Magiſtrates of this our native Realme in particular. In open audience they declare the Authority of Princes and Magiſtrates to be of God, and therefore they affirm that they ought to be honoured, feared, and obeyed, even for conſcience ſake; provided that they command nor require nothing expreſly repugning to Gods Commandment and plain Will revealed in his holy Word. Moreover, they affirm, That if wicked perſons abuſing the Authority eſtabliſhed by God, move Princes to command things manifeſtly wicked, That ſuch as can and do bridle thoſe inordinate appetites of miſled Princes, cannot be accuſed as reſiſtaries of the Authority, which is Gods good Ordinance. To bridle the rage and fury of miſled Princes in free Kingdoms and Realms, they affirm it appertaineth to the Nobility, ſworn and borne Councellors of the ſame, and alſo to the Barons and people, whoſe votes and conſents are to be required in all great and weighty matters of the Common-wealth; which if they do not, they declare themſelves criminall with their miſled Princes, and ſo ſubject to the ſame vengeance of God, which they deſerve, for that they pollute the ſeat of Juſtice, and do as it were make God author of Iniquity. They proclaim and cry, That the ſame God who plagued Pharaoh, *repulſed* Sennacherib, *ſtruck* Herod *with worms, and made the bellies of dogs the grave and ſepulcher of the ſpitefull* Jeſabell, *will not ſpare miſled Princes, who authorize the murtherers of Chriſts members in this our time. On this manner they ſpeak of Princes in generall, and of your Majeſty in particular. This onely we have heard one of our Preachers ſay, rebuking the vain excuſes of ſuch as flatter themſelves by reaſon of Authority; Many now adayes (ſaid he) will have no other Religion nor faith, then the Queen and Authority had: But is it not poſſible that the Queen be ſo far blinded, that ſhe will have no Religion, nor no other faith, then may* The doctrine of our Preachers concerning obedience to be given to Magiſtrates.

Let ſuch as this day live, witneſſe what God hath wrought ſince the writing and publication hereof.

Anno

Note.

content the Cardinall of Loraine? *And may it not likewiſe be true that the Cardinall is ſo corrupt, that he will admit no Religion which doth not eſtabliſh the Pope in his kingdome? But plain it is, That the Pope is Lieutenant to Sathan, and enemy to Chriſt Jeſus, and to his perfect Religion. Let men therefore conſider what danger they ſtand in, if their ſalvation ſhall depend upon the Queens faith and Religion. Further, we never heard any of our Preachers ſpeak of the Queen Regent, neither publikely nor privately. Where her Majeſtie declareth, It will not be ſuffered that our Prerchers meddle with Policy, or ſpeak of her, or of other Princes, but with reverence: we anſwer, That as we will juſtifie and defend nothing in our Preachers which we finde not God to have juſtified and allowed in his Meſſengers before them; ſo we dare not forbid them openly to reprehend that which the Spirit of God, ſpeaking in the Prophets and Apoſtles, hath reprehended before them.* Helias *did perſonally reprove* Achab *and* Jeſabell *of idolatry, of avarice, of murther, and ſuch like:* Eſaias *the Prophet called the Magiſtrates of* Jeruſalem *in his time, companions to thieves, Princes of* Sodome, *bribe-takers, and murtherers; he complained that their ſilver was turned into droſſe, That their wine was mingled with water, and that Juſtice was bought and ſold.* Jeremie *ſaith, That the bones of King* Jehoiakim *ſhould wither with the Sun. Chriſt Jeſus called* Herod *a Fox; and* Paul *calleth the high Prieſt a painted wall, and prayeth unto God that he ſhould ſtrike him, becauſe that againſt juſtice he commanded him to be ſmitten. Now if the like (and greater) corruptions be in the world this day, Who dare enterpriſe to put to ſilence the Spirit of God, which will not be ſubject to the appetites of miſled Princes.*

The Prophets have medled with policy, and have reproved the corruptions thereof.

The coming of the Earle of *Arran* to *Scotland*, and his joyning with the Congregation.

We have ſaid before, That the tenth of *September* was appointed for a convention to be holden at *Sterlin*, to the which repaired the moſt part of the Lords of the Congregation. At that ſame time arrived the Earle of *Arran*, who after he had ſaluted his father, came with the Earle of *Argyle* and Lord *James* to *Sterlin*, to the ſaid convention; in which divers godly men complained of the tyrannie uſed againſt their brethren. And eſpecially that more French-men were brought in to oppreſſe their Country. After the conſultation of certain dayes, the principall Lords with my Lord *Arran*, and the Earle of *Argyle* paſt to *Hammilton* for conſultation to be taken with the Duke. And in this mean time came aſſured word that the French-men had begun to fortifie *Leith*; which thing, as it did more evidently diſcover the Queens craft, ſo did it deeply grieve the hearts of all the Nobility there, who with one conſent agreed to write unto the Queen in form as followeth.

At Hammilton the 29 day of September.

Letters to the Queen Regent.

MAdame, we are credibly informed that your Army of French-men ſhould inſtantly begin to plant in Leith, *and to fortifie the ſame, of minde to expell the ancient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the Congregation, whereof we marvell not a little, that your Majeſtie ſhould ſo manifeſtly breake the Appointment made at* Leith, *without any provocation made by us and our brethren. And ſeeing the ſame is done without any manner of conſent of the Nobilitie and counſell of this Realme, we eſteem the ſame not onely oppreſſion of our poore brethren, and in-dwellers of the ſaid Towne, but alſo very prejudiciall to the Common-wealth, and plain contrary to our ancient Laws and Liberties.*

We

We therefore deſire your Majeſtie to cauſe the ſame work enterpriſed to be ſtayed, and not to attempt ſo raſhly and ſo manifeſtly againſt your Majeſties promiſe, againſt the Common-wealth, the ancient Laws and Liberties thereof (which things, beſides the glory of God, are moſt dear and tender to us, and onely our pretence) otherwiſe aſſuring your Majeſtie, we will complain to the whole Nobility and Commonalty of this Realme, and moſt earneſtly ſeek for redreſſe thereof. And thus recommending our humble ſervice unto your Highneſſe, whom we commit to the Eternall Protection of God, expecting earneſtly your anſwer. At *Hammilton* the day and yeer aforeſaid: By your Majeſties humble and obedient ſervitours. Anno

This Letter was ſubſcribed with the hands of the Duke, the Earles of *Arran*, *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, and *Menteth*; by the Lords *Ruthwen Uchiltrie*, *Boyd*, and by divers others Barons and Gentlemen. To this requeſt ſhe would not anſwer by wret, but with a Letter of credit ſhe ſent Sir *Robert Carnegie*, and Maſter *Danid Borthwike*, two, whom amongſt many others, ſhe abuſed, and by whom ſhe corrupted the hearts of the ſimple. They travelled with the Duke, to bring him again to the Queens Faction: *Labroſſe* and the Biſhop of *Amians* were ſhortly before arrived, and, as it was bruted, were directed as Ambaſſadours, but they kept cloſe their whole Commiſſion; they onely made large promiſes to them that would be theirs, and leave the Congregation. The Queen did grievouſly complain, That we had intelligence with *England*, and the concluſion of their Commiſſion was to ſolicite the Duke to put in all in the Queens Will, and then ſhe would be gracious enough. It was anſwered, That no honeſt men durſt commit themſelves to the mercy of ſuch throat-cutters as ſhe had about her; whom if ſhe would remove, and joyn to her a Councell of naturall Scotiſh-men, permitting the Religion to have free paſſage, then ſhould none in *Scotland* be more willing to ſerve her Majeſty then ſhould the Lords and Brethren of the Congregation be. At the ſame time the Duke and the Lords wrote to my Lord *Erskin*, Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, in form as followeth.

The Petition of *la Broſſe*.

The anſwer.

Letter to the Lord *Erskin*.

MY Lord and Couſin, after our hearty commendations, this preſent is to advertiſe you, That we are credibly informed that the Army of French-men now in this Realme, without any advice of the Councell or Nobility, are fortifying, or elſe ſhortly intendeth to fortifie the Towne of Leith, *and expell the ancient inhabitants thereof, whereby they proclaim to all that will open their ears to hear, or eyes to ſee, what is their pretence. And ſeeing the faithfulneſſe of your anteceſſors, and eſpecially of your Father of honourable memory, who was ſo recommended and dear to the Eſtates and Councellors of this Realme, through affection they perceived in him towards the Common-wealth thereof, that they doubted not to give in his keeping the key, as it were, of the Councell, of the Juſtice and Policy of this Realme, the Caſtles of* Edinburgh *and* Sterlin, *we cannot but believe ye will rather augment the honourable favour of your Houſe by ſtedfaſt favour and loyalty to our Common wealth, then through the ſubtill perſwaſions of ſome (which care not what after ſhall come to you and your Houſe, at the preſent would abuſe you to the performance of their wicked enterpriſes and pretences againſt our Common-wealth)*

Anno

utterly deſtroy the ſame. And herefore ſeeing we have written to the Queen to deſiſt from that enterpriſe, otherwiſe that we will complain to the Nobilsty and Commonalty of the Realm, and ſeek redreſſe thereof; We likewiſe beſeech you as our tender friend, brother and member of the ſame Common-wealth with us, that in no wiſe you meddle with, or aſſent to that ungodly enterpriſe againſt the Common-wealth: And likewiſe that ye would ſave your body, and the jewels of this Countrey, committed to yours and your predeceſſors loyalty and fidelity towards your native Countrey and Common-wealth, if ye thinki to be reputed hereafter one of the ſame: And that ye would rather be brother to us then to ſtrangers; for we do gather by the effects, the ſecrets of mens hearts, otherwiſe unſearchable unto us. Thus we write, not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warne you of the danger, in caſe ye ſuffer your ſelfe to be inchanted with fair promiſes, and crafty Councellors: For let no man flatter himſelf; we deſire all men to know; That though he were our father (ſeeing God hath opened our eyes to ſee his Will) if he be enemy to the Common wealth, which is now aſſailed, and we with it, and all true members thereof, he ſhall be knowne, and as he is indeed enemy to us, to our lives, our houſes, babes, heritages, and whatſoever is contained within the ſame: For as the Ship periſhing, What can be ſafe that is within? So the Common wealth being betrayed, What particular member can live in quietneſſe. And therefore in ſo far as the ſaid Caſtles are committed to your credite, we deſire you to ſhew your faithfulneſſe and ſtoutneſſe, as ye tender us, and whatſoever appertaineth to us. And ſeeing we are aſſured ye will be aſſayled both with craft and force, as now by warning we help you againſt the firſt, ſo againſt the laſt ye ſhall not miſſe in all poſſible haſte to have our aſſiſtance, onely to ſhew your ſelfe a man. Save your perſon by wiſedome, ſtrengthen your ſelf againſt force: And the Almighty God aſſiſt you in both, that one ayd the other, and open the eyes of your underſtanding to ſee and perceive the craft of Sathan and his ſuppoſts. At Hamilton *the 29 day of September, 1559.*

Note.

By your Brethren.

The Duke and Lords underſtanding that the Fortifications of *Leith* proceeded, appointed their whole Forces to convene at *Sterlin* the 15 day of Octob. that from thence they might march forward to *Edinburgh*, for the redreſſe of the greateſt enormities which the French did to the whole Countrey, which by them was ſo oppreſſed, that the life of all honeſt men was bitter unto them. In this mean time the Lords directed their Letters to divers parts of the Countrey, making mention what danger did hang over all men, if the French ſhould be ſuffered to plant in this Countrey at their pleaſure. They made mention farther, How humbly they had beſought the Queen Regent, That ſhe would ſend away to *France* her French-men, who were a burden unprofitable and grievous to this Common-wealth, and how that ſhe notwithſtanding did daily augment their number, bringing wives and children, a plain declaration of a plain conqueſt.

The tyranny of the French.

The Queen Regent perceiving that her craft began to be eſpied, by all means poſſible travelled to blinde the people; And firſt ſhe ſent forth her peſtilent Poſt forenamed, in all parts of the Countrey, to perſwade all men, that ſhe offereth all things reaſonable to the Congregation; and

Note how this agrées with our times

and that they refuſing all reaſon, pretended no Religion, but a plaine revolt from Authority. She tempted every man, in particular, as well thoſe that were of the Congregation, as thoſe that were neutralls. She aſſaulted every man as ſhe thought moſt eaſily he might have been overcome. To the Lord *Ruthuen* ſhe ſent the Juſtice *Clerk*, and his wife who is daughter to the wife of the ſaid Lord, what was their Commiſſion and credit, is no further known, then the ſaid Lord hath confeſſed, which is, That large promiſe of profit was promiſed, if he would leave the Congregation, and be the Queens. To Lord *James*, Prior of Saint *Andrews*, was ſent Maſter *John Spens* of *Condie*, with a Letter and Credit, as followeth. Anno

The Memoriall of Maſter *John Spens* of *Condie*, the thirtieth of September.

1. YE ſhall ſay, *That the Queens great favour towards you moveth her to this.*

2. *That ſhe now knoweth that the occaſion of your departing from her, was the favour of the Word, and of the Religion, with the which, albeit ſhe was offended, yet knowing your heart, and the hearts of the other Lords firmely fixed thereupon, ſhe will beare with you in that behalfe, and at your owne ſights ſhe will ſet forward that Cauſe at her power, as may ſtand with Gods Word, the common policie of this Realme, and the Princes honour (note good Reader what venome lurked here, for plaine it is that the policie which ſhe pretended, and the Princes honour will never ſuffer Chriſt Jeſus to reigne in this Realme.)* Note.

3. *To ſpeak of the occaſion of aſſembling of theſe men of Warre, and fortifying of* Leith, *you muſt know, That it was given to the Queen to underſtand by ſome about her, that it is not the advancement of the Word and Religion which is ſought at this time, but rather a pretence to overthrow or alter the authority of your Siſter, of the which ſhe beleeveth ſtill that ye are not participant: and conſidering the tenderneſſe betwixt you and your Siſter, ſhe truſted more in you, in that behalfe, then in any living. But before the Earle of* Arrane *arrived, and that the Duke departed from her faction, ſhe ceaſed not continually to cry, That the Prior ſought to make himſelfe King; and ſo not onely to deprive his Siſter, to make himſelfe King, but alſo to defraud the Duke and his houſe of their pretenſion. But foreſeeing a ſtorme, ſhe began to ſeek a new winde.* Let this be noted, O crafty flatterer!

She further willeth him, to offer the ſending away of the men of War, if the former ſuſpition could be removed, ſhe lamented the trouble that appeared to follow, if the matter ſhould long ſtand in debate, ſhe promiſed her faithfull labours for reconciliation, and required the ſame of him. Requiring further, Faith, Honour, and kindneſſe towards his Siſter, and to adverтiſe for his part, what he deſired; with promiſe, That he might obtaine what he pleaſed to deſire.

To

Anno

To this Letter and Credit the ſaid Lord *James* anſwered as followeth.

MADAME,

I Received your Highneſſe Writ, and have heard the credit of the Bearer, and finding the buſineſſe of ſuch importance, that dangerous it were to give haſtie anſwer. And alſo your Demands are ſuch, That with my honour I cannot anſwer them privately by my ſelfe, I have thought good to delay the ſame till that I may have the judgement of the whole Councell. For this point I will not conceale from your Majeſtie, That amongſt us there is a ſolemned Oath, that none of us ſhall traffique with your Majeſtie ſecretly, neither yet that any of us ſhall treat or deale for himſelfe particularly: Which Oath, for my part, I purpoſe to keep unviolated to the end. But when the reſt of the Noble-men ſhall conveene, I ſhall leave nothing that lyeth in my power undone, that may make for the quietneſſe of this poore Realme: Provided, That the glory of Chriſt Jeſus be not hindered by our concord. And if your Majeſtie ſhall be found ſo tractable, as now ye offer, I doubt not to obtaine of the reſt of my brethren ſuch favour towards your ſervice, as your Majeſtie ſhall have juſt occaſion to ſtand content: For I take God to record, That in this action I have neither ſought, neither yet ſeek any other thing then to increaſe Gods glory, and the Libertie of this poore Realme to be maintained. Further, I have ſhewed unto your Meſſenger what things have miſliked me in your proceedings, even from ſuch a heart as I wiſh to God you knew fully, and all men elſe. And this, with hearty commendation of ſervice to your Majeſtie, I heartily commit your Highneſſe to the eternall protection of the omnipotent. At Saint Andrews, *the firſt of October.*

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your Majeſties humble and obedient Servitour. J. St.

Note. This anſwer received, ſhe raged, as hypocriſie uſeth when it is pricked, and perceiving that ſhe could not work what ſhe would at the hands of men particularly, ſhe ſet forth a Proclamation, univerſally to be proclaimed, in the tenour as followeth.

The Queens Proclamation.

FOr ſo much as it is underſtood by the Queen, that the Duke of *Chattellawralt* hath lately directed his Miſſives into all parts of this Realm, making mention that the French-men late arrived with their wives and children, are begun to plant in *Leith*, to the ruine of the Common weale, which he and his partakers will not paſſe over with patient beholding, deſiring to know what will be every mans part. And that the fortification of *Leith*, is a purpoſe deviſed in *France*, and that therefore *Monſieur de la Broſſe*, and the Biſhop of *Amiens*, are come to this countrey. A thing ſo vaine and untrue, that the contrary thereof is knowne to all men of free judgement. Therefore the Queen, willing that the occaſions whereby her Majeſty was moved ſo to do, be made patent, and what have been her proceedings ſince the appointment laſt made on the Linkes beſide *Leith*.

To

To the effect that the trueth of all things being made manifeſt, every man may underſtand how unjuſtly that a deſire to ſuppreſſe the liberty of this Realm is laid to her charge; we have thought expedient to make this diſcourſe following. Firſt, although after the ſaid appointment, divers of the ſaid Congregation, and that not of the meaneſt ſort, hath violently broken the points thereof, and made ſundry occaſions of new cumber. The ſame was in a part winked at, and over-looked, in hope that they in time would remember their duty, and abſtaine from ſuch evil behaviour, which converſion her Majeſtie ever ſought, rather then any puniſhment, with ſuch care and ſolicitude by all means, and in the mean time nothing was provided for her own ſecurity. But at laſt by their frequent Meſſages to and from *England*, their intelligence then was perceived, yet her Majeſtie truſted the Queen of *England* (let them ſeek as they pleaſe) will do the office of a Chriſtian Princeſſe, in time of a ſworne Peace, through which, force was to her Majeſtie, ſeeing ſo great defection of great perſonages, *to have recourſe to the Law of Nature.* And like as a ſmall Bird, being purſued, will provide ſome neſt, ſo her Majeſtie could do no leſſe in caſes of purſuit, but provide ſome ſure retract for her ſelfe and her company, and to that effect choſe the Town of *Leith*, as a place convenient therefore: becauſe it was her deareſt daughters property, and no other perſon could claime Title or Intereſſe thereto, and alſo becauſe in former times it had been fortified: About the ſame time that the ſeeking ſupport of *England* was made manifeſt, arrived the Earle of *Arrane*, and adjoyned himſelfe to the Congregation, upon further promiſe then the pretended quarrell, or Religion that was to be ſet up by them in authority, and ſo to pervert the whole obedience, and as ſome of the Congregation at the ſame time had put into their hands, and taken the Caſtle of *Brochtie*, put forth the keepers thereof. Immediately came from the ſaid Duke to her Majeſtie unlooked for, a Writ, beſide many others complaining of the fortification of the ſaid Town of *Leith*, in hurt of the ancient inhabitants thereof, brethren of the ſaid Congregation, whereof he then profeſſed himſelfe a Member. And albeit that the Bearer of the ſaid Writ was an unmeet Meſſenger, in a matter of ſuch conſequence, yet her Majeſtie directed to him two perſons of good credit and reputation, with anſwer; Offering, If he would cauſe amends to be made for that which was committed againſt the Lawes of the Realme, to do further then could be craved of reaſon. And to that effect, to draw ſome conference, which by his fault and his Colleagues took no end; nevertheleſſe they continually ſince continue in their doings, uſurping the authority, commanding and charging free Boroughs to chuſe Proveſts and officers of their naming, and to aſſiſt to them in the purpoſe they would be at: and that they will not ſuffer proviſion to be brought for ſuſtentation of her Majeſties houſes. A great part have ſo plainely ſet aſide all reverence and humanitie, whereby every man may know, That it is no matter of Religion, but a plaine uſurpation of the authority: and no doubt but ſimple men of good Zeale in former times, therewith falſly have been deceived. But as to the Queens part (God who knoweth the ſecrets of all hearts well knoweth,

Anno

Elizabeth was come to the crown of England the yeere before, by the death of Mary.

Falſe lying tongue God hath confounded thee.

God hath purged his people of that falſe accuſation.

Anno and the world ſhall ſee by experience) that the fortification of *Leith* was deviſed for no other purpoſe, but for recourſe to her highneſſe and her company, in caſe they were purſued. Wherefore, as good Subjects that have the feare of God in their hearts, will not ſuffer themſelves by ſuch vaine perſwaſions to be led away from their due obedience: but will aſſiſt in defence of their Soveraigns quarrell, againſt all ſuch as ſhall purſue the ſame wrongfully. Therefore her Majeſtie ordaineth the officers of Arms to paſſe to the Market-Croſſes of all the head Burroughs of this Realme, and there by open Proclamation command and charge all and ſundry the Lieges thereof, that none of them take in hand to put themſelves in arms, nor take part with the ſaid Duke or his aſſiſtaries, under the paine of Treaſon.

Theſe Letters being divulgate, the hearts of many were ſtirred, for they judged the Narration of the Queen Regent to have been true, others underſtood the ſame to be utterly falſe. But becauſe the Lords deſired that all men ſhould judge in their cauſe, they ſet out the Declaration ſubſequent.

The DECLARATION *of the Lords, againſt the former* PROCLAMATION.

VVE are compelled unwillingly to anſwer the grievous accuſations moſt unjuſtly laid to our charges by the Queen Regent, and her perverſe Counſell, who ceaſe not by all craft and malice to make us odious to our deareſt brethren, naturall Scottiſh-men, as that we pretended no other thing, but the ſubverſion and overthrow of all juſt authoritie, when God knoweth we ſought nothing, but, That ſuch authoritie as God approveth by his Word, be eſtabliſhed, honoured, and obeyed amongſt us. True it is, that we have complained (and continually muſt complaine, till God ſend redreſſe) That our common Countrey is oppreſſed with ſtrangers; That this inbringing of Souldiers with their wives and children, and planting of men of War in our free Townes; appeareth to us a ready way to conqueſt. And we moſt earneſtly require all indifferent perſons to be judge betwixt us and the Queen Regent in this cauſe, to wit, Whether our complaint be juſt or not? For, for what other purpoſe ſhould ſhe thus multiply ſtrangers upon us, but onely in reſpect of conqueſt: Which is a thing of late deviſed by her and her avaritious houſe. We are not ignorant that ſix yeers ago the queſtion was demanded of a man of honeſt reputation; What number of men was able to daunt *Scotland*, and to bring it to the full obedience of *France*? She alleadged, That to ſay that the fortification of *Leith* was of purpoſe deviſed in *France*, and that for that purpoſe were *Monſieur de la Broſſe*, and the Biſhop of *Amiens* ſent to this Countrey; Is a thing ſo vaine and untrue, that the contrary thereof is notorious to all men of free judgement. But evident it is, whatſoever ſhe alleadged, That ſince their arrivall *Leith* was begun to be fortified. She alleadged, That ſhe ſeeing the defection of great Perſonages, was compelled

Note.

The avarice of thoſe of *Lorain* and *Guiſe*.

to

to have recourſe to the Law of Nature, and like a ſmall bird purſued to provide for ſome ſure retract to her ſelf and her company. But why doth ſhe not anſwer for what purpoſe did ſhe bring in her new Bands of men of War? Was there any defection eſpied before their arrivall? was not the Congregation under Appointment with her? Which whatſoever ſhe alleadged, ſhe is not able to prove that we have violated in any chiefe point, before that her new throat-cutters arrived, yea, before that they began to fortifie *Leith*, a place, ſaith ſhe, moſt convenient for her purpoſe; as indeed it is, for the receiving of ſtrangers at her pleaſure: for if ſhe had feared the purſuit of her bodie, ſhe had *Inche*, *Colme*, *Dumbar*, and *Blackneſſe*, Forts and Strengths already made; yet all theſe could not ſo well ſerve her turne as *Leith*, becauſe it was her daughters property, and none other could have title unto it, and becauſe it had been fortified oft before. That all men may know the juſt title her daughter and ſhe had to the Town of *Leith*, we ſhall in few words declare. It is not unknown to the moſt part of this Realm, that there hath been an old hatred and contention betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Leith*; *Edinburgh* continually ſeeking conſtantly to poſſeſſe the liberty of *Leith* which by donation of ancient Kings they have long enjoyed: And *Leith*, by the contrary aſpiring to a liberty and freedom in prejudice of *Edinburgh*. The Queen Regent, a woman that could make her profit at all hands, was not ignorant how to compaſſe her own buſineſſe, and therefore ſecretly ſhe gave advertiſement to ſome of *Leith*, that ſhe would make their Towne free, if that ſhe might do it with any colour of Juſtice. By which promiſes the principall men of them did travell with the Laird of *Leſtarrig*, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the ſuperiority of *Leith* appertained, That he ſhould ſell his whole Title and Right to our Soveraigne for a certain ſum of Money, which the inhabitants of *Leith* paid, with a large Taxation more, to the Queen Regent, in hope to be made free, in deſpight and defraud of *Edinburgh*: Which Right and Superiority when ſhe had gotten, and when the Money was paid, the firſt fruits of their liberty they now eat with bitternes, is, That ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſſe their Towne: This is the juſt Title which her daughter and ſhe might claim to that Towne. And where ſhe alleadged, That it was fortified before; we ask, If that was done without the conſent of the Nobility and Eſtates of the Realme, as now ſhe and her crafty counſellors do, in deſpight and high contempt of us the lawfull and borne Counſellors of this Realme. How far we have ſought ſupport of *England*, or of any other Prince, and how juſt cauſe we had and have ſo to do, we ſhall ſhortly make manifeſt unto the world, To the praiſe of Gods holy Name, and to the confuſion of all thoſe that ſlander us for ſo doing: For this we fear not to confeſſe, That as in this our enterpriſe, againſt the Devill, Idolatry, and the maintainers of the ſame, we chiefly and onely ſeek Gods glory to be notified unto man, ſin to be puniſhed, and vertue to be maintained: So where power faileth in our ſelves, we will ſeeke it whereſoever GOD ſhall offer the ſame: And yet in ſo doing, we are aſſured neither to offend GOD, neither yet to do any thing repugnant to our Duties.

Anno

Note.

The title that the Queen hath or had to *Leith*.

The Laird of *Leſtarrig* ſup. riour to *Leith*.

Note.

Anno

We heartily praiſe God, who moved the heart of the Earle of *Arran* to joyn himſelf with us his perſecuted brethren. But how malicious a lye it is, That we have promiſed to ſet him up in Authority, the iſſue ſhall declare: God we take to record, That no ſuch thing hath entred into our hearts, neither yet hath the ſaid Earle, neither any to him appertaining, moved us unto any ſuch matter: which if they ſhould do, yet are we not ſo ſlender in judgement, that inconſiderately we would promiſe that, which after we would repent. We ſpeak and write to the praiſe of Gods glory; the leaſt of us knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawfull Authority, then ſhe and her counſell doth practice the Office of ſuch as worthily may ſit upon the Seat of Juſtice: For we offer, and we perform all obedience which God hath commanded; and we deny neither Toll, Tribute, nor Fear, to her nor her Officers, we onely bridle her blinde rage, in the which ſhe would erect and maintain Idolatry, and would murther our brethren, who refuſe the ſame: But ſhe doth utterly abuſe the Authority eſtabliſhed by God, ſhe prophaneth the Throne of his Majeſtie on earth, making the Seat of Juſtice, which ought to be the Sanctuary and Refuge of all godly and vertuous perſons unjuſtly afflicted, to be a den and receptacle to Thieves, Murtherers, Idolaters, Whoremongers, Adulterers, and of Blaſphemers of God, and all godlineſſe. It is more then evident what men they are, and long have been, whom ſhe by her power maintaineth and defendeth; and alſo what hath been our converſation, ſince it hath pleaſed God to call us to his knowledge, whom now in her fury ſhe cruelly perſecuteth. We deny not the taking of the houſes of *Brechtie*; and the cauſes being conſidered, we think that no naturall Scotiſh man will be offended at our fact. When the aſſured knowledge came to us that the Fortification of *Leith* was begun, every man began to inquire, What danger might enſue to the reſt of the Realm, if the French ſhould plant in divers places, and what were the places that might annoy us. In concluſion it was found, That the taking of the ſaid houſe by French men, ſhould be deſtruction to *Dundie*, and hurtfull to S. *Johnſton*, and to the whole Countrey; and therefore it was thought expedient to prevent the danger, as that we did, for preſervation of our brethren and common Countrey. It is not unknown what enemies thoſe two Towns have, and how gladly would ſome have all good order and policy overthrown in them. The conjectures that the French-men were of minde ſhortly to have taken the ſame place, were not obſcure: but whatſoever they pretended, we cannot repent that we (as ſaid is) have prevented the danger; and would God that power had been in the ſame manner to have forecloſed their enterpriſe at *Leith*: For what trouble this poor Realm ſhall endure before that thoſe murtherers and unjuſt poſſeſſors be removed from the ſame, the iſſue will declare. If her accuſations againſt the Duke, and that we refuſed conference, be truly and ſimply ſpoken, we will not refuſe the judgement of thoſe very men, whom ſhe alleadgeth to be of ſuch reputation. They know that the Duke did anſwer, That if the Realme ſhould be ſet at liberty from the bondage of thoſe men of War, which preſently did oppreſſe it, and was ſo fearfull to him, and to his brethren, that they were compelled to abſent them-

Note diligently.

The wickedneſſe of the Biſhops.

The cauſe that *Broughtie Craig* was taken.

Let all men judge.

The Dukes anſwer.

themſelves from the places where ſhe and they made reſidence: That he and the whole Congregation ſhould come and give all dutifull obedience to our Soveraigne her daughter, and unto her, as Regent for the time: But to enter into conference ſo long as ſhe kept above him and his brethren that fearfull ſcourge of cruell ſtrangers, he thought no wiſe man would counſell him. And this his anſwer we approve, adding further, *That ſhe can make us no promiſe which ſhe can keep, nor we can credit, ſo long as ſhe is forced with the ſtrength, and ruled by the counſell of* France. *We are not ignorant that Princes think it good policy to betray their ſubjects by breaking of promiſes, be they never ſo ſolemnly made.* We have not forgotten what counſell ſhe and Monſieur *Doſell* gave to the Duke, againſt thoſe that ſlue the Cardinall, and kept the Caſtle of S. *Andrewes*, which was this, That what promiſe they liſt to require ſhould be made unto them; but as ſoon as the Caſtle was rendred, and things brought to ſuch paſſe as was expedient, that he ſhould chop the heads from every one of them. To the which the Duke anſwered, That he would never conſent to ſo treaſonable an act, but if he promiſed fidelity, he would faithfully keep it. Monſieur *Doſell* ſaid in mockage to the Queen in French, That is a good ſimple nature, but I know no other Prince that would ſo do. If this was his judgement in ſo ſmall a matter, what have we to ſuſpect in this our Cauſe? For the queſtion is not of the ſlaughter of one Cardinall, but of the juſt aboliſhing of all tyranny, which that Romane Antichriſt hath uſurped above us; of the ſuppreſſing of Idolatry, and of the Reformation of the whole Religion, by that vermine of ſhavelings utterly corrupted. Now if the ſlaughter of a Cardinall be a ſin irremiſſible, as they themſelves affirme; and if faith ought not to be kept to hereticks, as their owne law ſpeaketh, What promiſe can ſhe that is ruled by the counſell and commandment of a Cardinall, make to us that can be ſure? Where ſhe accuſeth us, That we uſurp Authority to command and charge free Boroughs, to chuſe Proveſts and Officers of our naming, &c. We will that the whole Boroughs of *Scotland* teſtifie in that caſe, Whether we have uſed any kinde of violence, but lovingly exhorted ſuch as asked our ſupport to chuſe ſuch in Office, as had the fear of God before their eyes, loved equity and juſtice, and were not noted with avarice and bribing. But wonder it is with what face ſhe can accuſe us of that, whereof we are innocent, and ſhe ſo openly criminall, that the whole Realme knoweth her iniquity: In that caſe hath ſhe not compelled the Towne of *Edinburgh* to retaine a man to be their Proveſt moſt unworthy of any Regiment in a well-ruled Common-wealth? Hath ſhe not enforced them to take Bayliffes of her appointment? and ſome of them ſo meet for their Office in this troubleſome time, as *a ſowter is to ſayle a Ship in a ſtormy day.* She complaineth that we will not ſuffer proviſion to be made for her houſe: In very deed we unfainedly repent that before this we took not better order that theſe murtherers and oppreſſors whom ſhe pretendeth to nouriſh for our deſtruction, had not been diſappointed of their great proviſion of Victualls which ſhe and they have gathered, to the great hurt of the whole Countrey: But as God ſhall aſſiſt us in times coming, we ſhall do diligence ſomewhat to fruſtrate their devilliſh purpoſe. What both

Anno

Note.

Note.

Note.

The quarrell betwixt *France* and the Congregation of *Scotland.*

The Lord *Seaton* unworthy of Regiment.

Optima collatio

Anno

Let the Papiſts judge if God hath not given judgement to the diſpleaſure of their hearts.

what ſhe and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cannot ſuffer the abuſe of his owne Name long to be unpuniſhed) ſhall one day declare, and unto him we fear not to commit our Cauſe. Neither yet fear we in this preſent day, that againſt us ſhe maketh a malicious lye, where that ſhe ſaith, That it is not Religion that we go about, but a plain uſurpation of Authority. God forbid that ſuch impiety ſhould enter in our hearts, that we ſhould make his holy Religion a cloke and covertour of our iniquity: From the beginning of this controverſie, it is evidently knowne what have been our requeſts; which if the reſt of the Nobility and Commonalty of *Scotland* will cauſe to be performed unto us, if then in us appear any ſigne of Rebellion, let us be reputed and puniſhed as traitors. But while ſtrangers are brought in to ſuppreſſe us, our common wealth and poſterity; while Idolatry is maintained, and Chriſt Jeſus his true Religion deſpiſed, while idle bellies, and bloody tyrants the Biſhops are maintained, and Chriſts true Meſſengers perſecuted; while finally, vertue is contemned, and vice extolled; while that we a great part of the Nobility and Commonalty of this Realme are moſt unjuſtly perſecuted, What godly man can be offended that we ſhall ſeek Reformation of theſe enormities (yea, *even by force of Arms, ſeeing that otherwayes it is denyed unto us*) we are aſſured that neither God, neither nature, neither any juſt Law forbiddeth us. *God hath made us Councellors by birth of this Realme, Nature bindeth us to love our owne Countrey, and juſt Laws command us to ſupport our brethren unjuſtly purſued, yea, the Oath that we have made to be true to this Common-wealth compelled us to hazard whatſoever God hath given us, before that we ſee the miſerable ruine of the ſame.* If any thinke it is not Religion which now we ſeek, we anſwer, That it is nothing elſe but the zeal of the true Religion which moveth us to this enterpriſe: For as the enemy doth craftily foreſee, That Idolatry cannot univerſally be maintained, unleſſe that we be utterly ſuppreſſed, So do we conſider that the true Religion (the purity whereof we openly require) cannot univerſally be erected, unleſſe ſtrangers be removed, and this poor Realme purged of thoſe peſtilences which before have infected it. And therefore in the Name of the Eternall God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe Cauſe we ſuſtain, we require all our brethren naturall Scotiſh-men prudently to conſider our Requeſts, and with judgement to diſcerne betwixt us and the Queen Regent, with her faction, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by her craft and deceit, That to lift their weapons againſt their brethren, who ſeek nothing but Gods glory, Or yet to extract from us their juſt and dutifull ſupport, ſeeing that we hazard our lives for preſervation of them and us, and of us and our poſterity to come: Aſſuring ſuch as ſhall declare themſelves favourers of her Faction and enemies unto us, That we ſhall repute them, whenſoever God ſhall put the Sword of Juſtice in our hands worthy of ſuch puniſhment as is due for ſuch as ſtudy to betray their Countreyes into the hands of ſtrangers.

Note.

The cauſes that moved the Nobility of this Realme to oppoſe the Q. Regent.

The ſame minde remaineth to this day.

This promiſe was forgot and therefore God plagued.

Wha ſpirit could have hoped for victory in ſo deſperate dangers.

This

This our anſwer was formed and divulgate in ſome places, but not univerſally, by reaſon of our day appointed to meet at *Sterlin*, as before is declared. In this mean time the Queens Poſts ran with all poſſible expedition to draw men to her devotion. And in very deed ſhe found more favourers of her iniquity then we ſuſpected. For a man that of long time had been one of our number in profeſſion, offered (as himſelfe did confeſſe) his ſervice to the Queen, to travell betwixt her Majeſtie and the Congregation for concord; ſhe refuſed not his offer, but knowing his ſimplicitie, ſhe was glad to imploy him for her advantage. The man is Maſter *Robert Lockard*, a man of whom many have had and ſtill have good opinion, as touching his Religion. But to enter in the managing of ſuch affaires, not ſo fit as godly and wiſe men would require: he travelleth not the leſſe earneſtly in the Queen Regents affairs, and could not be perſwaded, but that ſhe meant ſincerely, and that ſhe would promote the Religion to the uttermoſt of her power. He promiſed in her name, That ſhe would put away her French-men, and would be ruled by the counſell of naturall Scottiſh-men: when it was reaſoned in his contrary, That if ſhe were ſo minded to do, ſhe could have found Mediatours a great deale more fit for that purpoſe. He feared not to affirme, That he knew more of her minde, then all the French or Scots that were in *Scotland*; yea, more then her own brethren that were in *France*. He travelled with the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Lords of *Uchiltrie* and *Boyd*, with the Laird of *Dun*, and with the Preachers, to whom he had certaine ſecret Letters, which he would not deliver, unleſſe that they would make a faithfull promiſe, That they ſhould never reveale the thing contained in the ſame. To the which it was anſwered, That in no wayes they could make ſuch a promiſe, by reaſon that they were ſworne one to another, and altogether in one body, That they ſhould have no ſecret intelligence, nor deale with the Queen Regent, but that they ſhould communicate with the great Counſell whatſoever ſhe propoſed unto them, ſo they did anſwer unto her, as by this anſwer written by *John Knox* to the Queen Regent may be underſtood. The tenour whereof followeth. Anno

Note.

To the Queen Regent.

MADAME,

MY *duty humbly premiſed: Your Majeſties ſervant, Maſter* Robert Lockard, *moſt inſtantly hath required me and others to whom your Majeſties Letters, as he alleadged, were directed, to receive the ſame in a ſecret manner, and to give him anſwer accordingly; but becauſe ſome of the number that he required, were, and are of the great Counſell of this Realme, and therefore are ſolemnely ſworne to have nothing to do in a ſecret manner, neither with your Majeſtie, nor with any that cometh from you, or from your Counſell. And ſo they could not receive your Majeſties Letters with ſuch conditions as the ſaid Maſter* Robert *required, therefore thought he good to take backe to your Majeſtie againe the ſaid Letters cloſe; And yet becauſe, as he reporteth, he hath made to your Majeſtie ſome promiſe in my name, at his requeſt, I am content to teſtifie by my Letter and Subſcription, the ſum of that which I did communicate with*

Anno

with him. In Dondie, *after many words betwixt him and me, I ſaid, That albeit divers ſiniſter reports had been made of me, yet did I never declare any evident token of hatred nor enmity againſt your Majeſtie. For if it be the office of a true friend to give true and faithfull counſell to them whom he ſeeth run to deſtruction for lack of the ſame, I could not be proved enemy to your Majeſtie, but rather a friend unfeigned. For what counſell I had given to your Majeſtie, my Writings, as well my Letter and Addition to the ſame, now Printed, as divers others which I wrote from S.* Johnſton, *may teſtifie. I further added, That ſuch an enemy was I unto you, that my tongue did both perſwade, and obtaine, That your authority and Regiment ſhould be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till you declare your ſelfe open enemy to this Common-wealth, as now, alas, ye have done. This I willed him moreover to ſay to your Majeſtie, That if ye following the counſell of flattering men, having no God but this world and their belly, did proceed in your malice againſt Chriſt Jeſus his Religion, and true Miniſters, that ye ſhould do nothing elſe but accelerate and haſten Gods plague and vengeance upon your ſelfe and thoſe that followeth you. And that ye (if ye did not change your purpoſe haſtily) ſhould bring your ſelfe in ſuch extreame danger, that when ye would ſeek remedy it ſhould not be ſo eaſie to be found as it had been before. This is the effect and ſum of all that I ſaid at that time, and willed him if he pleaſed to communicate the ſame to your Majeſtie. And the ſame yet againe I notifie unto your Majeſtie by this my Letter, written and ſubſcribed at* Edinburgh, *the 26 day of October* 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your Majeſties to command in all godlineſſe,

John Knox.

Poſtſcriptum.

God move your heart yet in time to conſider, That ye fight not againſt men, but againſt the eternall God, and againſt his Son Jeſus Chriſt, the onely Prince of the Kings of the earth.

At which anſwer, the ſaid M. *Robert* was ſo offended, that he would not deliver his Letters, ſaying, That we were ungodly, and injurious to the Queen Regent, if we ſuſpected any craft in her. To the which it was anſwered by one of the Preachers, That time ſhould declare whether he or they were deceived, if ſhe ſhould not declare her ſelfe enemy to the true Religion which they profeſſed, if ever ſhe had the upper hand, then they would be content to confeſſe, That they had ſuſpected her ſincerity without juſt cauſe. But if ſhe ſhould declare her malice no leſſe in times comming then ſhe had done before they required that he ſhould be more moderate, then to condemne them whoſe conſcience he knoweth not, and this was the end of his travell for that time. After that he had troubled the conſcience of many godly and quiet perſons. For he and others who were her hired poſtes, ceaſed not to blow in the eares of all men, That the Queen was heavily dealt with, That ſhe required nothing but obedience to her daughter, That ſhe was content that the true Religion ſhould go forward, and that all abuſes ſhould be aboliſhed, and by this mean they brought a grudge and diviſion among our ſelves. For many (and our brethren of *Lowthian* eſpecially) began to murmure, That we ſought another

Note how calumnies prevail upon the world for a time.

another thing then Religion, and ſo ceaſed to aſſiſt us certain dayes, after that we were come to *Edinburgh*, which we did according to the former Diet the 16 day of October. This grudge and trouble amongſt our ſelves was not raiſed by the aforeſaid M. *Robert* onely, but by thoſe peſtilents whom before we have expreſſed, and M. *James Balfoure* eſpecially, whoſe venemous tongues againſt God and his true Religion, as they deſerve puniſhment of men, ſo ſhall they not eſcape Gods vengeance, unleſſe that ſpeedily they repent. Anno

After our coming to *Edinburgh*, the day forenamed, we aſſembled in Counſell, and determined to give new advertiſement to the Queen Regent of our convention, and in ſuch ſort, and ſo with common conſent we ſent unto her our Requeſt, as followeth.

The ſecond Admonition to the Queen Regent.

MAdame, Your Majeſtie may call to minde, how at our laſt Convention at *Hamilton*, we required your Highneſſe in moſt humble manner to deſiſt from the fortifying of the Town of *Lieth*, then enterpriſed and begun, which appeared to us (and yet doth) an entrie to a conqueſt and overthrow of our Liberties, and altogether againſt the Lawes and Cuſtomes of this Realm, ſeeing it was begun, and yet continueth without any advice and conſent of the Nobility and Counſell of this Realm. Wherefore now, as oft before, according unto our duty to our Common-wealth, we moſt humbly require your Majeſtie, to cauſe your Strangers and Souldiers whatſoever, to depart the ſaid Town of *Lieth*, and make the ſame patent, not onely to the inhabitants, but alſo to all Scottiſh men, our Soveraign Ladies Leiges; aſſuring your Highneſſe, That if refuſing the ſame, ye declare thereby your evil minde towards the Common-wealth, and Liberty of this Realm, we will (as before) move and declare the cauſes unto the whole Nobility and Commonalty of this Realm. And according to the oath which we had ſworn for the maintenance of the Commonweale, in all manner of things to us poſſible, we will provide remedy therefore, requiring moſt humbly your Majeſties anſwer in haſte with the Bearer, becauſe in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring your determination of conqueſt, which is preſumed of all men, and not without cauſe. And thus after our commendation of ſervice, we pray Almighty God to have your Majeſty in his eternall tuition.

Theſe our Letters received, our Meſſenger was threatned, and withholden a whole day, thereafter he was diſmiſſed; without any other anſwer, But that ſhe would ſend an anſwer, when ſhe thought expedient. In this mean time, becauſe the rumour ceaſed not, that the Duke uſurped the authority, he was compelled with the ſound of trumpet at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh* to make his Purgation as followeth, the 19 of *October*.

The Purgation of the Duke.

FOraſmuch as the Duke of *Chatellarault*, underſtanding the falſe report made by theſe about the Queen Regent againſt him, That he and his ſon the Lord *Arrane*, ſhould pretend uſurpation of the Crown and

Anno

Now the Duke ſeeing the Queens partie decline, and the Proteſtant party grow ſtrong, he once more changeth the profeſſion of his Religion, and joyneth with the Proteſtants, as ſtrongeſt.

authority of this Realm, when in very deed, he, nor his ſaid ſon never once hath made any ſhew of any ſuch thing, but onely in ſimplicity of heart, moved parly by the violent purſuit againſt Religion, and true Profeſſours thereof, partly by compaſſion of the Common-wealth, and poore Commonalty of this Realme, oppreſſed with ſtrangers; he joyned himſelfe to the reſt of the Nobility, with all hazard, to ſupport the common Cauſe of the one & of the other; and hath thought expedient to purge himſelfe and his ſaid ſon in preſence of you all, as he had done in preſence of the counſell of that ſaid crime of old, even by Summons laid to his charge the ſecond yeere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Ladie: Which accuſation hath continued ever againſt him, as guilty of that crime; he therefore now openly and plainly Proteſteth, That neither he nor his ſaid ſon, ſues nor ſeeks any preeminence, either to the Crown or authority, but as far as his puiſſance may extend, is ready, and ever ſhall be, and his ſon alſo, to concurre with the reſt of the Nobility his brethren, and all others, whoſe hearts are touched to maintain the common cauſes of Religion, and Liberty of their native Countrey, plainly invaded by the ſaid Regent, and her ſaid Souldiers, who onely do forge ſuch vain reports, to withdraw the hearts of true Scottiſh-men from the ſuccour they owe of bounden dutie to their Common-weale oppreſſed. Wherefore exhorting all men, that will maintain the true Religion of God, or withſtand this oppreſſion or plain conqueſt enterpriſed by ſtrangers upon our native Scottiſh-men, not to credit ſuch falſe and untrue reports. But rather concurre with us and the reſt of the Nobility, to ſet our Countrey at liberty, expelling ſtrangers therefrom, which doing, ye ſhall ſhew your ſelves obedient to the ordinance of God, which was eſtabliſhed for maintenance of the Common-weale and true members of the ſame.

How true this is, the whole and conſtant courſe of the family can tell.

The 21 of Octob. came from the Queen Regent M. *Robert Forman*, Lion King of Arms, who brought unto us a Writing in this Tenor and Credit.

AFter commendations, We have received your Letter of Edinburgh, *the 19 of this inſtant, which appeareth to us, rather to have come from a Prince to his Subjects, then from Subjects to them that beare authority. For anſwer whereof, we have preſently directed unto you this Bearer, Lion Herald King of Arms, ſufficiently inſtructed with our minde, to whom ye ſhall give credence.* At Leith, *Octob.* 21. 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Mary R.

His Credit is this.

Let this be noted, and let all men judge of the purpoſe of the *French* and how good and wiſe Patriots they were, who ſold our Soveraign to *Frenes* for their private profit, and they by name were the *Hamiltons*.

THat the Queen wonders how any durſt preſume to command her in that Realm, which needeth not to be Conqueſt by any force, conſidering that it was already Conqueſt by Marriage. That French-men could not juſtly be called ſtrangers, ſeeing that they were Naturalized; and therefore that ſhe would neither make that Town patent, neither yet ſend any man away, but as ſhe thought expedient. She accuſed the Duke of violating his promiſe. She made long Proteſtation of her love towards the Common-wealth of Scotland, *and in the end commanded, That under the pain of Treaſon all aſſiſtaries to the Duke and unto us, ſhould depart from the Town of* Edinburgh.

This

This anſwer received, credit heard, preconceived malice ſufficiently eſpied, conſultation was taken what was expedient to be done. And for the firſt, it was concluded, That the Herald ſhould be ſtayed, till further determination ſhould be taken. Anno

The whole Nobility, Barons and Burgeſſes then preſent, were commanded to convene in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh*, the ſame one and twentieth day of October, for deliberation of thoſe matters, where the whole cauſe being expoſed by the Lord *Ruthuen*, the queſtion was propounded, *Whether ſhe that ſo contemptuouſly refuſed the moſt humble requeſt of the borne Councellors of the Realme, being alſo but a Regent, whoſe pretences threatned the bondage of the whole Common-wealth, ought to be ſuffered ſo tyrannically to domineer over them.* And becauſe that this queſtion had not been before diſputed in open aſſembly, it was thought expedient that the judgement of the Preachers ſhould be required; who being inſtructed in the caſe, *John Willock*, who before had ſuſtained the burthen of the Church in *Edinburgh*, commanded to ſpeak, made diſcourſe as followeth: The order of the ſuſpenſion of the Queen Regent from Authority within Scotland.

Affirming, firſt, That albeit Magiſtrates be Gods Ordinance, having of him Power and Authority, yet is not their Power ſo largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his Word. The diſcourſe of *Iohn Willock*.

And ſecondarily, That as ſubjects are commanded to obey their Magiſtrates, ſo are the Magiſtrates commanded to give ſome duty to their ſubjects, ſo that God by his Word hath preſcribed the Office of the one and of the other.

Thirdly, That albeit God hath appointed Magiſtrates his Lieutenants on earth, and hath honoured them with his own Title, calling them Gods, That yet he did never ſo firmly eſtabliſh any, but at his pleaſure, he ſeeing juſt cauſe, might deprive them.

Fourthly, That in depoſing of Princes, and thoſe that have been in Authority, God did not alwayes uſe his immediate power, but ſometimes he uſeth ſecond means, which his wiſedome thought good, and Juſtice approved: As by *Aſa*, he removed *Maacha* his owne mother from Honour and Authority which before ſhe had uſed. By *Jehu*, he deſtroyed *Joram*, and the whole poſterity of *Achab*. And by divers others he hath depoſed from Authority thoſe whom before he had eſtabliſhed by his own Word. And hereupon concluded he, That ſith the Queen Regent denied her chief duty to the ſubjects of this Realme, which was, To miniſter Juſtice to them indifferently, to preſerve their Liberties from invaſion of ſtrangers, and to ſuffer them to have Gods Word freely and openly preached amongſt them. Seeing moreover that the Queen Regent was an open and obſtinate Idolatreſſe, a vehement maintainer of all Superſtition and Idolatry, as alſo ſhe openly declares the Countrie to be conqueſt, and no more free. And finally, That ſhe utterly deſpiſeth the counſell and requeſts of the Nobility: he could ſee no reaſon why they the borne Counſellors, Nobility, and Barons of the Realme might not juſtly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority amongſt them. The cauſes.

Hereafter was the judgement of *Iohn Knox* required, who approving the ſentence of his brother, added, firſt, That the iniquity of the Queen Regent and diſorder, ought in no wiſe to withdraw neither our The judgment of *Iohn Knox* in the depoſition of the Queen Regent.

Anno our hearts, neither yet the hearts of other ſubjects from the obedience due unto our Soveraigne.

Let no man then for privat ends, and by-wayes, do any thing againſt their Prince, under pretence of the publike.

Secondly, That if we depoſed the ſaid Queen Regent rather of malice and private envie, then for the preſervation of the Common-wealth, and for that her ſins appeared incurable, That we ſhould not eſcape Gods juſt puniſhment, howſoever that ſhe had deſerved rejection from honors.

And thirdly, he required, That no ſuch ſentence ſhould be pronounced againſt her, but that upon known and open repentance, and upon her converſion to the Common-wealth, and ſubmiſſion to the Nobility, place ſhould be granted unto her of regreſſe to the ſame honours from the which for juſt cauſes ſhe juſtly might be deprived.

The Votes of every man particularly by himſelf required, and every man commanded to ſpeak as he would anſwer to God, what his conſcience judged in that matter, there was none found amongſt the whole number, who did not by his tongue conſent to her deprivation. Thereafter was her Proceſſe committed to Writing, and regiſtred as followeth.

Articles againſt the Queen Regent.

1559 AT *Edinburgh* the one and twentieth day of October, 1556. the Nobility, Barons and Burgeſſes convened, to adviſe upon the affairs of the Common-wealth, and to ayd, ſupport and ſuccour the ſame, perceiving and lamenting the enterpriſed deſtruction of their ſaid Common-wealth, and overthrow of the liberties of their native Countrey, by the means of the Queen Regent, and certain ſtrangers her privie Counſellors, plain contrary to our Soveraign Lord and Ladies mind, and direct againſt the counſell of the Nobility, to proceed by little and little, even unto the uttermoſt ruine; So that the urgent neceſſity of the Common-wealth may no longer ſuffer delay, and earneſtly craveth our ſupport. Seeing therefore that the ſaid Q. Regent (abuſing and overpaſſing our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies Commiſſion given and granted to her) hath in all her proceedings purſued the Barons and Burgeſſes within this Realme, with Weapons and Armour of ſtrangers, without any Proceſſe and order of Law, they being our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies true Lieges, and never called nor convinced of any crime by any judgement lawfull. As firſt, at S. *Iohnſton*, in the moneth of May, ſhe aſſembled her Army againſt the Towne, and the Inhabitants thereof, never called nor convinced of any crime, onely becauſe they profeſſed the true Worſhip of God, conform to his moſt ſacred Word. 2. And likewiſe in the moneth of June laſt, without any order or calling going before, invaded the perſons of ſundry Noble-men and Barons with force of Armes, convened at S. *Andrews*, onely for Cauſe of Religion, as is notoriouſly known, they never being called nor convinced of any crime. 3. Again, laid Garriſons the ſame moneth upon the Inhabitants of the ſaid Town, oppreſſing the liberties of the Queens true Lieges: For fear of which her Garriſons, a great part of the Inhabitants thereof fled from the Towne, and durſt not reſort again unto their houſes and herirages, untill they were reſtored by Arms; they notwithſtanding never being called nor convinced of any crime. 4. Further, at that ſame time did thruſt in upon

The enormities committed by the Queen Regent.

upon the heads of the Inhabitants of the ſaid Towne, Proveſt, and Bayliffs, againſt all order of Election, as lately in this month of September ſhe had done in other Towns of *Edinburgh* and *Jedburgh*, and divers other places, in manifeſt oppreſſion of our Liberties. 5. declaring her evill minde towards the Nobility, Commonalty, and whole Nation, ſhe hath brought in ſtrangers, and daily pretends to bring in greater force of the ſame, pretending a manifeſt Conqueſt of our native rooms and Countrey, as the deed it ſelf declareth; in ſo far, as ſhe having brought in the ſaid ſtrangers without any adviſe of Councell and Nobility, and contrary to their expreſſe minde ſent to her in Writing, hath placed and planted her ſaid ſtrangers in one of the principall Towns and parts of the Realm, ſending continually for greater Forces, willing thereby to ſuppreſſe the Common-weale, and liberty of our native Countrey, to make us and our poſterity ſlaves to ſtrangers for ever; which, as it is intolerable to Common-wealths and free Countreys, ſo it is very prejudiciall to our Soveraign Lady and her Heirs whatſoever, in caſe our Soveraigne Lady deceaſe without Heirs of her Perſon. And to performe theſe her wicked enterpriſes, conceived (as appeareth) of inveterate malice againſt our whole Countrey and Nation, cauſed (without any conſent or adviſe of the Councell and Nobility) to coyn lead Money, ſo baſe, and of ſuch quantity, that the whole Realme ſhall be depauperate, and all Traffique with forraigne Nations everted thereby. 6. Again, ſhe ſo placeth and maintaineth againſt the pleaſure of the Councell of this Realme, a ſtranger in one of the greateſt Offices of credit in this Realme, that is in keeping of the Great Seal thereof, wherein great perills may be ingendred to the Common-weale, and Liberty thereof. 7. Further, lately ſent the Great Seal forth of this Realme by the ſaid ſtranger, againſt the advice of the ſaid Councell, to what effect, God knoweth. 8. And hath alſo by this means altered the old Law and Cuſtome of this our Realme, ever obſerſerved in the Graces and Pardons granted bo our Soveraigns to all their Lieges, being repentant of their offences committed againſt their Majeſties, or the Lieges of the Realme. And hath introduced a new captious ſtile and form of the ſaid Pardons and Remiſſions, conform to the practices of *France*, tending thereby to draw the ſaid Lieges of this Realm, by proceſſe of time, into a deceivable ſnare, and further ſhall creep in the whole ſubverſion and alteration of the remanent Laws of this Realme, contrary to the Contents of the Appointment of Marriage. 9. And alſo Peace being accorded amongſt the Princes, retaineth the great Army of ſtrangers, after commandment ſent by the King of *France* to retire the ſame, making excuſe that they were retained for the ſuppreſſing the attempts of the Lieges of this Realme; albeit the whole ſubjects thereof of all eſtates, is, and ever hath been readie to give all dutifull obedience to their Soveraignes, and their lawfull miniſters proceeding by Gods Ordinance: And the ſame Army of ſtrangers not being paid in wages, was laid by her upon the necks of the poor Commonalty of our native Countrey, who were compelled by force to defraud themſelves, their wives and children, of that poor ſubſtance which they might purchaſe with the ſweat of their brows, to ſatisfie their hunger and neceſſities, and quit the

Anno

Her daughter followed the ſame, for to *Dauid* was delivered the Great Seal.

Note.

Anno ſame to ſuſtain the idle bellies of her ſtrangers; through the which, in all parts roſe ſuch heavy lamentation and complaint of the Commonalty, accuſing the Counſell and Nobility of their ſloth, that as the ſame oppreſſion we doubt not hath entred in before the Juſtice Seat of God, ſo hath it moved our hearts to pity and compaſſion. And for redreſſe of the ſame, with other great offences committed againſt the publike weale of this Realme, we have convened here as ſaid is: and as oftentimes before *Note.* have moſt humbly and with all reverence defired and required the ſaid Queen Regent to redreſſe the ſaid enormities, and eſpecially to remove her ſtrangers from the necks of the poor Commonalty, and to deſiſt from enterpriſing of fortification of Strengths within this Realme, againſt the expreſſe will of the Nobility and Councell of the ſame; yet we being convened the more ſtrong for fear of her ſtrangers, who we ſaw preſume no other thing, but with Arms to purſue our lives and poſſeſſions, Beſought her to remove the fear of the ſame, and make the Town Patent to all our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies Lieges. The ſame in no wiſe would ſhe grant unto, but when ſome of our company in peaceable manner went to view the Towne, there was both great and ſmall Munition ſhot forth at them. And ſeeing therefore that neither acceſſe was granted to be uſed, nor yet ſhe would joyn her ſelf to us to conſult upon the Affairs of our Common-wealth, as that we be borne Councellors to the ſame by ancient Laws of the Realme: But fearing leſt the judgement of the Counſell would reform, as neceſſity required, the aforeſaid enormities, ſhe refuſeth all manner of aſſiſtance with us, and by force and violence intendeth to ſuppreſſe the Liberties of our Common-weale, and of us the favourers of the ſame. We therefore, ſo many of the Nobility, Barons, and Proveſts of our Boroughs, as are touched with the care of the Common-weale (unto the which we acknowledge our ſelves, not onely borne, but alſo ſworne Protectors and Defenders, againſt all and whatſoever invaders of the ſame) and moved by the foreſaid proceedings notorious, and with the lamentable complaint of oppreſſion of our Commonalty, our fellow members of the ſame. Perceiving farther, That the preſent neceſſity of our Common-weale may ſuffer no delay, being convened (as ſaid is) preſently in *Edinburgh*, for ſupport of our Common-weal, and ripely conſulted and adviſed, taken the fear of God before our eyes, for the cauſes foreſaid, which are notorious, with one conſent and common vote. Every man in order his judgement being required, in the Name and Authority of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, ſuſpend the ſaid Commiſſion granted by our ſaid Soveraigne to the ſaid Queen Dowager, diſcharging her of all Adminiſtration or Authority ſhe hath, or may have thereby, unto the next Parliament, to be ſet by our advice and conſent: And that becauſe the ſaid Queen, by the foreſaid faults notorious, declareth her ſelfe enemy to our Common-weale, abuſing the Power of the ſaid Authority, to the deſtruction of the ſame: And likewiſe we diſcharge all members of her ſaid Authority from thenceforth; and that no Coyn be coyned from thenceforth, without expreſſe conſent of the ſaid Councell and Nobility, conform to the Laws of this Realme, which we maintain, And ordaine this to be notified and proclaimed by Officers of Arms, in all

Note.

head

head Boroughs within the Realm of *Scotland*. In witneſſe of the which our common conſent and free Vote, we have ſubſcribed this preſent act of ſuſpenſion with our hands, day, yeere, and place aforeſaid. Anno

Sic ſubſcribitur.

By us the Nobility and Commons of the Proteſtants of the Church of Scotland.

After that this our act of ſuſpenſion was by ſound of Trumpet divulgate at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh*, we diſmiſſed the Herald with this Anſwer.

MADAME,

VVE received your Anſwer, and heard the credit of Lion King of Armes, whereby we gathered ſufficiently your perſeverance in evil minde towards us, the glory of God, our Common-weale, and Liberty of our native Countrey. For ſafety of the which, according to our duty, we have in our Soveraign Lord and Ladies name ſuſpended your Commiſſion, and all adminiſtration of policie which you may pretend thereby, being moſt aſſuredly perſwaded, That your proceedings are direct contrary to our Soveraigne Lord and Ladies will, which we ever eſteem to be for the weale, and not for the hurt of this our Commonwealth. And as you will not acknowledge us our Soveraigne Lord and Lady, their true Barons, and Leiges for your Subjects and Counſel, no more will we acknowledge you for any Regent or lawfull Magiſtrate unto us, ſeeing, if any authority ye have by reaſon of our Soveraignes Commiſſion granted unto you, The ſame for moſt worthy reaſons is worthily ſuſpended by us, in the name and authority of our Soveraigne, whoſe counſell we are of in the affaires of this our Common-weale. And foraſmuch as we are determinate with hazard of our lives to ſet that Town at liberty wherein you have moſt wrongfully planted your Souldiers and ſtrangers; For the reverence we owe to your perſon, as mother to our Soveraigne Lady, we require your Highneſſe to tranſport your perſon therefrom, ſeeing we are conſtrained for the neceſſity of the Common-weale, to follow the ſame by Arms, being denied oft the liberty thereof by ſundry requiſitions made oft before. Again, we deſire you cauſe depart with you out of the ſaid Town, any perſon having Commiſſion in Embaſſie, if any ſuch be, or in Lieutenantſhip of our Soveraigns, together with all French-men Souldiers, being within the ſame (whoſe blood we thirſt not, becauſe of the old amity and friendſhip betwixt the Realme of *France* and us; which amity by the occaſion of the marriage of our Soveraigne Lady to the King of that Realm, ſhould rather increaſe then decreaſe.) And this we pray your Highneſſe and them both to do, within the ſpace of twenty foure houres, for the reverence we owe to your perſons. And thus recommending our humble ſervice to you, we commit your Highneſſe to the eternall protection of God. At *Edinburgh*, the 24 of October 1559.

Note. All done in the Soveraignes Name, as they do now a-dayes

Your Highneſſe humble ſervitors

The

Anno

The day following we ſummoned the Town of Leith *by the ſound of Trumpet, in forme as followeth.*

I Require and charge in the name of our Soveraign Lord and Ladie, and of the Counſell preſently in *Edinburgh*, That all Scots and French-men of whatſoever eſtate and degree they be, depart out of the Towne of *Lieth* within the ſpace of twelve houres, and make the ſame patent to all and ſundry our Soveraigne Ladies Leiges: For ſeeing we have no ſuch hatred at either the one or the other that we thirſt the blood of any of the two, for the one is our naturall brother, borne, nouriſhed, and brought up within the bowels of one common Countrey, and with the other our nation hath continued long amity and allie, and hopeth that ſo ſhall do, ſo long as they uſe us as friends, and not ſtrive to make ſlaves of friends, which this ſtrengthening of our Towns pretendeth. And therefore moſt heartily deſire, that one and the other to deſiſt from fortifying or maintaining of this Town, in our Soveraignes and their ſaid Councells name, requiring them to make the ſame free within the ſpace of twelve houres.

Defiance given, there was skirmiſhing, without great ſlaughter, preparation of Scales and Ladders was made for the Aſſault, which was concluded by common conſent of the Nobility and Barons. The Scales were appointed to be made in Saint *Giles* Church, ſo that Preaching was neglected, which did not a little grieve the Preachers, and many godly with them. The Preachers ſpared not openly to ſay, That they feared the ſucceſſe of that enterpriſe ſhould not be proſperous, becauſe the beginning appeared to bring with it ſome contempt of God and of his Word; other places, ſaid they, had been more apt for ſuch Preparations, then where the people conveaned to Common-Prayers and unto Preaching. In very deed the audience was wonderfully troubled all that time, which (with other diſorder eſpied amongſt us) gave occaſion to our Preachers to affirme, That God could not ſuffer ſuch contempt of his Word and abuſes of his Grace, long to be unpuniſhed. The Queen had amongſt us her aſſured eſpies, who did not onely ſignifie unto her what was our eſtate: but alſo what was our counſell, purpoſes, and devices. Some of our own company were vehemently ſuſpected to be the very betrayers of all our ſecrets; for a boy of the Officials of *Lowthian*, Maſter *James Balfour*, was taken carrying a Writ, which did open the moſt ſecret thing that was deviſed in the Councell; yea, thoſe very things which were thought to have been known but to very few. By ſuch domeſticall enemies were not onely our purpoſes fruſtrate, but alſo our determinations were oft times overthrowne and changed. The Dukes friends gave unto him ſuch terrours, that he was greatly troubled, and by his feare, were troubled many others. The men of Warre (*for the moſt part were men without God or honeſty*) made a mutiny, becauſe they lacked a part of their wages. They had done the ſame in *Linlithquow* before, wherce

Note.

Treaſon among the counſell.

The Duke and his friends fearfull.

The ungodly Souldiers.

where they made a Proclamation, That they would ſerve any man, to ſuppreſſe the Congregation, and ſet up the Maſſe againe. They made a fray upon my Lord *Argyles* Hie-land men, and ſlew one of the principall men of his Chamber, who notwithſtanding, behaved himſelfe ſo moderately, and ſo ſtudious to pacifie that tumult, that many wondered, as well of his prudent councell and ſtoutneſſe, as of the great obedience of his company. The ungodly Souldiers in hatred of goodneſſe and good men, continuing in their diſorder, mocked the Laird of *Tullibarne*, and other Noble-men, who exhorted them to quietneſſe. Anno

All theſe troubles were practiſed by the Queene, and put in execution by the Traitours among our ſelves: Who albeit then lurked, and yet are not manifeſtly noted, yet we doubt not but God ſhall make them knowne to their confuſion, and to the example of others. To pacifie the men of Warre a collection was deviſed: But becauſe ſome were poore, and ſome were niggards and avaritious, there could no ſufficient ſum be obtained. It was thought expedient that a Coyne-Houſe ſhould be made; That every Noble-man ſhould Coyn his Silver-work and Plate, to ſupply the preſent neceſſity. And there-through *David Forreſſe*, *John Hart* and others, who before had charge of the Coyning-Houſe, did promiſe their faithfull labours. But when the matter came to the very point, the ſaid *John Hart* and others of his faction ſtole away, and took with them the inſtruments apt for that purpoſe; Whether this was done by the falſhood and feebleneſſe of the ſaid *John*, or the practiſing of others, is yet uncertaine. Reſted then no hope amongſt our ſelves, that any Money could be furniſhed: And therefore it was concluded by a few of thoſe whom we judged moſt ſecret, That Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *Iames Croſts*, then having charge at *Barwick*, ſhould be tempted, If they would ſupport us with any reaſonable ſum in that urgent neceſſitie. And for that purpoſe was the Laird of *Ormeſton* directed unto them, in ſo ſecret manner as we could deviſe. But yet our counſell was diſcloſed to the Queen, who appointed the Lord *Bothwell* (as himſelfe confeſſed) to wait upon the returning of the ſaid Laird, as that he did with all diligence, and ſo being aſſuredly informed, by what way he came, the ſaid Earle *Bothwell* foreſet his way, and comming upon him unaware, did take him, after that he was evil wounded in the head, for neither could he get his ledd Horſe, nor his ſteele Bonnet; with him was taken the ſum of foure thouſand Crowns of the Sun, which the forenamed Sir *Ralph* and Sir *Iames* moſt lovingly had ſent for our ſupport. By the bruit hereof coming to our eares, our dolour was doubled, not ſo much for loſſe of the Money, as for the loſſe of the Gentlemen whom we ſuſpected to have been ſlain, or at the leaſt, that he ſhould be delivered to the Queens hands. And ſo upon the ſudden the Earle of *Atwane*, the Lord *Iames*, the Maſter of *Maxwell*, with the moſt part of the Horſe-men, tooke purpoſe to purſue the ſaid Earle *Bothwell*, if they might apprehend him in *Crychton* of *Morhan*, whitherto (as they were informed) he had retired himſelfe after his treaſonable act: We call his act treaſonable, becauſe that three dayes before he had ſent his eſpeciall ſervant, Maſter *Michael Balfoure*, to us to

The Queene Regents practiſes.

The fact of the councell.

The treaſon of *Iohn* [redacted].

Note the kindneſſe of the Engliſh in need.

Anno

The E. *Bothwel* falſe in promiſe and his treaſonable fact.

Edinburgh, to purchaſe of the Lords of the Councell Licenſe to come and ſpeak with us, which we granted, after that he had promiſed, That in the mean time he ſhould neither hurt us, nor yet any to us appertaining, till that he ſhould write his anſwer again, Whether that he would joyne with us or not. He gave us farther to underſtand, That he would diſcharge himſelfe of the Queene, and thereafter would aſſiſt us. And yet in this meane time he cruelly and traiterouſly hurt and ſpoiled the Noble-man aforeſaid. Albeit that the departure and counſell of the Earle of *Arrane* and Lord *Fames*, with their company aforeſaid, was very ſudden and ſecret, yet was the Earle *Bothwell*, then being in *Crychton*, advertiſed, and ſo eſcaped with the money which he tooke with himſelfe, as the Captaine of his houſe *John Somerwaile* (which was taken without long purſuit) confeſſed and affirmed, Becauſe that the Noble-men that ſought redreſſe, ſought rather his ſafetie and reconciliation, then deſtruction and hatred. They committed his houſe to the cuſtodie of a Captain, to wit, Captain *Forbeſſe*. To whom, and to all Souldiers there left, was given a ſharpe commandment, That all things found within the ſaid houſe of *Crychton* (which were put in inventory, in preſence of the Lords) ſhould be kept till that the Earle *Bothwell* ſhould give anſwer, Whether he would make reſtitution or not: time of advertiſment was granted unto him, the whole day ſubſequent, till going down of the ſun. In abſence of the ſaid Lords and horſemen (we meane the ſame day that they departed, which was the laſt of October) the Proveſt and Town of *Dundie*, together with ſome Souldiers, paſſed forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and carried with them ſome great Ordnance, to ſhoot at *Leith*. The Duke, the Earle of *Glencarne*, and the reſt of the Noble-men were gone to the Preaching, where they continued almoſt till noone. The French being advertiſed by one named *Clerk* (who after was apprehended) that our horſemen were abſent, and that the whole company were at dinner, iſſued, and with great expedition came to the place where our Ordnance was laid. The Town of *Dundie* with a few other, reſiſted a while, as well with the Ordnance as hakbuts, but being left by our ungodly and feeble Souldiers, who fled without ſtroke offered or given, they were compelled to give back, and ſo to leave the Ordnance to the enemies, who further purſued the fugitives, to wit, to the midſt of the *Cannongate*, and to the foot of *Leith* winde. Their cruelty began then to diſcover it ſelfe, for the maimed, the aged, the women and children, found no greater favour in their fury, then did the ſtrong man, who made reſiſtance. It was very apparant, that among our ſelves there was ſome treaſon. For when upon the firſt alarme all men made haſte for reliefe of their brethren, whom in very deed we might have ſaved, and at leaſt we might have ſaved the Ordnance, and have kept the *Cannongate* from danger. For we were once marched forward with bold courage, but then (we ſay) was a ſhout raiſed amongſt our ſelves (God will diſcloſe the traitours one day) affirming, That the whole French Company were entred in at *Leith-winde* upon our backs. What clamour and diſorder did then ſuddenly ariſe, we liſt not to expreſſe with multiplication of words. The horſemen, and ſome of thoſe that ought to have put order to others, over-rode their

Note.

The firſt departing of the Congregation.

The cruelty of the French.

Note this diligently.

their poor brethren at the entry of the nether Bow. The cry of diſcomfort aroſe in the Towne, the wicked and malignant blaſphemed. The feeble (amongſt whom the Juſtice *Clerk*, Sir *John Ballenden* was) fled without delay. With great difficulty could they be kept in at the Weſt Port. M. *Gawan Hamilton* cryed with a loud voice, *Drinke now as ye have brewed.* The French perceiving by the clamour of our fray, followed as ſaid is, to the midſt of the Cannon-gate, to no great number, but a twenty or thirty of their foot loſſe; for in the mean time the reſt retired themſelves with our Ordinance. The Earle of *Argyle* and his men were the firſt that ſtopped the flying of our men, and compelled the Port to be opened after that it was ſhut. But in very deed, Lord *Robert Stewart*, Abbot of *Halyrud-houſe* was the firſt that iſſued forth; after him followed many upon the backs of the French. At laſt came the Duke, and then was no man more buſie, then was M. *Gawan Hamilton* aforeſaid. The French burnt a Back-houſe, and took ſome ſpoile from the poor of the Cannon-gate. They ſlue a Papiſt, and a drunken Prieſt named Sir *Thomas Sklaitter*, an aged man, a woman giving ſuck, and her childe; and of our Souldiers, to the number of ten: Certain were taken, amongſt whom Captain *Mowet* was one, M. *Charles Geddes*, domeſtick to the Maſter of *Maxwell*. The Capt. of the Caſtle that day ſhot a Shot at the French, declaring them thereby friends to us, and enemy to them, but he ſuddenly repented of well-doing. The Queen glad of Victory, ſate upon the Rampart, to ſalute and welcome her victorious ſouldiers: one brought a Kirtle, another a Petticoat, the third a Pot or Pan; and of envy, more then womanly laughter, ſhe asked, *Where bought ye your ware? Ie penſe que vous l'aues achete ſans argent.* This was the great and motherly care which ſhe took for the trouble of the poor ſubjects of this Realme. The Earle *Bothwell* lifted up in his owne conceit, by reaſon of this our repulſe and diſcomfiture, utterly refuſed any reſtitution; and ſo within two dayes after was his houſe ſpoyled, in which were no things of great importance, his Evidences, and certain Clothing excepted. From that day back the carriage of money was dejected, with great difficulty could men be retained in the Towne; yea, ſome of the greateſt eſtimation determined with themſelves to leave the enterpriſe; many fled away ſecretly, and thoſe that did abide (a very few excepted) appeared deſtitute of counſell and manhood. The Maſter of *Maxwell*, a man ſtout and witty, foreſeeing the danger, deſired moſt gravely either to take ſuch order, that they might remaine to the terrour of the enemy, or elſe that they ſhould retire themſelves with their Ordnance, and Banners diſplayed in order. But the wits of men being daſhed, no counſell could prevaile. We continued from Wedneſday the laſt of *October*, till Munday the fifth of *November*, never two or three abiding firme in one opinion the ſpace of four and twenty houres. The peſtilent wits of the Queens practiſers did then exerciſe themſelves (God ſhall recompence their malicious craft in their owne boſome, we doubt not) for they cauſed two godly and forward young men, the Lairds of *Farnihaſte* and *Ceſford*, who once had gladly joyned themſelves with us, to with-draw them-

Anno

The Earle of *Argyle*.

Lord *Robert Stewart*.

The Caſtle ſhot one Shot.

The Queen Regents rejoycing and unwomanly behaviour.

The counſel of the Maſter of *Maxwell*.

Anno themſelves and their friends. The ſame they did to the Earle *Morton*, who promiſed to be ours, but did not plainly joyn. They enticed the Captain of the Caſtle to deny us ſupport, in caſe we were purſued. And finally, the counſell of ſome was no leſſe peſtiferous againſt us, then was the counſell of *Achitophel* againſt *David*, and his diſcomfited ſouldiers. (*Render Lord to the wicked according to their malice.*) Upon Munday the fifth of *November* did the French iſſue out of *Leith* betimes in the morning, for keeping of the Victualls which ſhould have come to us, we being troubled among our ſelves, and as ſaid is divided in opinions, were neither circumſpect when they did iſſue, neither yet did we follow with ſuch expedition as had been meet for them that would have fought our advantage. Our ſouldiers could ſcarcely be driven forth of the Towne: The Earle of *Arran*, Lord *James*, and certain with them, made haſte; many honeſt men then followed, and made ſuch diligence, that they cauſed the French once to retire ſomewhat affrayedly. The reſt that were in *Leith* perceiving the danger of their fellows, iſſued out for their ſuccour.

The laſt diſcomfiture upon Munday.

The Earle of *Arran* and Lord *James* aforeſaid, being more forward then prudent and circumſpect, did compell the Captains, as is alleadged, to bring their men ſo nigh, that either they muſt needs have hazarded battell with the whole French-men (and that under the mercy of their Cannons alſo) or elſe they muſt needs retire in a very narrow corner: For our men were approached neer to *Leſtarrig*: The one part of the French were upon the North toward the Sea, the other part marched from *Leith* to *Edinburgh*; and yet they marched ſo, that we could have foughten with neither Company before that they ſhould have joyned. We took purpoſe therefore to retire towards the Towne, and that in haſte, leſt that the former Company of the French ſhould either have invaded the Towne before that we could have come to the reſcue thereof, or elſe have cut us off from the entry of the Abbey of *Halyrud-houſe*; as apparantly they had done, if that the Laird of *Grange*, and *Alexander Whitlaw*, with a few Horſe-men, had not ſtayed both their Horſe-men and Foot-men. The Company which was next us perceiving that we retired, with ſpeed ſent forth their skirmiſhers, to the number of three or four hundred, who took us at a diſadvantage, before us having the mire of *Leſtarrig* betwixt us and them: and we were encloſed by the Park ditch, ſo that in no wiſe we could avoid their ſhot. The Horſe-men followed upon our heels, and ſlue divers. Our own Horſe-men over-rode our Foot-men; and ſo by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place, there was no reſiſtance made. The Earle of *Arran*, and Lord *James*, in great danger, lighted amongſt the Foot-men, exhorting them to have ſome reſpect to order, and to the ſafety of their brethren, whom by their flying they expoſed to murther, and ſo were criminall of their death. Captain *Alexander Halyburnetoun*, a man that feared God, tarried with certain of his Souldiers behinde, and made reſiſtance, till that he was firſt ſhot, and then taken; but being known, thoſe cruell murtherers wounded him in divers parts to the death, and yet as it were by the power of God, he was brought in to the Towne, where in few, but yet moſt plaine words, he gave Confeſſion of his Faith, teſtifying, That he doubted nothing

nothing of Gods mercy, purchaſed to him by the Blood of Chriſt Jeſus, neither yet that he repented that it pleaſed God to make him worthy to ſhed his blood, and ſpend his life in defence of ſo juſt a Cauſe. And thus, with the dolour of many, he ended his dolour, and did enter (we doubt not) into that bleſſed Immortality, within two hours after our departure. There were ſlain to the number of twenty four or thirty men, the moſt part poor. There was taken the Laird of *Pitmillie*, the Laird of *Pharnie* younger, the Maſter of *Bowchane*, *George Cuwell* of *Dundie*, and ſome others of lower rank, *John Dumbar* Lieutenant to Captain *Movet*, Captain *David Murray* had his horſe ſlain, and himſelfe hurt in the legge. Anno

The death of *Alexander Haliburton* Captaine.

Few dayes before our firſt departure, which was upon Alhallow Even, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, Secretary to the Queen, perceiving himſelf not onely to be ſuſpected as one that favoured our part, but alſo to ſtand in danger of his life, if he ſhould remain amongſt ſo ungodly a company; for whenſoever matters came in queſtion, he ſpared not to ſpeak his conſcience: which liberty of tongue, and gravity of judgement, the French did highly diſdain. Which perceived by him, he conveyed himſelf away in the morning, and tendred himſelf to M. *Kirkaldie* Laird of *Grange*; who coming to us, did exhort us to conſtancy, aſſuring us, That in the Queen there was nothing but craft and deceit. He travelled exceedingly to have retained the Lords together, and moſt prudently laid before their eyes the dangers that might enſue their departing from the Towne: but fear and dolour had ſo ſeized the hearts of all, that they could admit no conſolation. The Earle of *Arran*, and the Lord *James* offered to abide, if any reaſonable company would abide with them; but men did ſo ſteal away, that the wit of man could not ſtay them: yea, ſome of the greateſt determined plainly, That they would not abide. The Captain of the Caſtle, then Lord *Erskin*, would promiſe unto us no favour, but ſaid, He muſt needs declare himſelf friend to thoſe that were able to ſupport and defend him. Which anſwer given to the Lord *Iames*, diſcouraged thoſe that before determined to have abidden the uttermoſt, rather then to have abandoned the Towne, ſo that the Caſtle would have ſtood their friend: but the contrary declared, every man took purpoſe for himſelf. The complaints of the brethren within the Towne of *Edinburgh* was lamentable and ſore: the wicked then began to ſpue forth the venome which then lurked in their cankred hearts: The godly, as well thoſe that were departed, as the inhabitants of the Town, were ſo troubled, that ſome of them would have preferred death to life at Gods pleaſure. For avoiding of danger, it was concluded, That they ſhould depart at midnight. The Duke made proviſion for his Ordnance, and cauſed it to be ſent before, but the reſt was left to the care of the Captain of the Caſtle, who received it, as well that which appertained to the Lord *Iames*, as that of *Dundie*. The deſpightfull tongues of the wicked rayled upon us, calling us Traytors and Hereticks; every one provoked other to caſt ſtones at us: One cryed, Alas if I might ſee another defie given; Give advertiſement to the French-men, that they may come, and we ſhall help them now to cut the throats of theſe hereticks. And thus

How, and why *William Maitland* left *Leith*.

The Lord *Erskin* declared himſelf enemy to the Congregation.

The deſpight of the Papiſts of *Edinburgh*.

Anno

The worſt is not yet come upon our enemies.

thus, as the ſword of dolour paſſed thorow our hearts, ſo were the cogitations and former determinations of many hearts then revealed: For we would never have believed that our naturall Countrey-men and women could have wiſhed our deſtruction ſo unmercifully, and have ſo rejoyced in our adverſity (God move their hearts to repentance) for elſe we fear that he whoſe Cauſe we ſuſtain, ſhall let them feel the weight of the yoke of cruell ſtrangers, into whoſe hands they wiſhed us to have been betrayed. We ſtayed not, till we came to *Sterlin*, which we did the day after that we departed from *Edinburgh*; for it was concluded, that there conſultation ſhould be taken, What was the next remedy in ſo deſperate a matter. The next Wedneſday, which was the 7 of *November*, *John Knox* preached (*John Willock* was gone into *England*, as before he appointed) and treated of the 5, 6, 7, and 8 Verſes of the 80 *Pſalm*, where *David*, in the perſon of the afflicted people of God, ſpeaketh this in the fourth Verſe:

The Sermon of *John Knox* in *Sterlin*, in the greateſt of our trouble.

O thou the eternall, the God of Hoſts, how long ſhalt thou be againſt the prayer of thy people?

5. Thou haſt fed us with the bread of tears, and haſt given to us tears to drinke in great meaſure.

6. Thou haſt made us a ſtrife unto our neighbours, and our enemies laught us to ſcorne amongſt themſelves.

7. O God of Hoſts, turne us againe, make thy face to ſhine, and we ſhall be ſaved, &c.

This Pſalme had the ſaid *John* begun in *Edinburgh*, as it were foreſeeing our calamity, of which in very deed he did not obſcurely ſpeak, but he plainly did admoniſh us, That he was aſſured of troubles ſuddenly to come, and therefore he exhorted all men to prayers. He treated the firſt three Verſes in *Edinburgh*, to the comfort of many.

The Argument of the 80 Pſalme.

He declared the Argument of the Pſalme, affirming for his judgement, That it was made by *David* himſelf, who in the Spirit of Propheſie foreſaw the miſerable eſtate of Gods people, eſpecially after the ten Tribes were divided, and departed from the obedience of *Juda*; for it was not (ſaid he) without cauſe, that *Joſeph*, *Ephraim*, *Benjamin*, and *Manaſſe* was eſpecially named, and not *Juda*; to wit, Becauſe that they came firſt to calamity, and were tranſlated from their own Inheritance, while that *Juda* yet poſſeſſed the Kingdome. He confeſſed that juſtly they were puniſhed for Idolatry committed; but he affirmed, That amongſt them there remained ſome true worſhippers of God, for whoſe comfort were the Prophets ſent, as well to call them to repentance, as to aſſure them of deliverance, and of the promiſes of God to be performed unto them.

Note.

The

Anno

The Diviſion.

He divided the Pſalme into three parts; to wit,

1. In a Prayer.
2. In the ground whereupon their Prayer was founded.
3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the Vow they made unto God.

Their Prayer was, *That God ſhould convert and turne them, That he ſhould make his face to ſhine upon them, And that he ſhould reſtore them to their former dignity.*

The Grounds and Foundations of their Prayers were,

1. That God himſelf had become Paſtor and Governour unto them.
2. That he had taken the protection of them into his own hand.
3. That he had choſen his habitation amongſt them.
4. That he had delivered them from Bondage and Thraldome.
5. That he had multiplied and bleſſed them with many notable Benedictions.

Upon thoſe two parts he gave theſe Notes.

Firſt, That the felicity of Gods people may not be meaſured by any externall appearance; for often it is, That the ſame people to whom God becometh not onely Creator, but Paſtor and Protector, is more ſeverely dealt with, then thoſe Nations where very ignorance and contempt of God raigneth.

Secondly, That God never made his acquaintance and league with one people by his Word, but that there he had ſome of his elect, who albeit they ſuffered for a time in the midſt of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort, and felt in very experience, that Gods promiſes are not vaine. *Note.*

Thirdly, That thoſe prayers were dyted unto the people by the holy Ghoſt, before they came to the uttermoſt of trouble, to aſſure them that God, by whoſe Spirit the Prayer was dyted, would not contemne the ſame in the midſt of their calamities.

The third part, containing the lamenable complaint, he treated on in *Sterlin*, in preſence of the Duke, and of the whole Councell.

In the expoſition thereof, he declared wherfore God in wiſedom ſometimes ſuffered his choſen Flock to be expoſed to mockage and dangers, and to appearing deſtruction; to wit, That they may feel the vehemency of Gods indignation, That they may know how little ſtrength is in themſelves, That they may leave a teſtimony to the Generations following, as well *Note diligently.*

Anno well of the malice of the Devill againſt Gods people, as of the marvellous work of God in preſerving his little flock by farre other meanes than man can eſpie.

In explaning theſe words, *How long ſhalt thou be angry, O Lord, againſt the prayer of thy people*; he declared how dolorous and fearfull it was to fight againſt that temptation, that God turned away his face from our prayers, for that was nothing elſe than to comprehend and conceive God to bee armed to our deſtruction: which temptation no fleſh can abide nor overcome, unleſſe the mighty Spirit of God interpoſe himſelf ſuddenly.

The example he gave, The impaciency of *Saul*, when God would not hear his prayers.

The difference betwixt the Elect and Reprobate in that Temptation, he plainly declared to be, that the Elect ſuſtained by the ſecret power of Gods Spirit, did ſtill call upon God, albeit he appeared to contemne their prayers: which (ſaid he) is the ſacrifice moſt acceptable to God, and is in a manner even to fight with God, and to overcome him, as *Iacob* did in wraſtling with his Angell.

But the Reprobate (ſaid he) being denyed of their requeſts at Gods hand, do either ceaſe to pray and contemne God, who ſtraightlie commandeth us to call upon him in the day of adverſitie, or elſe they ſeek at the Devill, that which they ſee they cannot obtain by God.

Note. 2. In the ſecond part he declared how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours not to rejoyce and put confidence in our ſelves when God giveth victory, and therefore how neceſſary it was that man by affliction ſhould be brought to the knowledge of his own infirmitie, leaſt that he being puffed up with vain confidence, he make *an Idoll of his owne ſtrength*, as did King *Nebuchadnezzar*.

He did gravely diſpute upon the nature of the blinde world, which in all ages had inſolently rejoyced when God did chaſten his own children, whoſe glory and honour becauſe the Reprobate can never ſee, therefore they deſpiſe them, and the wondrous works of God in them. And yet (ſaid he) the joy and rejoycing of the world, is but meer ſorrow, becauſe the end of it tendeth to ſudden deſtructon, as the riotous banquetting of *Baltaſar* declareth, applying theſe heads to the time and perſons (he ſaid) if none of Gods children had ſuffered before us the ſame injuries that preſently we ſuſtaine, theſe our troubles would appear intollerable, ſuch is our tender delicacie, and ſelfe-love of our owne fleſh. That theſe things which we lightly paſſe over in others, we can greatlie complaine of, if they touch our ſelves.

I doubt not but that ſome of us have ofter then once read this Pſalme, as alſo that we have read and heard the travell and troubles of our ancient Fathers. But which of us, either in reading or hearing their dolours and temptations did ſo diſcend into our ſelves that we felt the bitterneſſe of their paſſions? I think none. And therefore hath God brought us to ſome experience in our own perſons.

But yet becauſe the matter may appear obſcure, unleſſe it be more properly applyed; I cannot in conſcience but uſe ſuch plainneſſe as God ſhall

ſhall grant unto me. Our faces are this day confounded, our enemies triumph, our hearts have quaked for fear, and yet they remain oppreſſed with ſorrow and ſhame. But what ſhall we think to be the very cauſe that God hath thus dejected us; if I ſhall ſay, Our ſins, and former unthankfulneſſe unto God, I ſpeak the truth, but yet I ſpeak more generally then the preſent neceſſity requireth: For when the ſins of men are rebuked in generall, ſeldome it is that man deſcendeth within himſelf, accuſing and condemning in himſelf that which moſt diſpleaſeth God; but rather he doubteth that to be a cauſe, which before God is no cauſe indeed. For example, The Iſraelites fighting againſt the Tribe of *Benjamin*, were twice diſcomfited with the loſſe of 40000 men. They lamented and bewailed both firſt and laſt; but we finde not that they came to the knowledge of their offence and ſin which was the cauſe that they fell by the edge of the ſword, but rather they doubted that to have been a cauſe of their misfortune, which God had commanded; for they asked, Shall we go and fight any more againſt our brethren the ſonnes of *Benjamin*. By which queſtion it is evident, That they ſuppoſed that the cauſe of their overthrow and diſcomfite was, Becauſe they had lifted the ſword againſt their brethren and naturall Countrey-men: And yet the expreſſe Commandment of God that was given unto them, did deliver them from all crime in that cauſe. There is no doubt, but that there was ſome cauſe in the Iſraelites that God gave them ſo over into the hands of theſe wicked men, againſt whom he ſent them, by his own expreſſe Commandment, to execute his Judgements. Such as do well mark the Hiſtory, and the eſtate of that people, may eaſily ſee the cauſe why God was offended: All the whole people had declined from God, Idolatry was maintained by the common conſent of the multitude, and, as the Text ſaith, *Every man did that which appeared good in his own eyes*. In this mean time the Levite complained of the villany that was done unto himſelf, and unto his wife, which oppreſſed by the *Benjamites* of *Gibeah*, died under their filthy luſts: which horrible fact enflamed the hearts of the whole people to take vengeance upon that abomination (and therein they offended) but in this they failed, That they go to execute judgement againſt the wicked without any repentance, or remorſe of conſcience of their owne former offences, and defection from God. And farther, Becauſe they were a great multitude, and the other were far inferiour unto them: They truſted in their own ſtrength, and thought themſelves able enough to do their purpoſe, without any invocation of the Name of God: But after that they had twice proved the vanity of their own ſtrength, they faſted and prayed; and being humbled before God, they received a more favourable anſwer, and aſſured promiſe of the Victory. The like may be amongſt us, albeit ſuddenly we do not eſpie it: And to the end that every man may the better examine himſelf, I will divide the whole company into two ſorts of men. The one are thoſe that from the beginning of this trouble have ſuſtained the common danger with their brethren: The other be theſe which be joyned to our fellowſhip. In the one and in the other I fear that juſt cauſe ſhall be found, why God ſhould thus have humbled us. And albeit that this appear ſtrange at the firſt hearing, yet if every

Anno

Speciall Application.

Let Scotland yet take heed.

Anno

every man ſhall examine himſelf, I ſpeak as that his conſcience dyteth him, I doubt not but he ſhall ſubſcribe to my ſentence. Let us begin at our ſelves who longeſt hath continued in this Battell. When we were a few number in compariſon of our enemies, when we had neither Earle nor Lord (a few excepted) to comfort us, we called upon God, and took him for our Protector, Defence, and onely Refuge. Amongſt us was heard no bragging of multitude, nor of our ſtrength nor policy, we did onely ſob to God to have reſpect to the equity of our Cauſe, and to the cruell purſuit of the tyrannicall enemy. But ſince that our number had been thus multiplied, and chiefly ſince the Duke with his friends have been joyned with us, there was nothing heard, but, *This Lord will bring theſe many hundred Speares; This man hath the credit to perſwade this Countrey; If this Earle be ours, no man in ſuch bounds will trouble us.* And thus the beſt of us all, that before felt Gods potent hand to our defence, hath of late dayes put Fleſh to be our Arme. But wherein yet had the Duke and his friends offended? It may be, That as we have truſted in them, ſo have they put too much confidence in their owne ſtrength. But granting it be not ſo, I ſee a cauſe moſt juſt, why the Duke and his friends ſhould thus be confounded amongſt the reſt of their brethren. I have not yet forgotten what was the dolour and anguiſh of my owne heart, when at Saint *Johnſton*, *Cooper-Moore*, and *Edinburgh Craigs*, thoſe cruell murtherers that now hath put us to this diſhonour, threatned our preſent deſtruction; The Duke and his friends at all the three Journeys was to them a great comfort, and unto us a great diſcouragement: For his name and authority did more aſtoniſh us, then did the force of the other; yea, without his aſſiſtance, they could not have compelled us to appoint with the Queen upon ſo unequall Conditions. I am certaine, if the Duke hath unfainedly repented of that his aſſiſtance to thoſe murtherers unjuſtly purſuing us: yea, I am certaine, if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Chriſts bleſſed Martyrs which was ſhed by his fault: But let it be, that ſo he hath done (as I hear that he hath confeſſed his offence before the Lords and Brethren of the Congregation) yet I am aſſured, That neither he, neither yet his friends, did feel before this time the anguiſh and grief of hearts which we felt, when their blinde fury purſued us; and therefore hath God juſtly permitted both them and us to fall into this confuſion at once; us, for that we put our truſt and confidence in man; and them, becauſe that they ſhould feel their owne hearts, how bitter was the cup which they made others to drinke before them. Reſteth that both they and we turn to the Eternall our God (who beateth down to death, to the intent that he may raiſe up again to leave the remembrance of his wonderous deliverance, to the praiſe of his owne Name) which if we do unfainedly, I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confuſion, and fear, ſhall be turned into joy, honour, and boldneſſe, then that I doubt that God gave Victory to the *Iſraelites* over the *Benjamites*, after that twice with ignominy they were repulſed and driven back: yea, whatſoever ſhall become of us and our mortall carkaſſes, I doubt not but that this Cauſe (in deſpight of Sathan) ſhall prevail

Let janglers and inconſtant men note.

Le the Houſe of *Hamilton* remember this.

Concluſio.

Let the Papiſts and greateſt enemies witneſſe.

prevaile in this Realme of *Scotland*. For as it is the eternall Trueth of the eternall God, ſo ſhall it once prevaile, howſoever for the time it be impugned. It may be that God ſhall plague ſome for that they delight not in the Trueth, albeit for worldly reſpects they ſeem to favour it: Yea God may take ſome of his deareſt children away before that their eyes ſee greater troubles. But neither ſhall the one nor the other ſo hinder this action, but in the end it ſhall triumph. Anno

This Sermon ended, in the which he did vehemently exhort all men to amendment of life, to Prayers, and to the Works of Charity, the mindes of men began wonderouſly to be erected: and immediately after dinner the Lords paſſed to counſell, unto the which the ſaid *John Knox* was called to make invocation of the Name of God (for other Preachers were none with us at that time) in the end it was concluded, That *William Maitland* aforeſaid, ſhould paſſe to *London*, to expoſe our eſtate and condition to the Queen and Counſell, and that the Noble-men ſhould depart to their home and quiet to the 16 day of December: Which time was appointed to the next Convention in *Sterlin*, as in this our third Booke following ſhall be more amply declared. With this we end the ſecond Book of the Hiſtory of the progreſſe of Religion within *Scotland*.

Lobk upon us, O Lord, in the multitude of thy mercies, for we are brought even to the deep of the dungeon.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

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Anno

THE THIRD BOOK OF The Progreſſe of true Religion WITHIN The Realme of *SCOTLAND*.



AFter this our dolorous departing from *Edinburgh*, the fury and rage of the French increaſed, for then durſt neither man nor woman that profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus within the Town be ſeen. The houſes of the moſt honeſt men were given by the Queen to Frenchmen for a part of their reward. The Earle *Bothwell* by ſound of Trumpet Proclaimed the Earle of *Arrane* Traitour, with other deſpightfull words, which all was done for the pleaſure, and by the ſuggeſtion of the Queene Regent, who then thought the battell was wonne without further reſiſtance. Great practiſing ſhe made for obtaining of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The French made their fagots with other preparations to aſſault the ſaid Caſtle, either by force or elſe by Treaſon: But God wrought ſo mightily with the Captain, the Lord *Erſkin*, at that time, that neither the Queen by flattery, nor the French by treaſon prevailed. Advertiſement with all diligence paſt to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who then was King of *France* (as concerning power to command) requiring him to make expedition, if he deſired the full conqueſt of *Scotland*; Who delayed no time, but with a new Armie ſent away his brother *Marquis Dalbuſ*, and in his company *Martticks*, promiſing that he himſelfe ſhould follow. But the righteous

Proclamation againſt the Earl of *Arrane*.

Ra lius [illegible] *nomist.*

Anno God, who in mercy looketh upon the affliction of those that unfainedly sob unto him, fought for us by his own out-stretched arm: For upon one night upon the coast of *Holland* were drowned of them eighteen Enfignes, so that onely rested the Ship, in the which were two principals aforesaid, with their Ladies, who violently driven back to *Deepe*, were compelled to confesse, *That God fought for the defence of Scotland.*

The drowning of the French. *Dominus pro nobis.*

From *England* returned *Robert Melvin*, who past in company to *London* with the Secretary, a little before *Christmas*, and brought unto us certain Articles to be answered, as by the contract that after was made, more plainely shall appeare. Whereupon the Nobility assembled at *Sterlin*, and returned answer with diligence: Whereof the French advertised, they marched to *Linlithquow*, spoiled the Dukes house, and wasted his lands of *Kinneill*, and after came to *Sterlin*, where they remained certaine dayes (the Duke, the Earles of *Argyle* and *Glencarn*, with their friends passed to *Glasgow*. The Earle of *Arrane* and Lord *James* passed to Saint *Andrews*. For charge was given to the whole Nobility Protestants, to keepe their owne bodies, till that God should send them further support.) The French tooke purpose first to assault *Fyfe*, for as it was their great indignation. Their purpose was to have taken and fortified the Towne and Abbey, with the Castle of Saint *Andrews*, and so they came to *Culrosse*, after to *Dunfermeling*, and then to *Brunteiland*, where they began to fortifie: but desisted therefrom, and marched to *Kinghorn*, upon the occasion as followeth. When certaine knowledge came to the Earl of *Arrane* and to Lord *James*, That the French were departed from *Sterlin*, they departed also from S. *Andrews*, and began to assemble their Forces at *Cowper*, and sent their men of War to *Kinghorne*, unto whom there resorted divers of the coast side, of minde to resist rather at the beginning, then when they had destroyed a part of their Townes. But the Lords had given an expresse commandment, That they should hazard nothing, till that they themselves were present. And for that purpose was sent unto them the Lord *Ruthuen*, a man of great experience, and inferiour to few in stoutnesse: In his company was the Earle of *Sudderland*, sent from the Earle of *Huntly*, as he alleadged, to comfort the Lords in their affliction. But others whispered, That his principall Commission was unto the Queen Regent. Howsoever it was, he was hurt in the arme by the shot of an Haquebut, for the men of War and the rascall multitude, perceiving certaine Boats of French-men landing, which came from *Leith*, purposed to stop their landing, and so not considering the enemies that approached from *Brunteiland*: unadvisedly they rushed downe to the *Pretticure* (so is that Bay by West *Kinghorne* called) and at the sea coast began the skirmishing. But they never took heed to the enemy that approached by land, till that the horsemen charged them upon the backe, and the whole bands came directly in their faces, and so were they compelled to give back with the losse of six or seven of their men, and with the taking of some, amongst whom were two that professed Christ Jesus, one named *Paul Lambert*, a Dutch man, and a French boy, fervent in Religion, and clean of life, whom in despight they hanged over the Steeple of *Kinghorne*. Thou shalt revenge, O Lord, in thy appointed time. The cause that

The Earle of Sudderland shot

in

in ſo great a danger there was ſo ſmall a loſſe, next unto the mercifull providence of God, was the ſudden coming of my Lord *Ruthuen*; for even as our men had given back, he and his Company came to the head of the Bray, and did not onely ſtay the French-men, but alſo ſome of ours brake upon their Horſe-men, and ſo repulſed them, that they did no further hurt to our Foot-men. In that recounter was the Earle of *Sudderland* foreſaid ſhot in the arme, and was carried back to *Cowper*. The French-men took *Kinghorne*, where they lay and waſted the Country about, as well Papiſts as Proteſtants; yea, even thoſe that were confederate with them, ſuch as *Seafield, Weames, Balmowto, Balwearie*, and others, enemies to God, and traytors to their Countrey; of thoſe (we ſay) they ſpared not the Sheep, the Oxen, the Kine, and Horſes, and ſome ſay that their wives and daughters gat favour of the French Souldiers, and ſo did recompence the Papiſts in their own boſoms; for beſides the defiling of their houſes, as ſaid is, two of them received more damage, then did all the Gentlemen that profeſſed the Goſpel within *Fyfe*, the Laird of *Grange* onely excepted, whoſe houſe of the *Grange* the French-men overthrew with Gun-Powder. The Queen Regent proud of this Victory, burſt forth into her blaſphemous railing, and ſaid, *Where is now* John Knox *his God? my God is now ſtronger then his, yea even in Fyfe.* She poſted to her friends in *France* newes that thouſands of the hereticks were ſlain, and the reſt were fled, and therefore required that ſome Noble-man of her friends would come and take the glory of that Victory. Upon that information was *Marticks* with two Ships, and ſome Captains and Horſes directed to come into *Scotland*, but little to their own advantage, as we ſhall after hear.

Anno

Note the French favour to their friends

The Lords of the Congregation offended at the fooliſhneſſe of the raſcall multitude, called to themſelves the men of War, and remained certaine dayes at *Cowper*, unto whom repaired *John Knox*, and in our greateſt deſperation Preached unto us a moſt comfortable Sermon: his Text was, *The danger wherein the Diſciples of Chriſt Jeſus ſtood when they were in the midſt of the Sea, and Jeſus was upon the mountain.* His Exhortation was, That we ſhould not faint, but that we ſhould ſtill row againſt the contrarious blaſts, till that Jeſus Chriſt ſhould come; for, ſaid he, I am aſſuredly perſwaded that God will deliver us from this extreme trouble, as that I am aſſured, That this is the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which I preach unto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come, abide a little, the Boat ſhall be ſaved, and *Peter*, which hath left the Boat, ſhal not drown. I am aſſured, That albeit I cannot aſſure you by reaſon of this preſent rage, God grant that ye may acknowledge his hand, after that your eyes have ſeen his deliverance. In that Sermon he comforted many, & yet he offended the Earl of *Arran*; for in his diſcourſe upon the manifold aſſaults the Church of God ſuſtained, he brought for example the multitude of ſtrangers that purſued *Jehoſaphat* after he had reformed Religion. He ſpake of the fear of the people, yea, and of the King himſelf at the firſt. But after he affirmed, that *Iehoſaphat* was ſtout; and to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his Souldiers; he came forth in the midſt of them, he ſpake lovingly unto them. He kept not himſelfe

John 6.

Exhortation of Iohn Knox.

Note.

Anno (ſaid he) encloſed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and rejoyced them with his preſence, and godly comfort. Theſe and the like ſentences took the ſaid Earle to be ſpoken in reproach of him, becauſe he kept himſelf more cloſe and ſolitary then many men would have wiſhed. After theſe things, determination was taken, That the Earle of *Arrane*, and Lord *Fames*, with men of War, and ſome Companies of Horſe-men, ſhould go to *Diſert*, and there lie to wait upon the French, to ſtop them from deſtroying the Sea-coaſt, as they intended utterly to have done. The ſaid Earle, and Lord *Fames* did as they were appointed, albeit their Company was very ſmall; and yet they did ſo valiantly, that it paſſed almoſt credit; for twenty and one dayes they lay in their clothes, their Boots came never off: They had skirmiſhing almoſt every day, yea, ſome days from morning to night. The French were four thouſand Souldiers, beſides their favourers and faction of the Countrey. The Lords were never together five hundred Horſe-men, with an hundred Souldiers, and yet they held the French ſo buſie, that for every horſe was ſlain to the Congregation, they loſt four French Souldiers. *William Kirkcaldie* of *Grainge*, the day after that his houſe was caſt down, ſent his defiance to Monſieur *Doſell*, and unto the reſt, declaring that to this hour he had uſed the French favourably, yea he had ſaved their lives, when that he might have ſuffered their throats to have been cut; but ſeeing they had uſed him with that rigour, let them not look for the like favours in time to come. And unto Monſieur *Doſell* he ſaid, He knew that he ſhould not get him in skirmiſhing, becauſe he knew he was a very coward: but it might that he ſhould quite him a common either in *Scotland*, or elſe in *France*. The ſaid *William Kirkcaldie*, and the Maſter of *Lindſay*, eſcaped many dangers. The Maſter had his horſe ſlain under him; and *William* was almoſt betrayed in his houſe at *Halyards*. But yet they never ceaſed, for night and day they waited upon the French: They laid themſelves in a ſecret place with ſome Gentlemen before the day to wait upon the French, who uſed commonly to iſſue in Companies to ſeek their prey: And ſo came forth one Captain *Batu* with his hundred, and began to ſpoyle; whom the Maſter, after Lord *Lindſay*, and *William* ſuffered, without declaration of themſelves, or of their Company, till that they had them more then a mile from *Kinghorne*, and then began the horſe-men to break; which perceived, the French altogether drew to a place called *Glames* houſe, and made for debate; ſome took the houſe, other defended the Court and Yards: The hazard appeared very unlikely, for our men had nothing but Spears, and were compelled to light upon their feet: The other were within ditches, and every man had a Culverin; the ſhot was fearfull to many, and divers were hurt, amongſt whom was *Robert Hamilton*, and *David Kirkcaldie*, brother to the ſaid Laird, who both were ſuppoſed to have been ſlain: the ſaid Laird perceiving men to faint, and begin to recule, ſaid, *Fie, let us never live after this day, that we ſhall recule for French ſcybalds and raſcals.* And ſo the Maſter of *Lindſay* and he burſt in at the gate, and others followed. The Maſter ſtruck with his Spear at *la Bartu*, and glaſing upon his harneſſe, for fear ſtumbled upon his knees; but recovering ſuddenly, he faſtned his Spear, and bare the

ſaid

ſaid Captain backward, who becauſe he would not be taken, was ſlain, and fifty of his Company with him. Thoſe that were in the houſe, with ſome others, were ſaved, and ſent to *Dundie* to be kept. This miſchance to the French-men, made them to be more circumſpect in ſtraying and wandring abroad into the Countrey, and ſo the poor people gat ſome relief. To furniſh the French with Victualls, was appointed Capt. *Culan*, with two ſhips, who travelled betwixt the South ſhore and *Kinghorne* for that purpoſe: For his wages he ſpoyled *Kinghorne*, *Kirkcaldie*, and ſo much of *Diſert* as he might. For remedy whereof, were appointed two Ships from *Dundie*, *Andrew Sands*, a very ſtout and fervent man in the Cauſe of Religion, was the principall. This ſame time arrived *Martickes*, who without delay landed himſelf, the Coffers, and the principall Gentlemen that were with him, at *Leith*, leaving the reſt in the Ships till better opportunity: But the ſaid *Andrew* and his company ſtriking Sayl, and making as they would caſt Ankor hard beſide them, boarded them both, and carried them to *Dundie*: in them were gotten ſome horſes, and much harneſſe, with ſome other trifles, but of money we heard nought. Hereat the French offended, avowed the deſtruction of Saint *Andrews* and *Dundie*, and ſo upon a Munday in the morning, the thirteenth of *January*, they marched from *Diſert*, and paſſed the water of *Levin*, ever keeping the Coaſt, by reaſon of their Ships and Victualls, as ſaid is: about noon they eſpied Ships (which were ſeen that morning by us that were upon the land, but were not known) Monſieur *Doſell* affirmed them to be French Ships, and ſo the Souldiers triumphed, ſhot their Volley for a ſalve, and marched forward to *Kingcraig*, fearing no reſiſtance. But ſhortly after, the Engliſh Ships met with Captain *Culen*, and ſeized upon him and his Ships, which made them a little to muſe. Then ſuddenly came M. *Alexander Woode*, who had been upon the Admirall, and aſſured Monſieur *Doſell* that they were Engliſh men, and that they were the forwarners of a greater number that followed, who were ſent for ſupport of the Congregation. There might have been ſeen pulling of beards for anger, and might have been heard ſuch deſpight as cruell men uſe to ſpue forth when God bridleth their fury. Wearineſſe and the night conſtrained them to lodge there: They ſupped ſcarcely, becauſe their Ships were taken, in the which were their victualls and Ordnance, which they intended to have placed in Saint *Andrews*. They themſelves durſt not ſtray abroad to ſeek, and the Laird of *Wemes* carriages, which likewiſe was coming with furniſhing unto them, were ſtayed. And therefore betimes in the morning they retired towards *Kinghorne*, and made more expedition in one day in returning, then they did in two in marching forward. The ſtorm which had continued neer the ſpace of a moneth, brake in the time of their returning, whereby many thought that they ſhould have been ſtayed, till that reaſonable company might have been aſſembled to have foughten with them. And for that purpoſe did *William Kirkcaldie* cut the Bridge of *Tullibody*: But the French, expert enough in ſuch feats, took down the Roof of a Pariſh Church, and made a Bridge over the ſame water called *Doname*, and ſo they eſcaped, and went to *Sterlin*, and thereafter to *Leith*; yet in their returne they loſt divers, amongſt whom there

Anno

The ſlaughter of a French Captain, with his Band.

Note.

The arrivall of the Engliſh Ships.

Note.

The Bridge of *Tullibody*.

Anno there was one whoſe miſerable end we may rehearſe. As the French ſpoyled the Countrey in their returning, one Captaine or Souldier, we cannot tell, but he had a red Cloke, and a gilt Murriow, entred upon a poor woman that dwelt in the white ſide, and began to ſpoyle. The poore woman offered unto him ſuch bread as ſhe had ready prepared, But he in no wiſe therewith content, would have the Meale, and a little ſalt Beef which the poore woman had to ſuſtain her owne life, and the lives of her poor children; neither could tears, nor pitifull words, mitigate the mercileſſe man, but he would have whatſoever he might carry. The poore woman perceiving him ſo bent, and that he ſtooped downe in her Tub, for the taking forth of ſuch ſtuffe as was within it, firſt coped and turned up his heels, ſo that his head went downe. And thereafter, whether by her ſelf, or if any other company come to help her, but there he ended his unhappy life, God ſo puniſhing his cruell heart, who could not ſpare a miſerable woman in that extremity. *Let all ſuch Souldiers receive ſuch reward, O Lord, ſeeing that thou onely art the revenger of the oppreſſed.*

Note the death of a plunderer.

And now, becauſe that from this time forward frequent mention will be made of the comfortable ſupport that we in our greateſt extremity received by Gods providence from our neighbours of *England*, we thinke it expedient ſimply to declare by what inſtruments that matter was firſt moved, and by what means it came to paſſe that the Queen and Councel of *England*, ſhewed themſelves ſo favourable unto us.

Remark the Scots acknowledgement of the Engliſh help.

As *John Knox* had fore-warned us by his Letters from *Geneva*, of all dangers that he foreſaw to enſue our enterpriſe; ſo when he came to *Deipe*, mindefull of the ſame; and reſolving with himſelf, what remedy God would pleaſe to offer, he took boldneſſe to write to Sir *William Cecil*, Secretary of State in *England*, with whom the ſaid *John* had been before familiarly acquainted, intending thereby to renew acquaintance, and ſo to open further of his minde. The tenor of his firſt Letter follows:

The ſpirit of Judgement, Wiſedome, and Sanctification, I wiſh unto you, by Jeſus Chriſt.

John Knox his firſt Letter to Sir William Cecile.

AS I have no pleaſure with long writing to trouble you (Right Honorable) whoſe minde I know to be taken up with moſt grave matters, ſo I minde not greatly to labor by long Preface, to conciliate your favors, which I ſuppoſe I have already (howſoever rumors brute the contrary) as the favour it becometh one member of Chriſts Body to have of another: The contents therfore of my preſent Letter ſhall be abſolved in 2 points: In the former, I purpoſe to diſcharge in few words my conſcience towards you: And in the other, ſum what muſt I ſpeak, for my own defence, and in defence of that poor Flock of late aſſembled in the moſt godly reformed Church and City of the world, *Geneva*: To you, Sir, I ſay, that as from God you have received, life, wiſdom, honours, and the preſent eſtate in the which you now ſtand, ſo ought you wholly to apply the ſame to the advancement of his glory, who onely is the author of life, the fountain of wiſdom, and who moſt aſſuredly doth and wil honor & glorifie them that with

with ſimple hearts do glorifie him; which alas in times paſt you have not done, but being overcome with common iniquity, you have followed the world, in the way of perdition: for to the ſuppreſſing of Chriſts true Evangel, to the erecting of Idolatry, and to the ſhedding of the blood of Gods moſt deare Children; Have you by ſilence conſented and ſubſcribed this your moſt horrible defection from the knowne Trueth, and once profeſſed, hath God to this day mercifully ſpared? Yea, to mans judgement he hath utterly forgotten, and pardoned the ſame: He hath not dealt with you as he hath done with others (of like knowledge) whom in his anger (but yet moſt juſtly according to their deſerts) he did ſhortly ſtrike after their deſertion: But you, guilty in the ſame offences, hath he foſtered and preſerved, as it were in his owne boſome, during the time of that moſt miſerable thraldome, of that profeſſed enemy of God, miſchievous *Mary*: And now hath ſet you at ſuch liberty, as the fury of Gods enemies cannot hurt you, except that willingly againſt his honour, you take pleaſure to conſpire with them. As this benefit which you have received is great, ſo muſt Gods Juſtice require of you a thankfull heart; For ſeeing that his Mercie hath ſpared you, being Traitour to his Majeſtie; Seeing further, That amongſt your enemies he hath preſerved you; And laſt, ſeeing, although worthy of hell, he hath promoted you to honour and dignity; of you muſt he require (becauſe he is juſt) earneſt repentance for your former defection; and heart mindfull of his mercifull providence, and a will ſo ready to advance his glory, That evidently it may appeare, that in vaine you have not received theſe graces of God; to performance whereof, of neceſſity it is, That carnall wiſdome and worldly policie (to the which both, you are bruted too much inclined) give place to Gods ſimple and naked Trueth: very love compells me to ſay, That except the Spirit of God purge your heart from that venome, which your eyes have ſeen to have been deſtruction to others, that you ſhall not long eſcape the reward of diſſemblers. Call to minde what your eares heard Proclaimed, in the Chappell of S. *James*, when this Verſe of the firſt Pſalme was handled, *Not ſo, O wicked, not ſo, but as the duſt which the winde toſſeth, &c.* And conſider, that now you travell in the ſame way which then they did occupie, to ſpeak plainely, now you are in that eſtate and credit, in the which you ſhall either comfort the ſorrowfull and afflicted, for righteouſneſſe ſake, or elſe you ſhall moleſt or oppugne the Spirit of God ſpeaking in his Meſſengers; the Comforters of the afflicted for godlineſſe, hath promiſe of comfort, in their greateſt neceſſities: but the troubles of Gods ſervants (how contemned that ever they appeare before the world) are threatned to have their Names in execration to the poſteritities following. The examples of the one and of the other, are not onely evident in Scriptures, but alſo have been lately manifeſted in *England*. And this is the concluſion of that, which to your ſelf, I ſay, except that in the cauſe of Chriſts Evangell, you be found ſimple, ſincere, fervent, and unfained, you ſhall taſte of the ſame cup, which politick heads have drank in before you.

Anno

Note.

The other Point concerning my ſelf, and that poore flock now diſperſed, and as I heare ſay, rudely uſed, is this; By divers Meſſengers I have

Anno have requeſted ſuch Priviledges as Turkes commonly do grant to men of every Nation; to wit, That liberty ſhould be granted to me freely to paſſe through *England*, to the end that with greater expedition I might repaire towards my owne Countrey, which now beginneth to thirſt for Chriſts Trueth. This requeſt I thought ſo reaſonable, that almoſt I had entered the Realme, without licenſe demanded; and yet I underſtand that it hath been ſo rejected, that the ſoliciters thereof, did hardly eſcape impriſonment; and ſome of that poore flocke I heare to be ſo extreamely handled, That thoſe who moſt rudely have ſhed the blood of Gods moſt deare Children findes this day amongſt you greater favours, then they do; Alas, this appeareth much to repugne to Chriſtian Charity: for whatſoever hath been mine offence, this I fear not to affirme in their cauſe; That if any that hath ſuffered exile in thoſe moſt dolorous dayes of perſecution, deſerve praiſe and commendation, for Peace, Concord, ſober and quiet living, it is they. And as for me, how criminall that ever I be in Gods preſence, for the multitude of my ſins; yet before his Juſtice-ſeat I have a teſtimonie of a cleare Conſcience, That ſince my firſt acquaintance with *England*, willingly I never offended perſon within it, except in open Chaire, to reprove that which God condemneth, can be judged offence: but I have (ſay you) written a Treaſonable Book againſt the regiment and Empire of women; If that be my offence, the poore flock is innocent (except ſuch as this day do faſteſt cry Treaſon) For Sir (in Gods preſence I do write) with none in that company did I conſult before the finiſhing of the ſame. Therefore in Chriſts Name I require, That the blame may be upon me alone. The writing of that Book I will not deny, but to prove it Treaſonable, I think it ſhall be hard; for Sir, No more do I doubt of the Trueth of my Propoſition, then that I doubt that this was the voice of God, which firſt did pronounce this penaltie againſt women; *In dolour ſhalt thou beare thy children.* It is bruited, That my book is, or ſhall be written againſt, or anſwered: If ſo be Sir, I greatly feare, That flatterers ſhall more hurt then helpe the matter which they would ſeem to maintaine; for except my errour be plainly ſhewne and confuted, by better authority then by ſuch Lawes as from yeere to yeere may and do change, I dare not promiſe ſilence in ſo weighty a buſineſſe; leſt that in ſo doing, I ſhall appeare to betray the Verity which is not ſubject to the mutabilitie of time. And if any thinke me either enemy to the perſon, or yet to the Regiment of her, whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me, for the miraculous Work of God, comforting his afflicted by an infirme veſſell, I do acknowledge, and I will obey the power of his moſt potent hand (raiſing up whom beſt pleaſeth his Mercy, to ſuppreſſe ſuch as fight againſt his glory) albeit that both nature, and Gods moſt perfect Ordinance repugne to ſuch Regiment. More plainly to ſpeak, If Queen *Elizabeth* ſhall confeſſe, That the extraordinary diſpenſation of Gods great mercy, makes that lawfull unto her, which both nature and Gods Lawes do deny unto all women; then ſhall none in *England* be more willing to maintaine her lawfull authority then I ſhall be: But if (Gods wondrous worke ſet aſide) ſhe ground (as God forbid) the juſtneſſe of her Title upon conſuetude Lawes and Ordinances

Note.

of

of men: Then I am aſſured, That as ſuch fooliſh preſumption doth highly offend Gods ſupreame Majeſtie; ſo do I greatly feare, That her ingratitude ſhall not long lacke puniſhment. And this in the name of the eternall God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt (before whom, both you and I ſhall ſtand to make an account of all counſell we give) I require you to ſignifie unto her Majeſtie, in my name; Adding, That onely humility and deſertion of her ſelfe before God, ſhall be the firmeneſſe and ſtability of the Throne, which I know ſhall be aſſaulted mo wayes then one. If this you conceale from her Majeſtie, I will make it patent to the world, That thus farre I have communicated with you; having alſo further to ſpeak, if my judgement may be heard. Alas, Sir, is my offence (although in that time, and in that matter, I had written ten Bookes) ſo hainous, that I cannot have Licence, by Preaching of Chriſt Jeſus, to refreſh thoſe thirſty ſoules, which long have lacked the Water of Life: No man will I preſently accuſe, but I greatly feare, That *the Leprous have no great pleaſure to behold faire faces in cleare glaſſe:* Let none be afraid, that I require to frequent the Court, or yet to remaine any long time in *England*; but onely thirſts, in paſſing thorow to my native Countrey, to communicate with you, and ſome others, ſuch things as willingly I liſt not to commit to Paper, neither to the Credit and knowledge of many. And then in the North parts to offer Gods favours, to ſuch as I ſuppoſe do mourne for their deſertion. And this, I truſt, ſhall be no leſſe profitable to the Queen, and to all godly within *England*, then it ſhould be pleaſing to me in the fleſh. Anno Note.

This is the third time that I have begged Licence to viſite the hungry and thirſtie amongſt you, which if now be denied, as before God, I have a teſtimonie, that I ſeek not for my ſelfe, but the advancement of Chriſt Evangell, and the comfort of ſuch, as whom I know afflicted: ſo ſhall the godly underſtand that *England* in refuſing me refuſeth a friend, how ſmall that ever the power be. The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jeſus moove your heart deeply to conſider your dutie unto God, and the eſtate of that Realme, in which by his appointment you now ſerve.

From *Deepe*, the 10 of *April*, 1559.

Yours to command in godlineſſe,

John Knox.

To this Letter was no anſwer made: for ſhortly the ſaid *John Knox* made forward to *Scotland* by ſea, when he landed the third of May, and had ſuch ſucceſſe, as is in the ſecond book declared. The ſaid *John* being in S. *Andrews*, after *Cowper-Moore*, entred in deep diſcourſe with the Laird of *Grange*; the danger is very evident, but the ſupport was not eaſie to be ſeen. After many words *John Knox* burſt forth as followeth; *If* England *would foreſee their own commodity, yea, if they would conſider the danger wherein themſelves ſtand, they would not ſuffer us to periſh in this quarrell; for* France *hath no leſſe decreed the conqueſt of* England *then of* Scotland. After long reaſoning, it was concluded betwixt them two, That ſupport

As *England* had intereſt then not to ſuffer *Scotland* to periſh, ſo likewiſe *Scotland* hath intereſt now, not to ſee *England* undone.

Anno port ſhould be craved of *England*: And for that purpoſe the ſaid Laird of *Grange*, firſt wrote to Sir *Henry Percie*, and after rode from *Edinburgh* and ſpake with him; to whom he made ſo plaine demonſtration of the danger appearing to *England*, that he tooke upon him to write to Secretarie *Cecil*, who with expedition returned anſwer back again, giving him to underſtand, That our enterpriſe altogether miſliked not the Counceil, albeit that they deſired further reſolution of the principall Lords. Which thing underſtood, it was concluded to write to him plainely our whole purpoſe. The tenour of our Letter was this:

The firſt Letter to Sir William Cecill, *from the Lords of the Congregation.*

THe contents of a Letter directed by you (right Worſhipfull) to Sir *Henry Percie*, was notified unto us by Maſter *Kirkcaldie* of *Grange*
1559. this Sunday the 26 of July: By the which we perceive that the ſaid Laird of *Grange*, of zeale, and faithfull heart which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great, and before the world, dangerous enterpriſe, hath travelled with you, as with an unfained favourer of Chriſts true Religion, and of the libertie of our Countrey, for knowledge of your mindes towards us, in caſe that we be aſſaulted by any forraigne invaſion, or greater power then we be well able to reſiſt. Your comfortable anſwer to this queſtion we have conſidered, to our joy and comfort, as alſo
Note the Quæres. your motions, and what you demand; To wit, What the Proteſtants within this Realme do purpoſe; To what end we mean to direct our actions; How we will, and how we be able to accompliſh the ſame; What doubts we have of any adverſary power; And finally, in caſe that ſupport ſhould be ſent from you, What manner of amity might enſue betwixt
And Anſwers theſe two Realmes, &c. To the which, in briefe, we anſwer; That our whole and onely purpoſe (as God knoweth) is to advance the glory of Chriſt Jeſus, the true Preaching of his Goſpel within this Realme. To remove ſuperſtition, and all ſort of externall Idolatry, to bridle to our powers the fury of thoſe that heretofore have cruelly ſhed the blood of our brethren; and to our uttermoſt, to maintaine the liberty of this our Countrey from the tyrannie and thraldome of ſtrangers, as God ſhall aſſiſt us. How we be able to accompliſh theſe premiſes, is to us unknown, onely our hope is good, That he that hath begun this good worke in us, and hath by his power to this houre confounded the faces of
Let the enemies ſay, if their hope be not fruſtrate. our adverſaries will performe the ſame to his glory, which chiefly we ſeek in this our enterpriſe. Becauſe we ſuppoſe, That neither our preſent danger, neither yet the warlike preparation which *France* maketh againſt us, are hid from you, nor from the counſell, we omit that part. As touching the aſſurance of a perpetuall amity to ſtand betwixt theſe two Realmes: As no earthly thing of us is more deſired, ſo crave we of God to make us the inſtruments, by which this unnaturall debate
Note diligently. which long hath continued betwixt us may once be compoſed, to the praiſe of Gods Name, and to the comfort of the faithfull in both Realms.

And

And if your wiſedoms can foreſee and deviſe the means and aſſurances how the ſame may be brought to paſſe, perſwade your ſelves not onely of our conſent and aſſiſtance, but alſo of our conſtancy, as men can promiſe, unto our lives end. Yea farther, of charge and commandment by us to be left to our poſterity, That the Amity betwixt us (in God) contracted and begun, may be by them kept inviolate for ever. As for the revolting from you to *France*, which ye ſeem to fear and ſuſpect at their pleaſure, we utterly abhorre that infidelity; for now doth the voyce of God continually ſound in our ears, That ſuch as prophane the terrible and reverent Name of God, ſhall not eſcape vengeance. Our Confederacy, Amity and League ſhall not be like the Pactions made by worldly men, for worldly profit; but as we require it for Gods Cauſe, ſo will we call upon his Name for the obſervation of the ſame. Moreover, if we ſhould lack any thing in Temporall commodity, yet ſhould we never have occaſion to returne to them: for we now perceive and feel the weight of their yoke, and intend (by Gods grace) to cut away ſuch inſtruments as by whom this Realme was before abuſed. True it is, That as yet we have made no mention of any change in Authority, neither yet were we minded to do any ſuch thing, till extreme neceſſity compelleth us thereto. But ſeeing it is now more then evident, That *France*, and the Queen Regent here, with her Prieſts, pretendeth nothing but the ſuppreſſing of Chriſts Goſpel, the ruine of us, and the ſubverſion of this poor Realme, committing our innocency to God, and unto the judgement of all godly and wiſe men, we are determined to ſeek the next remedy; in which we heartily require your counſell and aſſiſtance. And thus farre we have enterpriſed to make you participant of our purpoſe, becauſe in the ſaid Letters ye required the ſaid Maſter *Kirkcaldie* ſome farther aſſurance then his owne word or writing, which we doubt not but ye ſhall ſhortly receive, from more then from us. We dare not haſtily make the Aſſembly, neither of Nobles, neither of Barons, privie in this Cauſe, for dangers that may enſue by policie and craft of the adverſaries; your wiſdom, we doubt not, will communicate theſe onely with ſuch as ye know favourers of ſuch a godly Conjunction. It ſhould much help, in our opinion, if the Preachers, both in perſwaſion, and in publike Prayers (as ours do here) would commend the ſame unto the people. And thus, after our moſt humble commendations to the Queenes Majeſtie (whoſe Raigne we wiſh may be proſperous and long, to the glory of God, and comfort of his Church) we heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent.

Anno

Note.

From Edinburgh the 17 of July, 1559.

With this our Letter *John Knox* wrote two, one to the ſaid Secretary, and another to the Queens Majeſty her ſelf: The Tenour whereof follows thus:

Anno

John Knox his ſecond Letter to M. *Cecile*, for the delivery of one other to the Queen.

SIR,

AFter my humble commendations, pleaſe you deliver this other enclоſed to the Queen: It containeth a few and ſimple words of my Confeſſion what I think of her Authority, how it is juſt, and what may make it odious in Gods preſence. I hear that there is one Confutation ſet forth againſt the firſt blaſt; God grant that the writers thereof have no more ſought the favours of this preſent world, no leſſe the glory of God, and the ſtable good of his Countrey, then he who enterpriſed in that blaſt to utter his conſcience. When I ſhall have time (which now is ſomewhat precious unto me) to peruſe that work, I will communicate my judgement with you.

The time is now, Sir, that all, who either thirſt for Chriſt to raigne in this Iſle, or yet the hearts of the Inhabitants be joyned together in love unfained, ought rather to ſtudy how the ſame might be brought to paſſe, then vainly to travell for the maintenance of that, whereof already we have ſeen the danger, and feel the ſmart: If the moſt part of women be wicked, and ſuch as willingly we would not ſhould raigne over us: And if the moſt godly, and ſuch as have rare graces, be yet mortall, we ought to take heed, leſt in eſtabliſhing of one judged godly, and profitable to her Countrey, we make an Intereſt and Title to many; by whom not onely will the Truth be impugned, but alſo will the Countrey be brought into bondage. God give you, and other favourers of your Countrey eyes to ſee, and wiſedome to avoid the dangers appearing.

By divers Letters I have required license to have viſited the North parts of England, *but as yet I have received no favourable anſwer. The longer, Sir, that it be delayed, the leſſe comfort will the faithfull there receive; yea, the weaker will the Queens favour be: If I were not an unfained friend to her Majeſtie, I would inſtantly beg ſuch liberty; which to me, I know, will neither be profitable nor pleaſing in the fleſh. The common things here, I doubt not you know: ſome things I have (as oftentimes I have written) which gladly I would communicate, but I minde not to commit them to Paper and Inke; finde therefore the means that I may ſpeake with ſuch a one as you will credit in all things.*

The grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt reſt with you.

I heartily beſeech you to have my ſervice recommended to the Queens Majeſty, adding, That whoſoever maketh me odious to her Majeſtie, ſeeketh ſomewhat beſides the glory of God, and her Majeſties proſperity, and therefore cannot be aſſured and unfained friends from, &c.

The Letter ſent from the ſaid *John* to the Queens Majeſtie of *England*, being encloſed in the foreſaid M. *Ceciles* Letter.

To the vertuous and godly Elizabeth, *by the Grace of God, Queen of* England: John Knox *deſireth the perpetuall comfort of his holy Spirit.*

MADAME,

AS your Majeſties diſpleaſure againſt me, moſt unjuſtly conceived, hath been and is to my wretched heart a burden grievous, and almoſt

moſt intolerable, ſo is the teſtimony of a clear conſcience to me a ſtay and uphold, that I ſinke not in deſpair, how vehement ſoever the temptations appear: For in Gods preſence, my conſcience beareth me record, That maliciouſly, nor of purpoſe, I never offended your Majeſty, nor your Realme: And therefore, howſoever I be judged of man, I am ſure to be abſolved of him, who onely knoweth the ſecrets of hearts. I cannot deny the writing of a Book againſt the uſurped Authothority, and unjuſt Regiment of Women; neither yet am I minded to recant, or call back any principall Point or Propoſition of the ſame, till truth and verity do further appear. But why that your Majeſty, or any ſuch, who unfainedly favour the liberty of *England*, be offended at the Author of ſuch a Work, I can perceive no juſt occaſion: For firſt, my Book touched not your Majeſties Perſon in ſpeciall, neither is it prejudiciall to any Liberty of the Realme, if the time of my writing be indifferently conſidered. How could I be enemy to your Majeſties Perſon, for delivery whereof, I did more ſtudie, and undertake further, then any of thoſe who now accuſeth me? And as concerning your Government, How could or can I envy that? which moſt I have wiſhed for, and for which (as my weak memory will ſuffer) I render thanks unfainedly to God, to wit, That it hath pleaſed him of his eternall goodneſſe to exalt your head (which ſometime was in danger) to the manifeſtation of his glory, and extirpation of Idolatry. And as for my offence, which I have committed againſt *England*, either by writing that Book, or by any other work, I will not refuſe that moderate and indifferent men judge and diſcerne betwixt me, and thoſe that accuſe me, *viz.* Whether of the parties do moſt hurt to the Liberty of *England*: I, who affirme that no woman may be exalted above any Realme, to make the Liberty of the ſame thrall, and ſubject to a ſtrange, proud, and cruell Nation: Or they, that approve whatſoever pleaſeth Princes for the time. If I were as well diſpoſed to accuſe, as ſome of them (to their own ſhame) have declared themſelves, I nothing doubt, but that in few words I ſhould let reaſonable men underſtand, That ſome that this day lowly crouch and bow to your Majeſtie, and labour to make me odious in your eyes, did in your adverſity neither ſhew themſelves faithfull friends to your Majeſty, neither yet ſo loving and carefull of the native Countrey, as they would be eſteemed. But omitting the accuſation of others, for my owne purgation, and your Majeſties ſatisfaction, I ſay, That nothing contained in my book, is or can be prejudiciall to your Majeſties juſt Regiment, providing that you be not found ungrate unto God, ungrate you will be proved in the preſence of his Throne (howſoever that flatterers juſtifie your fact) if you transfer the glory of that honour in which you now ſtand, to anyother thing, then to the diſpenſation of his mercy, which onely maketh that lawfull to your Majeſtie, which Nature and Law denieth to all women, to command and bear rule over men. Neither would I that your Majeſty ſhould fear, That this your humiliation before God, ſhould in any caſe infirm or weaken your Majeſties juſt and lawfull Authority; Nay, Madame, ſuch unfained confeſſion of Gods benefits received, will be the eſtabliſhment of the ſame, not only to your ſelf,

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but alſo to your ſeed and Poſterity: Where contrariwiſe, a proud conceit, and elevation of your ſelf, will be the occaſion that your Raigne will be unſtable, troubleſome, and ſhort. God is witneſſe, That unfainedly I both love and reverence you Majeſtie; yea, I pray that your Raigne may be both proſperous and quiet, and that for the quietneſſe which Chriſts Members, before perſecuted, have received under you. But yet if I ſhould flatter your Majeſty, I were no friend, but a deceivable traytor; and therefore in conſcience I am compelled to ſay, That neither the conſent of the people, the proceſſe of time, nor multitude of men, can eſtabliſh a Law which God ſhall approve; but whatſoever he approveth by his Eternall Word, that ſhall be approved, and ſtay conſtantly firme; and whatſoever he condemneth, ſhall be condemned, though all men on earth ſhould travell for the juſtification of the ſame. And therefore, Madame, the onely way to retain and keep the benefits of God, abundantly of late dayes poured upon you and your Realme, is unfainedly to render unto God, to his mercy, and undeſerved grace, the whole glory of this your exaltation, forget your Birth, and all Title which hereupon doth hang; and conſider deeply, How for fear of your life you did decline from God, and bow to Idolatry, going to Maſſe under your ſiſter *Mary* her perſecution of Gods Saints: Let it not appear a ſmall offence in your eyes, That you have declined from Chriſt Jeſus, in the day of your Battel: Neither yet would I that you ſhould eſteem that mercy to be vulgar and common which you have received, *viz.* That God hath covered your offence, Hath preſerved your Perſon, when you were moſt unthankfull; And in the end, has exalted and raiſed you up, not onely from the duſt, but alſo from the ports of death, to rule above his people, for comfort of his Kirk. It appertaineth to you therefore, to ground the juſtice of your Authority, not on that Law, which from yeer to yeer doth change, but upon the eternall providence of him, who contrary to the ordinary courſe of Nature, and without your deſerving, hath exalted your head: If thus in Gods preſence you humble your ſelf; as in my heart I glorifie God for that reſt granted to his afflicted Flock within *England*, under you a weak Inſtrument; ſo will I with tongue and pen juſtifie your Authority and Regiment, as the holy Ghoſt hath juſtified the ſame in *Deborah*, that bleſſed Mother in *Iſrael*. But if you neglect (as God forbid) theſe things, and ſhall begin to brag of your Birth, and to build your Authority and your Regiment upon your own Law; flatter you who ſo liſteth, your felicity ſhall be ſhort. Interpret my words in the beſt part, as written by him, who is no enemy to your Majeſtie. By divers Letters I have required to viſite your Realme, not to ſeek my ſelf, neither yet my own eaſe and benefit: which if you now refuſe and deny me, I muſt remit my cauſe to God, adding this for concluſion, that commonly it is ſeen, *That ſuch as refuſe the counſel of the faithfull (appear it never ſo ſharp) are compelled to follow the deceit of flatterers to their own perdition.* The mighty Spirit of the Lord Jeſus move your heart to underſtand what is ſaid, and give unto you the direction of his Spirit, and ſo rule you in all your actions and enterpriſes, that in you God may be glorified, his Kirk edified, and you your ſelf, as a lively Member of the ſame, may be an example of vertue & godlineſſe of life to all others. So be it. *Of Edinb.* 28 *July*, 1559. Theſe

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These Letters were directed by *Alexander Whitlaw*, a man that oft had hazarded himself, and all that he had for the Cause of God, and for his friends, being in danger for the same Cause. Within a day or two after the departing of the said *Alexander*, there came a Letter from Sir *Henry Percie* to *John Knox*, requiring him to meet him at *Annick* the third day of August, for such affaires as he would not write nor yet communicate with any, but with the said *John* himselfe, while he was preparing himselfe for the journey (for Secretary *Cecill* had appointed to have met him at *Stampford*) the French-men furiously came forth of *Dumbar*, of purpose to have surprised the Lords being in *Edinburgh*, as in the second Book before is declared, which stayed the journey of the said *John*, till that God had delivered the innocents from that great danger, and then was he sent, having in his company M. *Robert Hamilton*, Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, directed from the Lords with full Commission and Instructions to decline their whole case and estate wherein they stood. Their passage was from *Pittenweame* by sea, they arrived at *Holy-Iland*, and being advertised that Sir *Henry Percie* was absent from the North; They addressed themselves to Sir *James Crofts*, then Captain of *Barwick*, and Warden of the East Marches of *England*. They shewed unto him their Credit and Commission; He received them courteously, and comforted them with his faithfull Counsell, which was, That they should travell no further, neither yet should they be seen in publike, and that for divers considerations. First, The Queen Regent had her spies in *England*. Secondly, The Queen and the Councell that favoured our faction, would that all things shou'd be secret so long as they might. And last, said he, I think it not expedient, that in such rarity of Preachers, ye two be any long time absent from the Lords of the Congregation. And therefore (said he) ye shall do best to commit to writing your whole minde and Credit, and I shall promise to you upon my honour, to have answer at you, and at the Lords again, before that ye your selves can be at *London*. And where that your Letters cannot expresse all things so fully, as your presence could, I shall supply the same, not onely by my pen, but also by my own presence, to such as will informe the Councell sufficiently of all things. The said *John* and M. *Robert* followed his Councell (for it was faithfull, and proceeded of love at that time) they tarried with him very secretly within the Castle of *Barwick* two dayes. In the which time returned *Alexander Whitlaw* aforesaid, with answer to the Lords, and unto *John Knox*. The tenour of whose Letter was this:

Sir *James Crofts* counsell.

Master *Cecils* Letter to *John Knox*.

Master *Knox*,

NOn est masculus neque fœmina, omnes enim ut ait Paulus, unum sumus in Christo Jesu benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino, & erit Dominus fiducia ejus. I have received you Letters, at the same time that I thought to have seen your selfe at *Stamford*. What is now hitherto the cause of your let, I know not. I forbeare to descend to the bottom of things, untill I may conferre with such one as ye are. And therefore if your chance shall be here-

Anno hereafter to come hither, I wiſh you furniſhed with good Credit, and power, to make good reſolution. Although my anſwer to the Lords of the Congregation be ſomewhat obſcure, yet upon further underſtanding ye ſhall finde the matter plaine. I need to wiſh you no more prudencie then Gods grace, whereof God ſend you plentie. And ſo I end,

From *Oxford* the 28 of *July*, 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Yours as a member of the ſame body in Chriſt, *M.* Cecill.

Albeit the ſaid *John* received this Letter at *Barwick*, yet would he anſwer nothing till that he had ſpoken with the Lords whom he found in *Sterlin*, and unto whom he delivered the anſwer ſent from the Councell of *England* (for *Alexander Whitlaw* took ſickneſſe betwixt *Barwick* and *Edinburgh*, and was troubled by the Lord *Seaton*, as in the former Booke is declared) the anſwer ſent by Maſter *Cecill* was ſo generall, that many amongſt us deſpaired of any comfort to come from that Countrey. And therefore were derermined that they would requeſt no further. *John Knox* laboured in the contrary, but he could prevaile no further, but that he ſhould have licence and libertie to write as he thought beſt: And ſo took he upon him to anſwer for all, in forme as followeth.

Anſwer to Maſter Cecils *writing.*

TWo cauſes hindred me (Right Worſhipfull) to viſit you in any part in *England*. Before this no ſignification of your minde and pleaſure was made unto mē, for onely did Sir *Henry Percie* will me to come and ſpeake with him, which conveniently at that time I could not do, by reaſon that the French-men (which was the ſecond cauſe of my ſtay) did then moſt furiouſly purſue us, while our company was diſperſed, and then durſt I not be abſent for divers inconveniences; neither did I thinke my preſence with you greatly neceſſary, conſidering that the matter (which I moſt deſired) was opened and propoſed. To the which I would have wiſhed, That a more plaine and eſpeciall anſwer ſhould have been made. For albeit Maſter *Whitlaw* by his Credit, Maſter *Kirkcaldie* by his Letter, and I, both by Letters and by that which I had received from Sir *Iames Crofts*, did perſwade your good mindes; yet could not the councell be otherwiſe perſwaded, but that this alteration in *France* had altered your former purpoſe. It is not unkown what good will we three do beare to *England*: And therefore I wiſh, That rather your Pen, then our Credit, or any thing written to any of us, ſhould aſſure the Lords and others, of your good mindes (who are now in number but five hundred.) Unleſſe that money be furniſhed without delay to pay the Souldiers for their ſervice paſt, and to retaine another thouſand foot-men, with three hundred horſe-men; till ſome ſtay be had in this danger, theſe Gentle-men will be compelled to leave the fields. I am aſſured, *as fleſh may be of fleſh*, That ſome of them will take a very hard life, before that ever

ever they compoſe, either with the Queen Regent, or with *France*: but this I dare not promiſe at all, unleſſe in they ſee greater forwardneſſe. To ſupport us, will appear exceſſive; and to break promiſe with *France*, will appear dangerous. But the loſſe of expences, in mine opinion, ought not to be eſteemed from the firſt payment, neither yet the danger from the firſt appearance. *France* is moſt fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, That againſt us they will ſpend the Crown (ſo did mine own ears hear *Butten Court* bragge) But moſt aſſuredly I know, That unleſſe by us they thought to make an entrie to you, that they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt ſome of our great men by money (and ſome of our number are poore, as before I wrote, and cannot ſerve without ſupport) ſome they threatned, and againſt others they have up one party in their owne Countrey. In this mean time, if ye lie by as neutralls, what will be the end, you may eaſily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowells of Chriſt Jeſus, I require you to make plain anſwer, What the Gentlemen here may truſt to, and what the Queens Majeſtie will do, may without long delay be put in execution. I reſt in Chriſt Jeſus. Of Saint *Johnſton* the day of, &c. Anno

Note a braggadoſhio.

Note.

Anſwer with great expedition was returned to this Letter, deſiring ſome men of credit to be ſent to the Lords to *Barwicke*, for the receiving of the money for the firſt ſupport, with promiſe, That if the Lords of the Congregation meant no otherwiſe then before they had written, and if they would enter into League with honeſt Conditions, they ſhould neither lack men nor money to their juſt Cauſes. Upon this anſwer was directed from the Lord to *Barwicke*, Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, a man of good credit in both the Realmes; who ſuddenly returned with ſuch a ſum of money as ſerved all the publike affairs till *November* next; when *John Cockburne* of *Ormeſton*, ſent for the ſecond ſupport, and receiving the ſame, unhappily fell into the hands of the Earle *Bothwell*, was wounded, taken, and ſpoyled of a great Sum: upon which miſchance, followed all the reſt of the troubles before rehearſed. In the ſecond Book preceding, we have declared how Secretary *Lethington* was directed to *England*: But one thing before we have paſſed by: In that our greateſt dejection, this order was taken; That the Duke, the Earle of *Glencarne*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, and their friends, ſhould remaine together at *Glaſgow*, for comfort of the Countrey, and for giving of anſwers, as occaſion ſhould require; and that the Earle of *Arrane*, the Lord *James*, the Earle of *Rotheſſe*, the Maſter of *Lindſay*, and their adherents, ſhould continue together within *Fyfe* for the ſame cauſes, that advertiſements might go from the one to the other, as need required. In the Negotiation of the Secretary *Lethington* with the Queen and Councell of *England* (in the which he travelled with no leſſe wiſedom and faithfulneſſe, then happy ſucceſſe) many things occurred that required the reſolution of the whole Lords.

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After that the Queen and Councell of *England* had concluded to ſend their Army to *Scotland* for expelling of the French, the Duke of *Norfolke*

Anno was ſent to *Barwick* with full inſtructions, power and Commiſſion to do in all things concerning the preſent affaires of *Scotland*, as the Queen and Councell in their own perſons had power to do. Hereupon the ſaid Duke required ſuch a part of the Lords of *Scotland*, as had power and Commiſſion from the whole, to meet him at ſuch a day and place as pleaſed them to appoint. This advertiſement came firſt to *Glaſgow* by the meanes of the Maſter of *Maxwell*: Which read and conſidered by the Lords, concluſion was taken that they would meet at *Carleil*, and that was the procurement of the ſaid Maſter of *Maxwell* for his eaſe. Hereupon were Letters directed from the Lords being in *Glaſgow*, to Lord *James*, requiring him with all poſſible expedition to repaire towards them, for the purpoſe aforeſaid. Which Letters read and adviſed upon, commandment was given to *John Knox* to make the anſwer. For ſo it was appointed at diviſion of the Lords, that he ſhould anſwer for the part of thoſe that were in *Fyfe*; and M. *Henry Balnaves* for the part of them that abode at *Glaſgow*. The ſaid *John* anſwered as followeth.

To the Duke, and the other Lords at Glaſgow.

AFter humble commendation of my ſervice: Albeit I have written more then once to Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, what things have miſliked me in your ſlow proceedings, as well in ſupporting your brethren, who many dayes have ſuſtained extreame danger in theſe parts, as in making proviſion how the enemie might have been annoyed, who lay few in number, nigh to your Quarters in *Sterlin*. And in making likewiſe proviſion, how the expectation of our friends, who long have waited for your anſwer, might have been ſatisfied. Albeit (I ſay) that of theſe things I have before complained, yet, in conſcience, I am compelled to ſignifie unto your Honours, That unleſſe of theſe and other enormities I ſhall ſee ſome redreſſe, I am aſſured, That the
Note. end ſhall be ſuch, as godly men ſhall mourne, that a good Cauſe ſhall periſh for lacke of Wiſdome and Diligence. In my laſt Letters to Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, I declared, That your eſpeciall friends in *England* wonder, that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being conſidered. If the fault be in the Duke and his friends, I wrote alſo, That the greateſt loſſe ſhould be his and theirs in the end. And now I cannot ceaſe, both to wonder and lament, That your whole Councell was ſo deſtitute of Wiſdome and Diſcretion, as to charge this poore man the *Priour*, to come to you to *Glaſgow*, and thereafter to go to *Carleil*, for ſuch affaires as are to be handled. Was there none amongſt you who did foreſee what inconveniences might enſue his abſence from theſe parts? I ceaſe to ſpeake of the dangers by the enemie. Your friends have lyen in your Haven now fifteene dayes paſt, (what was their former travell it is not unknowne) they have never received comfort of any man (him onely excepted) more then if they had lyen upon the coaſt of their mortall enemy. Do ye not conſider, That ſuch a company ſhall need comfort and proviſion from time to time? Remove him, and who abideth there who carefully will travell in that or any other

other weighty matter in theſe parts? Did ye not farther conſider, That he that had begun to meddle with the Gentlemen, who have declared themſelves back-friends heretofore; and alſo that order ſhould have been taken for ſuch as have been neutrall; now by reaſon of his abſence, the one ſhall eſcape without admonition, and the other ſhall be at their own liberty. I am aſſured that the enemy ſhall not ſleep, neither in that, nor in other affairs, to undermine you and your whole Cauſe, and eſpecially to hurt this part of the Countrey, to revenge their former folly. If none of theſe former cauſes ſhould have moved you to have conſidered that ſuch a journey (at ſuch a time) was not meet for him, neither yet for them that muſt accompany him: yet diſcreet men would have conſidered, that the men that have lien in their jacks, and travelled their horſes continuall the ſpace of a moneth, required ſome longer reſt, firſt to themſelves, then but eſpecially to their horſes, before they had been charged to ſuch a journey, as yet they have not had. The *Priour* may for ſatisfaction of your unreaſonable mindes, enterpriſe the purpoſe; but I am aſſured he ſhall not be able to have ſix honeſt men in all *Fyfe* to accompany him; and how that either ſtandeth with your Honors, or with his ſafety, judge ye your ſelves. But yet wonder it is, that ye did not conſider, To what pain and griefe ſhall ye put our friends of *England*, eſpecially the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Councell, whom ye ſhall cauſe to travell the moſt wearieſome and troubleſome way that is in *England*. In mine opinion, whoſoever gave you that counſell, either lacked right judgement in things to be done, or elſe had too much reſpect to his own eaſe, and too ſmall regard to the travell and damage of their brethren. A common cauſe, requireth a common concurrence, and that every man bear his burden proportionable. But prudent and indifferent men eſpie the contrary in this cauſe, eſpecially of late dayes; for the weakeſt are moſt grievouſly charged, and they to whom the matter moſt belongeth, and to whom juſtly greateſt burden is due, are exempted in a manner, both from travell and expences. To ſpeak the matter plainly, wiſe men do wonder, what the Dukes friends do mean, that they are ſo ſlack and backward in this cauſe; In other actions they have been judged ſtout and forward, and in this, which is the greateſt that ever he or they had in hand, they appear deſtitute both of grace and courage. I am not ignorant that they that are moſt inward of his counſell, are enemies to God, and therefore cannot but be enemies to this Cauſe. But wonder it is, That he and his other friends ſhould not conſider, That the loſſe of this godly enterpriſe, ſhall be the rooting out of them and their poſterity from this Realme. Conſidering, my Lords, That by Gods providence ye are joyned with the Duke in this common Cauſe, admoniſh him plainly of the danger to come, will him to beware of the counſell of thoſe that are plainly infected with Superſtition, with Pride, and with the venome of particular profit: which if he do not at your admonition, he ſhall ſmart before he be aware. And if ye ceaſe to put him in minde of his duty, it may be that for your ſilence ye ſhall drinke ſome portion of the plague with him. Take my plain ſpeaking, as proceeding from him that is not your enemy, being alſo uncertaine,

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Anno when I ſhall have occaſion to write hereafter. God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt aſſiſt you with the Spirit of wiſedom and fortitude, that to his glory, and to your Lordſhips common comfort, ye may performe that thing which godlily was once begun, Amen. *From Saint Andrewes the 6 of February in haſte*, 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur,

Your Lordſhips to command in godlineſſe, J. K.

Upon the receit of this Letter, and conſultation had hereupon, a new concluſion was taken; to wit, That they would viſite the ſaid Duke of *Norfolke* at *Barwicke* where he was. Thus far we have digreſſed from the text of our Hiſtory, to let the Poſterity that ſhall follow underſtand by what inſtruments God wrought the familiarity and friendſhip that after we found in *England*. Now we returne to our former Hiſtory.

The parts of *Fyfe* ſet at freedom from the Bondage of theſe bloody worms, ſolemne thanks were given in S. *Andrews* unto God for his mighty deliverance. Shortly after the Earle of *Arrane* and Lord *James* apprehended the Lairds of *Wemes*, *Seafield*, *Bawgony*, *Durie*, and others, that aſſiſted the French, but they were ſet ſhortly at freedom upon ſuch conditions, as they minded never to keep, for ſuch men have neither faith nor honeſty. Maſter *James Balfour*, who was the greateſt practiſer, and had drawn the Band of the *Balfours*, eſcaped. The Engliſh Ships daily multiplied, till that they were able to keep the whole Fyrth, whereat the French and Queen Regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny upon the parts of *Lowthiane* that lay nigh to *Edinburgh*. Let M. *David Borthwicke* witneſſe what favour his wife and place of *Adeſton* found of the French, for all the ſervice that he did to the Queen Regent.

In the midſt of *February* were directed to *England*, from the Duke and the Congregation, the Lord *James*, Lord *Ruthuen*, the Maſt of *Maxwell*, the Maſter of *Lindſay*, Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, and the Laird of *Pittarrow*; who with their honeſt companies and Commiſſion departed by Sea all, except the Maſter of *Maxwell*, to *Barwicke*; Where there met them the Duke of *Norfolke*, Lieutenant to the Queen of *England*, and with him a great company of the Gentlemen of the North, with ſome alſo of the South, having full power to contract with the Nobility of *Scotland*, as they did, upon ſuch Conditions as are in the ſame Contract ſpecified: and becauſe we have heard the malicious tongues of wicked men make falſe report of that our fact, we have faithfully and truely inſerted in this our Hiſtory the ſaid Contract, as well that which was made at *Leith*, during the ſiege, as that which was firſt made at *Barwicke*, that the memory thereof may abide to our Poſterity, to the end that they may judge with indifferency, Whether that we have done any thing prejudiciall to our Common-wealth, or yet contrarious unto the dutifull obedience which true ſubjects owe to their Superiours; whoſe Authority ought to defend and maintain the Liberty and Freedom of the Realms committed to their Charge, and not to oppreſſe and betray the ſame to ſtrangers. The Tenour of our Contract followeth:

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The Contract at Barwick.

JAMES, *Duke of* Chattellarault, *Earle of* Arrane, *Lord* Hamilton, *and others of the Councell, Nobility, and principall States of* Scotland; *To all and ſundry whoſe knowledge theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting.* We have well conſidered, and are fully perſwaded, in what danger, deſolation, and miſery, the long enmity with the Kingdom of *England* hath brought our Countrey heretofore: how wealthie and flouriſhing it ſhall become, if thoſe two Kingdoms, as they are joyned in one Iſland by Creation of the World, ſo they may be knit in a conſtant and aſſured friendſhip. The conſiderations grounded upon a moſt infallible Trueth, ought no leſſe to have moved our Progenitours and forefathers then us. But the preſent danger hanging over our heads, by the unjuſt dealing of thoſe, of whom we have alwayes beſt deſerved, hath cauſed us to weigh them more earneſtly then they did. The misbehaviour of the French *Monſieurs*, I had almoſt ſaid Monſters, here, hath of late yeers been ſo great. The oppreſſions and crueltie of the Souldiers, the tyrannie and ambition of their Superiours and Rulers, ſo grievous to the people, the violent ſubverſion of our liberty, and conqueſt of the land, whereat they have by moſt crafty and ſubtill means continually preſſed, hath been, I ſay, ſo intollerable to us all, that at laſt when we could not obtain redreſſe by humble ſuits, and earneſt ſupplications preſented to the Queen Dowager, who both for duties ſake, and place, ſhe doth occupie, ought to have been moſt carefull of our ſtate, we have been by very neceſſitie conſtrained, not onely to aſſay our own Forces, but alſo to implore the Queens Majeſtie of *Englands* aide and ſupport, which her Majeſtie hath moſt willingly granted, upon certain conditions ſpecified in a Treaty paſt at *Barwick*, betwixt the Duke of *Norfolk*, Lieutenant to her Majeſtie, on the one part, and certain our Commiſſioners on the other part, whereof the Tenour followeth. At *Barwick* the 27 day of February, the yeer of our Lord God 1559 yeers; It is appointed, and finally Contracted, betwixt the noble and mighty, *Thomas*, Duke of *Norfolk*, Earle Marſhall of *England*, and Lieutenant to the Queens Majeſtie of the ſaid Realm, in the Name and behalf of her Highneſſe on the one part; and the Right Honourable Lord *James Stewart*, *Patrick* Lord *Ruthuen*, Sir *John Maxwell* of *Terregles*, Knight, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, *John Wiſcharde* of *Pittarrow*, and Maſter *Henry Balnaves* of *Halhill*; in name and behalf of the Noble and Mighty *James*, Duke of *Chattellarault* of *Scotland*, and the Lords of the Congregation, joyned together in this Cauſe, for maintenance and defence of the ancient Rights and Liberties of their Countrey on the other part, in forme as after followeth: That is to ſay, That the Queen having ſufficiently underſtood, as well by information ſent from the Nobility of *Scotland*, as by the proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the Realm of *Scotland*, ſuppreſſe the liberty thereof, and unite the ſame unto the Crown of *France* perpetually, contrary to the Laws of the ſaid Realm, and the Pacts, Oathes, and Promiſes of *France*. And being thereto moſt humbly and earneſtly required by the ſaid Nobility; for, and in the name of the whole Realm, ſhall accept the ſaid Realm of *Scot-*

Anno *land* the ſaid Nobility and ſubjects thereof into her Majeſties protection and maintenance, onely for preſervation of the ſame in their own freedoms and liberties, and from conqueſt, during the time that the Marriage ſhall continue betwixt the Queen of Scots and the French King, and a yeer after: And for expelling out of the ſame Realme of ſuch as preſently and apparently goeth about to practice the ſaid Conqueſt, her Majeſty ſhall with all ſpeed ſend into *Scotland* a convenient aide of men of War, both Horſe and Foot, to joyn with the power of Scotiſh men, with Artillery, Munition, and all other Inſtruments of War meet for that purpoſe, as well by Sea as by Land, not onely to expell the preſent Power of the French within that Realme oppreſſing the ſame, but alſo to ſtop, as far as conveniently may be, all greater Forces of French to enter therein, for the like purpoſe, and ſhall continue her Majeſties ayd to the ſaid Realme, Nobility, and ſubjects of the ſame, unto the time the French (being enemies to the ſaid Realme) be utterly expelled hence; and ſhall never tranſact, compoſe, nor agree with the French, nor conclude any League with them, except the Scots and the French ſhall be agreed, that the Realme of *Scotland* may be left in a due freedom by the French; nor ſhall leave the maintenance of the ſaid Nobility and ſubjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies hands, as long as they ſhall acknowledge their Soveraigne Lady the Queen, and ſhall endeavour their ſelves to maintain the liberty of their Countrey, and the State of the Crowne of *Scotland*. And if in caſe any Forts or Strengths within the Realme be won out of the hands of the French at this preſent, or at any time hereafter by her Majeſties ayd, the ſame ſhall be immediately demoliſhed by the Scotiſh-men, or delivered to the ſaid Nobility aforeſaid, at their option and choice; neither ſhall the power of *England* fortifie within the ground of *Scotland*, being out of the bounds of *England*, but by the advice of the Duke, Nobility, and States of *Scotland*. For the which cauſes, and in reſpect of her Majeſties moſt gentle clemency, and liberall ſupport, the ſaid Nobility, as well ſuch as be joyned, as ſuch as ſhall hereafter joyn with them already joyned, for the defence of the liberty of that Realme, ſhall to the uttermoſt of their power ayd and ſupport her Majeſties Army againſt the French and their partakers, with Horſe-men and Foot-men, and with Victualls, by Land and Sea, with all manner of other ayd, to the beſt of their power, and ſo ſhall continue during the time that her Majeſties Army ſhall remain in *Scotland*.

Let us mark our advantage from France.

Item, They ſhall be enemies to all ſuch Scotiſh men and French as ſhall in any wiſe ſhew themſelves enemies to the Realm of *England*, for the ayding and ſupporting of the ſaid Nobility in the delivery of the Realme of *Scotland* from Conqueſt. *Item*, They ſhall never aſſent nor permit that the Realme of *Scotland* ſhall be conquered, or otherwiſe knit to the Crown of *France*, then it is at this preſent, onely by Marriage of the Queen their Soveraign to the French King, and it be ruled by the Laws and Liberties of the Realme, as it ought to be. *Item*, In caſe the French-men ſhall at any time hereafter invade, or cauſe to be invaded the Realme of *England*, they ſhall furniſh the number of two thouſand Horſe-men, and one thouſand Foot-men at the leaſt, or ſuch part of

of either of them, at the charge of the Queen of *England*, and ſhall conduct the ſame to paſſe from the borders of *Scotland*, next *England*, upon her Majeſties charges, to any part of the Realme of *England*, for defence of the ſame. And in caſe the invaſion be on the North parts of *England*, on the North ſide of the water of *Tyne* towards *Scotland*, or againſt *Barwick*, on the North ſide of the water of *Tweid*. They ſhall convene and gather their whole Forces upon their owne charges, and ſhall joyne with the Engliſh power, and ſhall continue in good and earneſt purſuite of the Quarrell of *England*, during the ſpace of thirty dayes, or ſo much longer, as they were accuſtomed to tarry in the fields for defence of *Scotland*. At the commandment of their Soveraignes at any time by paſt: and alſo the Earle of *Argyle*: Lord Juſtice of *Scotland*, being preſently joyned with the reſt, ſhall imploy his force and good will, where he ſhall be required by the Queens Majeſtie to reduce the North parts of *Ireland* to the perfect obedience of *England*, conforme to a mutuall and reciproque contract to be made betwixt her Majeſties Lieutenant or Deputie of *Ireland* being for the time, and the ſaid Earle; wherein ſhall be contained what he ſhall do for his part, and what the ſaid Lieutenant or Deputie ſhall do for his ſupport, in caſe he ſhall have to do with *James Mackconell*, or any others of the Iſles of *Scotland*, or Realme of *Ireland*. For performance and ſure keeping whereof, they ſhall for their part come to the ſaid Duke of *Norfolk*, the pledges preſently named by him, before the entry of her Majeſties Armie in Scottiſh ground, to remain in *England* for the ſpace of ſix moneths, and to be there exchanged upon deliverance of new hoſtages, of like, or as good condition as the former; or being the lawfull ſons, brethren, or heires of any of the Peers or Barons of Parliament, that have, or hereafter ſhall ſhew themſelves and perſiſt open enemies to the French in this quarrell, and ſo forth from ſix moneths to ſix moneths, or foure moneths to foure moneths, as ſhall beſt pleaſe the partie of *Scotland*. And the time of continuance of the hoſtages, ſhall be during the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the French King, and a yeere after the diſſolution of the ſaid Marriage, untill further order may be had betwixt both the Realmes, for Peace and Concord. And furthermore, the ſaid Nobility, being Peers and Barons of Parliament joyned together, ſhall ſubſcribe and ſeale theſe Articles and agreement, within the ſpace of twenty or thirty dayes at the uttermoſt, next following the day of the delivering of the ſaid hoſtages, and ſhall alſo procure and perſwade all others of the Nobility that ſhall joyne themſelves heereafter with the ſaid Lords for the cauſe above-ſpecified, likewiſe to ſubſcribe and ſeale thoſe Articles, at any time after the ſpace of twenty dayes after their conjunction, upon requiſition made by them on the partie of the Queens Majeſtie of *England*. And finally, the ſaid Nobility joyned together, certainly perceiving that the Queens Majeſtie of *England* is thereunto moved, onely upon reſpect of Princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the freedom of *Scotland* from Conqueſt, and not of any other ſiniſter intent, doth by theſe preſents teſtifie and declare, That they, nor any of them, mean by this agreement to withdraw any due obedience to the Soveraign Lady the Queen, nor in any lawfull thing to withſtand the French King her

Anno

Note.

Anno her husband and head, that during the marriage ſhall not tend to the ſubverſion and oppreſſion of the juſt and ancient Liberties of the ſaid Kingdom of *Scotland*. For preſervation whereof, both for their Soveraigns honour, and for the continuance of the Kingdom in its ancient ſtate, they acknowledge themſelves bound to ſpend their Goods, Lands, and Lives. And for performance of this preſent Contract for the part of *England*, the Queens Majeſtie ſhall confirm the ſame, and all Clauſes therein contained, by her Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England*, to be delivered to the Nobility of *Scotland*, upon the entrie of the Pledges aforeſaid, within the ground of *England*. In Witneſſe whereof, the ſaid Duke of *Norfolke* hath ſubſcribed theſe Points, and thereunto affixed his Seal, the day, yeer, and place aforeſaid. Which Contract we finde honeſt and reaſonable; and that our ſaid Commiſſioners therein hath conſiderately reſpected the Common-weale of this Realme, of us, and our poſterity; And therefore do ratifie, allow, confirme and approve the ſame, with all Clauſes and Articles therein contained by theſe Preſents. In Witneſſe hereof we have ſubſcribed the ſame with our Hands and ſealed with our Seals of Arms in ſuch cauſes accuſtomed are appended. *At the Camp before Leith the tenth day of May, the year of God* 1560 *yeers.*

Follow the Subſcriptions.

The Subſcriptions.

The Duke of *Chattellarault.*	Earl of *Argyle.*
Earle of *Arrane.*	Earle of *Huntlie.*
Earle of *Glencarne.*	Earle of *Morton.*
Earle of *Rotheſſe.*	Earle of *Menteth.*

Lord *Ogilbye.*	Lord *Bothwike.*
Lord *James Steward.*	Lord of *Saint John.*
Alexander Gordon.	Lord *John Abirbrothok.*
Lord *Boyd.*	Lord *Simmerwaile.*
Lord *Uchiltrie.*	Lord *Robert Steward.*
Gawin Hamilton of *Kilwinning.*	Abbot of *Kynloſſe.*
Abbot of *Culroſſe.*	*James Stewart* of Saint *Colmes Inche.*

The Inſtructions given, ſubſcribed, to the ſaid Commiſſioners following:

1. IN the firſt place, if it ſhall be asked of you by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and by other the Queens Majeſties appointed Commiſſioners, If your Pledges be in readineſſe; ye ſhall anſwer, That they are, and in Saint *Andrews* the 25 of this inſtant, and ſhal be ready to be delivered in Hoſtage for ſecurity of our promiſes and part of the contract, they offering and making ſecurity for their part by the Queenes Majeſties Subſcription aud Great Seal, and delivering the ſame unto you. Providing, That they chooſe and make their election of the Pledges as is commoned.

2. Secondly, If the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall demand of you, What enterpriſe the Army of *England* ſhall take in hand at their firſt incoming; ye

Ye ſhall anſwer in generall; The expulſion of the French Souldiers out of this Realme; and firſt and in eſpeciall, out of the Town of *Leith*, ſeeing their great Forces are there. Anno

3. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked of you; At what place our friends and brethren of *England* ſhall be met? And, at what day? What number? And, What Noble-men in company? Ye ſhall referre all theſe things to their election and choice. *Note.*

4. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked of you, How the Armies ſhall be furniſhed with Victuals, and eſpecially the Horſe-men? Ye ſhall anſwer, That with their advice ſufficient order ſhall be taken therein.

5. *Item*, If it be required, How the Munition ſhall be carried, and oxen furniſhed to that effect? You ſhall anſwer, as we have given in Commiſſion to *Lethington*, which we ratifie.

6. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked, Who ſhall be Lieutenant to the Army of *Scotland*? Ye ſhall anſwer, The Duke of *Chattellarault*.

7. *Item*, If it ſhall be enquired, What number our whole Army extends to? Ye ſhall anſwer, They will be, God willing, five thouſand men.

8. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked, What manner of way *Leith* ſhall be aſſaulted? Ye ſhall deſire all preparations to be in readineſſe, and the advice to be taken after the placing of the Armies, and view of the ſtrength ſhortly.

9. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked concerning the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, If they will ſtand friends or not? Ye ſhall declare our diligence made, and to be made ſhortly herein; but for the preſent we can aſſure them of nothing.

10. *Item*, If it be asked, In caſe the Caſtle be enemy, Where the Armie ſhall be placed? Ye ſhall anſwer, For the firſt in *Muſchilbrough* and *Tranent*, and thoſe parts, till the Batterie and all preparations be in readineſſe.

11. *Item*, In caſe it be enquired of all by-lyers and neutrals, and in eſpeciall of the Lord of *Huntley*, and the North? Ye ſhall anſwer in generall; A good hope is had of the moſt part thereof: And touching the Lord of *Huntley* in eſpeciall, Ye ſhall ſhew how he hath ſent Writings to my Lord of *Arrane*, with a ſervant of credit, to aſſure him of his aſſiſtance. And for that cauſe hath deſired Letters of ſuſpenſion of the Queen *Dowagers* Commiſſion to be ſent to him to be uſed in thoſe parts; and other Letters to arreſt the Clergies Rents and Hires, both in thoſe parts; With Proclamations to cauſe all men to be in readineſſe to paſſe forwards for maintaining of the Religion, and expulſing of ſtrangers. The Nobility hath written to him, That he may come to him in proper perſon; Whereof the anſwer is not returned as yet.

12. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of us and them, in caſe *Sterlin* be kept? We refer the anſwer hereof to your diſcretions.

13. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked, That their leaden money ſhall have paſſage for their neceſſities? Ye ſhall reaſon the commodity and diſcommodity thereof with the Councell.

14. *Item*, If it ſhall be asked, What Pioners ſhall be had? Ye ſhall anſwer,

Anno the number being expreſſed, and money in readineſſe to ſo ſold or pay them, *They ſhall have ſufficiencie.*

15. *Item*, If they ſhall deſire, That we declare our cauſes unto the Princes of *Almaigne* and the King of *Denmark* or *Germany*, deſiring their aſſiſtance; Ye ſhall anſwer, *That we think the ſame good, and ſhall ſpeedily take order therewith.*

16. *Item*, If it ſhall be deſired of you to confirme for us and in our name the things paſt and granted by our former Commiſſioner, the young Laird of *Lethington*: Ye ſhall in all points for us, and in our name, confirme the ſame, ſo far as it ſhall make either for the weale and conjunction of the two Realms, or this preſent Cauſe, or yet for the ſecurity of our part for fulfilling of the ſame. And as ye ſhall accept their offers tending to the ſame end; and ſuch ſecurity on that part as ye may purchaſe, and eſpecially ſuch as we have heretofore expreſſed: Given at *Glaſgow* the 10. of February 1559.

17. *Item*, We give and grant you full power to augment or diminſh the ſaid Heads and Articles, as ye think the weale of the cauſe ſhall require in all points.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

John of Menteth.
Andrew of Rotheſſe.
R. Boyd.
William Murray of Tulibarn.
John Erskin of Dun.
James Hamilton.
Alexander Gordon.
Alexander Argyle.
Glencarne.
Uchiltrie.
James Haliburntoun.

Shortly after this Contract were our pledges delivered to Maſter *Winter* Admirall of the Navie, that came to *Scotland*, a man of great honeſtie, ſo farre as ever we could eſpie in him; who were ſafely conveyed to *Newcaſtle*, and ſo the Engliſh Armie by land began to aſſemble towards the border. Whereof the French and Queen Regent aſſured, they began to deſtroy what they could in the Towns and Countrey about: for the whole Victuals they carried to *Leith*, the Mills they brake, the Sheep, Oxen and Kine, yea the Horſes of poore Labourers all made they to ſerve their Tyrannie. *Note.* And finally, they left nothing which the very enemies could have deviſed, except that they demoliſhed not Gentlemens houſes, and burnt not the Town of *Edinburgh*. In which point God bridled their fury, to let his afflicted underſtand, That he took care for them. Before the comming of the Land Armie, the French paſt to *Glaſgow*, and deſtroyed the Countrey thereabout. What tyrannie *Martiks* uſed upon a poore Scottiſh Souldier, it is fearefull to heare, and yet his fact may not be omitted. *Note a cruell fact.* Silver would they give none to the poore man, and they were ſo ſlow to depart out of the Towne; That albeit the Drum ſtroke, the Enſigne could not be gotten. There was a poore Craftſ-man, who had bought for his Victuals a brown Loaf, and was eating a morſell of it, and was putting the reſt of it into his boſome. The Tyrant came to him, and with the poore wretches own dagger firſt ſtroke him in the breſt, and after threw it at him, and ſo the poore man ſtaggering and

and falling, the mercileſſe tyrant ran him thorow with his Rapier, and thereafter commanded him to be hanged over the ſtayre. *Lord thou wilt look and recompence ſuch Tyranny, how contemptible ſoever the perſon was.* Anno

The ſecond of *April*, the yeer of our Lord 1560. the Army of the Land entred into *Scotland*, the conducting whereof was committed to the Lord *Gray*, who had in his company the Lord *Scrope*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Percie*, Sir *Francis Lake*, with many other Captains and Gentlemen, having charge ſome of Foot-men, and ſome of Horſe-men. The Army by Land was eſteemed ten thouſand men. The Queen Regent paſt to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and ſome others of her faction: At *Preſton* met them, the Duke, the Earle of *Argyle* (*Huntlie* came not till that the ſiege was confirmed) Lord *James*, the Erle of *Glencarne*, and *Menteth*, Lords *Ruthuen*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltrie*, with all the Proteſtants, Gentlemen of the Weſt, *Fyfe*, *Angus*, and *Mearnes*, ſo that in few dayes the Army was great. After the deliberation of two dayes had at *Inneresk*, the whole Camp marched forward with Ordnance, and all preparations neceſſary for the ſiege, and came to *Leſtarrig* the Palme Sunday Even. The French had put themſelves in Battell Aray upon the Linkes without *Leith*, and ſent forth their skirmiſhers; who beginning before ten of the clock, continued skirmiſhing till after four of the clock at afternoon, when there was given upon them a charge by ſome Horſe-men of *Scotland*, and ſome of *England*: But becauſe the principall Captaine of the Horſe-men of *England* was not preſent, the whole Troops durſt not charge, and ſo was not the overthrow and ſlaughter of the French ſo great as it once appeared to have been; for the great Battell was once at the trot; but when it perceived that the great Force of Horſe-men ſtood ſtill, and charged not, they returned, and gave ſome reſcue to their fellows that fled; and ſo there fell onely in that defeat about three hundred French-men. God would not give the Victory ſo ſuddenly, leſt that man ſhould glory in his owne ſtrength. The ſmall Victory that was gotten, put both the Engliſh and Scotiſh in over-great ſecurity, as the iſſue declared. The French encloſed within the Towne, the Engliſh Army began to plant their Pavilions betwixt *Leith* and *Leſtarrig*. The Ordnance of the Towne, and eſpecially that which lay upon Saint *Anthonies* Steeple, did them great annoyance; againſt which place were bent eight Cannons, which ſhot ſo continually, and ſo juſt, that within few dayes that the Steeple was condemned, and all the Ordnance that was on it diſcomfited, which made the Engliſh-men ſomewhat more negligent, then it became good men of War to have been: For perceiving that the French made no purſuit without their Walls, they tooke an opinion that they ſhould never iſſue more, and that made ſome of the Captaines for paſtime go to the Towne. The Souldiers for their eaſe laid their Armour beſide them, and as men without danger, fell to the Dice and Cards; and ſo upon the Eaſter Munday, at the very houre of noon, the French iſſued both upon Horſe and Foot, and with great violence entred within the Engliſh Trenches, 1560

Note.

Anno ſlue and put to flight all that was found therein. The Watch was negligently kept, and ſo were the Succours ſlow and long in coming; For the French, before that any reſiſtance was made unto them, approached hard to the great Ordnance: But then the Horſe-men trooped together, and the Foot-men gat themſelves in Aray, and ſo repulſed the French back again to the Town; but the ſlaughter was great, ſome ſay it double exceeded that which the French received the firſt day. And this was the fruit of their ſecurity and ours, which after was remedied: For the Engliſh men moſt wiſely conſidering themſelves not able to beſiege the Town round about, deviſed to make Mounts at divers quarters of it, in the which they and their Ordnance lay in as good ſtrength, as they did within the Town: The common ſouldiers kept the Trenches, and had the ſaid mountains for their ſaveguard and refuge, in caſe of any greater purſuit then they were able to ſuſtain. The patience and ſtout courage of the Engliſh men, but principally of the Horſe-men, is worthy of all praiſe: For where was it ever heard, That eight thouſand (they never exceeded that number that lay in Camp) ſhould beſiege four thouſand of the moſt deſperate throat-cutters that were to be found in *Europe*, and to lie nigh unto them in daily skirmiſhing, the ſpace of three moneths and more? The Horſe-men night and day kept Watch, and did ſo valiantly behave themſelves, that the French gat no advantage, from that day back to the day of the aſſault, whereof we ſhall ſhortly hear. In this mean time was this other Band made of all the Nobility, Barons, and Gentlemen profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus in *Scotland*, and of divers others that joyned with us, for expelling of the French, amongſt whom the Earle of *Huntlie* was a prime man. The Band followeth.

Note.

The laſt Band at Leith.

1560. The fourth Covenant. AT *Edinburgh* the ſeven and twentieth of *April*, the yeer of our Lord 1560 yeers, We whoſe names are under-written, have promiſed and obliged our ſelves faithfully in the preſence of God, and by theſe Preſents do promiſe, That we together in generall, and every one of us in ſpeciall by himſelf, with our bodies, goods, friends, and all that we can do, ſhall ſet forward the Reformation of Religion, according to Gods Word, and procure by all means poſſible, that the Truth of Gods Word may have free paſſage within this Realme, with due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and all things depending upon the ſaid Word, and ſuch like; deeply weighing with our ſelves the misbehaviour of the French Miniſters here, the intolerable oppreſſion committed by the French men of War upon the poor ſubjects of this Realme, by maintenance of the Queen *Dowager*, under colour and pretence of Authority: The tyranny of their Captains and Leaders, and manifeſt danger of Conqueſt, in which this Countrey at this preſent ſtandeth, by reaſon of divers Fortifications upon the Sea-coaſt, and other novelties of late attempted by them; promiſing, That we ſhall each one with another, all of us, together with the Queen of *Englands* Army, preſently come in for our deliverance, effectually concurre, joyn in one, take

take and hold one plain part for expulsion of the said strangers, oppressors of our Liberty, forth out of this Realme, and recovery of our ancient Freedoms and Liberties, to the end that in time coming, we may under the obedience of the King and Queen our Soveraigns be onely ruled by the Laws and Customs of the Countrey, and borne men of the Land; And that never one of us shall have privy intelligence, by writing, message, or communication with any of our enemies or adversaries in this Cause, but by advice of the rest (at least of five) of the counsell. Again, That we shall tender the common Cause, as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular: And that the causes of every one of us now joyned together being lawfull and honest, shall be all our causes in generall; And that he that is enemy to the Cause aforesaid, shall be enemy to us all, in so far, That what person soever will plainly resist these our godly enterprises, and will not concur as a good and true member of this our Common-wealth, we shall fortifie the said Authority of the Councell, to reduce them to their duty, like as we shall fortifie the said Authority of the Councell in all things tending to the furtherance of the said Causes. And if any particular debate, quarrell, or controversie shall arise, for whatsoever cause that is past, present, or to come, betwixt any of us (as God forbid) in that case, we shall submit our selves, and our said questions, to the decision of the Councell, or to Arbitrators to be named by them, &c. Providing always, That this be not prejudiciall to the ordinary Jurisdiction of Judges, but that men may pursue their Actions by order of Law, Civilly or Criminally, as it pleaseth them.

Anno

Now hereupon came the pursuit [illegible]

This Contract and Band came not onely to the ears, but also to the sight of the Queen *Dowager:* whereat she stormed not a little, and said, *The malediction of God I give unto them that counselled me to persecute the Preachers, and to refuse the Petitions of the best part of the true subjects of this Realm.* It was said to me, That the English Army could not continue in *Scotland* ten dayes; but now they have lien neer a moneth, and are more like to remain, then they were at the first day that they came. They that gave information to the Queen, spake as worldly wise men, and as things appeared to have been; for the Countrey being almost in all the parts thereof wasted, the Victuals next adjacent to *Leith*, either brought into their Provision, or else destroyed; the Mills, and other places, as before is said, being cast down, it appeared that the Camp could not have been furnished (except it had been by their own Ships; and as that could not have been of any long continuance, so should it have been little comfortable.) But God confounded all worldly wisedom, and made his own Benediction as evidently to appear, as if in a manner he had fed the Army from above: For all kinde of Victuall there was more aboundant, and at more easie prices in the Camp all the time that it lay, after that eight dayes were past, then either they have been in *Edinburgh* any of two yeers before, or it hath been in this Towne to this day, the 20 of *May*, *Anno* 1566.

Let the Princes now adayes make use of this.

So now the worldlings speak unto the King concerning the Scots into *England*,

Note,

Anno

The people of *Scotland* ſo much abhorred the tyranny of the French, that they would have given the ſubſtance that they had, to have been rid of that chargeable burthen, which our ſinnes had provoked God to lay upon us, in delivering and giving into the hands of a woman, whom our Nobility in their fooliſhneſſe ſold unto ſtrangers, and with her the Liberty of this Realme. *God for his great mercy ſake preſerve us yet from further Bondage, in which we are like to fall, if he provide not remedy; for our Nobility will yet remain blinde ſtill, and will follow their affection, come after what ſo may.* But to returne to our Hiſtory. The Camp abounding in all neceſſary Proviſion, order was taken for continuation of the Siege; and ſo the Trenches were drawn as neer the Town as poſſibly they might. The great Camp removed from *Leſtarrig*, to the Weſt ſide of the water of *Leith*; and ſo were the Cannons planted for the Battery, and did ſhoot at the Southweſt wall: But by reaſon all was earth, the Breach was not made ſo great upon the day, but that it was ſufficiently repaired upon the night: whereof the Engliſh-men beginning to be weary, determined to give the Breach an Aſſault, as that they did upon the ſeventh day of *May*, beginning before the day light, and continued till it was nigh ſeven a clock. And albeit that the Engliſh and Scottiſh with great ſlaughter of the Souldiers of both were repulſed, yet was there never a ſharper aſſault given by ſo few hands; for they exceeded not a thouſand men, that aſſaulted the whole two quarters of the Town, and yet they damned the whole Block-houſe, yea, they once put the French clean off their Walls, and were upon both the Eaſt and Weſt Block-houſe, but they lacked backing, for their Scales lacked ſix quarters of the juſt height; And ſo while the former were compelled to fight upon the top of the wall, their fellows could not joyn to ſupport them, and ſo were they by multitude driven back again, when it was once thought that the Town was won. Sir *James Croſts* was blamed of many for not doing his duty that day, for he was appointed with a ſufficient number of the moſt able men, to have aſſaulted the Northweſt quarter upon the Sea ſide, where at a low water (as at the time of the aſſault it was) the paſſage was eaſie. But neither he nor his approached to their quarter appointed. He had before at the firſt coming in, ſpoken with the Queen Regent, at the fair Block-houſe of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh.*: Whether ſhe had enchanted him or not, we know not, but by ſuſpition of that day in which he deceived the expectation of many, and ſo farre as man could judge, was the cauſe of that great repulſe; ſome aſcribed the ſhortneſſe of the Ladders to him; but that omitted which might have proceeded of negligence, his abſence from the purſuit of his Quarter, was the cauſe that ſuch French as were appointed there to defend, ſeeing no purſuer came to the relief of their fellowes, and ſo they two joyning together, with great ſlaughter gave the repulſe to our Company. The French-mens harlots, of whom the moſt part were Scotiſh whores, did no leſſe cruelty then did the Souldiers: For beſides that they charged their Pieces, and miniſtred unto them other weapons, ſome continually caſt ſtones, ſome carried Chimneyes of burning fire, ſome brought Timber and other impediments

The Hamiltons namely.

Note this diligently.

of

of weight, which with great violence they threw over the wall upon our men, but eſpecially when they began to turn back. Now albeit in all this we acknowledge, to be the ſecret work of God, who by ſuch means would beat down as well the pride of *England* as of *Scotland*, yet neither ought the feebleneſſe nor falſhood of man be excuſed, neither yet the crueltie of the adverſaries concealed. The Queen Regent ſat all the time of the aſſault (which was both terrible and long) upon the fore-Wall of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and when ſhe perceived the overthrow of us, and that the Enſignes of the French were again diſplayed upon the Walls, ſhe gave a gawfe of laughter, and ſaid; *Now will I go to the Maſſe, and praiſe God for that which mine eyes have ſeen.* And ſo was Frier *Black* ready for that purpoſe, whom ſhe her ſelfe a little before had deprehended with his Harlot in the Chappell. But Whoredom and Idolatry agree well together, and that our Court can witneſſe this day, the 16 of May 1566. The French proud of the Victory, ſtripped naked all the ſlain, and laid their dead carkaſes before the hot Sun along the wall, where they ſuffered them to lie more dayes then one: Unto the which, when the Queen Regent looked, for mirth, ſhe leapt, and ſaid; *Yonder is the faireſt tapiſtrie that ever I ſaw, I would that the whole fields that is betwixt this place and you were ſtrowed with the ſame ſtuffe.* This fact was ſeen of all, and her words were heard of ſome, and it was miſliked of many. Againſt the which *John Knox* ſpake openly in Pulpit, and boldly affirmed, That God ſhould revenge that contumelie done to his Image, which not onely in the furious and godleſſe Souldiers, but even in ſuch as rejoyced thereat. And the very experience declared, That he was not deceived: For within few dayes after (yea, ſome ſay, that ſame day) began her belly and loathſome legs to ſwell, and ſo continued, till that God did in his wiſdome take her away from this world, as after we ſhall heare.

Anno

We muſt go to the firſt cauſe in all things.

The inhumanity of the mercileſſe French.

The Queen Regents cruell heart.

After the Defeat received, the Queen Regent and her faction were fully perſwaded that the Siege would riſe, and that the Engliſh Armie would depart. And ſo began the Papiſts wonderouſly to brag; and yet God did fruſtrate their expectation: for the Armie concluded to remaine, till new advertiſement came from the Queen and Counſell. The Duke of *Norfolk*, who then lay at *Barwick*, commanded the Lord *Gray* to continue the Siege; and promiſed, That he ſhould not lack men, ſo long as any were to be had betwixt *Trent* and *Tweed*, for ſo far was he Lieutenant: he further promiſed his own preſence, in caſe he ſhould be required, and for aſſurance thereof, he ſent his own Tents, ſuch as ſeldome before had been ſeen in *Scotland*, with his Officers and proviſion. And with expedition were ſent two thouſand freſh men, whereby the Camp greatly comforted, began to forget the former diſcomfiture, and to ſuſtain the daily skirmiſhing, as they did before: In the which, the French after the day of the aſſault did ever receive the hurt, and the repulſe, as the ſlaughter of many that came to the *Cole-rake* did witneſſe. The greateſt damage that either Engliſh or Scotiſh received after that day, was the ſlaughter of two Gentlemen, the one maſter of houſhold to my Lord *James*, *Robert Colwin* of *Cleſch*, a man ſtout, modeſt, and wiſe, who was ſhot in the thigh with a Falcon, or Harquebute of *Croke*, and ſo departed the miſery of this

The comfortable Letter of the Duke of *Norfolk*.

life

Anno life within two houres after. The other was *Alexander Lockart*, brother to the Laird of *Bar*, who raſhly diſcovering himſelfe in the Trenches, was ſhot in the head, and immediately thereafter departed this life. While the Siege thus continued, a ſudden fire chanced in *Leith*, which devoured many houſes, and much Victuall, and ſo began God to fight for us, as the Lord *Erskin* in plaine words ſaid to the Queen Regent; *Note.* Madame (quoth he) I can ſee no more, but ſeeing that men may not expell unjuſt poſſeſſours forth of this land, God himſelfe would do it; For your fire is not kindled by man. Which words offended the Queen Regent not a little (whoſe ſickneſſe daily increaſing) great craft ſhe uſed, That *Monſieur Doſell* might have been permitted to have ſpoken with her, belike ſhe would have bidden him fare-well, (for their old familiaritie was great) but that denied, ſhe Writ, as it had been to her Chyrurgeon and Apothecarie, ſhewing her ſickneſſe, and requiring ſome Drogs. The Letter being preſented to the Lord *Gray*, he eſpied the craft, for few Lines being written above, and ſo much White-Paper left, he ſaid, Drogs are abundant and freſher in *Edinburgh*, then they can be in *Leith*. There lurketh here ſome other myſterie, and ſo he began to try, and by holding the Paper to the fire, he perceiveth ſome writing appear, and ſo began he to read; but what it was no other man can tell, for immediately he burnt the Bill, and ſaid to the Meſſenger; Albeit I have been her Secretary, yet tell her, I ſhall keep her councell; But ſay to her, Such Wares will not ſell till a new Market. The anſwer received, ſhe was nothing content, and then travelled ſhe earneſtly, That ſhe might ſpeak with the Earles *Argyle, Glencarne, Merſhall*, and with the Lord *James*. After deliberation it was thought expedient, that they ſhould ſpeak with her, but not all together, leſt that ſome part of the *Guiſians* practice had lurked under the colour of ſuch friendſhip. *Her regrate was unto them all, That ſhe had behaved her ſelfe ſa fooliſhly, as that ſhe had compelled them to ſeek the ſupport of others, then of their own Soveraigne, and ſaid, That ſhe ſore repented, that ever it came to that extremitie: but ſhe was not the wight, but the wicked counſell of her friends on the one part, and the Earle of* Huntley *on the other: for if he had not been, ſhe would have fully agreed with them at their Commoning at* Preſton: They gave unto her both the Councell and the Comfort which they could in that extremitie, and willed her to ſend for ſome godly learned man, of whom ſhe might receive inſtruction, for theſe ignorant Papiſts that were about her, underſtood nothing of the Myſterie of our redemption. Upon their motion was *John Willock* ſent for, with whom ſhe talked a reaſonable ſpace, and who did plainely ſhew unto her as well the vertue and ſtrength of the death of Jeſus Chriſt, as the vanity and abomination of that Idoll the Maſſe: *She did openly confeſſe, That there was no ſalvation, but in and by the death of Jeſus Chriſt*; but of the Maſſe we heard not her Confeſſion. Some ſay ſhe was anointed with extreame Unction, after the Papiſticall manner, which was a ſigne of ſmall knowledge of the Trueth; and of leſſe Repentance of her former Superſtition: Yet howſoever it was, Chriſt Jeſus gate no ſmall Victorie over ſuch an enemie. For albeit before ſhe had Vowed, That in

Let the Princes now make uſe of theſe words of this dying Queen.

deſpight

deſpight of all *Scotland*, the Preachers of Jeſus Chriſt ſhould either die, or be baniſhed the Realme: yet was ſhe compelled not onely to heare, That Chriſt Jeſus was Preached, and all Idolatry openly rebuked, and in many places ſuppreſſed: but alſo ſhe was conſtrained to heare one of the principall Miniſters within the Realme, and to approve the chiefe head of our Religion, wherein we diſſent from all Papiſts and Papiſtrie. Shortly thereafter ſhe finiſhed her life, unhappy to *Scotland*, from the firſt day ſhe entred into it, unto the day that ſhe departed this life, which was the ninth day of June, in yeere of God 1560. The Guiſian Councells, as they were wicked and cruell to the people, ſo they proved miſchievous to themſelves, and to them that followed them, to this day.

Anno

Note.

The death of the Queene Regent.

Upon the ſixteenth day of June, after the death of the Queen Regent, came to *Scotland* Monſieur *Randam*, and with him the Biſhop of *Valance* in Commiſſion from *France*, to negotiate a Peace: From *England* there came Sir *William Cecill*, chiefe Secretary, and Doctor *Whitton*. Their negotiation was longſome; for both *England* and we fearing deceit, ſought by all meanes that the contract ſhould be ſure. And they on the other part, meaning to gratifie ſuch as had ſent them (who meant nothing but meere falſhood) protracted time to the uttermoſt: yea, while that thoſe of *Leith* were very ſcarce of victuals, and thoſe of the *Inch* had periſhed, had not been that by policie they gat a ſhip with Victuals, and ſome Munition, which was upon Midſommer Even, whereof they made no ſmall triumph, which alſo for a ſeaſon ſtayed the appointment, yet in the end Peace was concluded, in forme as followeth.

Note a Character of Popiſhly addicted French officers of State.

The Articles Tranſlated and agreed by John, *Biſhop of* Valance, *and Monſieur* Randam, *Deputies to the King and Queen of* Scotland, *upon the matters preſented to them, by way of Petition, for the part of Nobilitie and people of* Scotland.

IN the firſt, Upon the Complaint and Petition of the ſaid Nobility, and the people of this Countrey, and the number of men of War ſuſtained by their Majeſties in theſe parts in the time of Peace. It is humbly remonſtrated to the ſaid Deputies, that they would provide convenient remedie thereunto, for the comfort and reliefe of the Countrey. The ſaid Deputies conſidering the ſaid deſires to be juſt, and conformable to reaſon, condeſcended, agreed, and aſſured, That the King and Queen ſhould procure no French Men of Warre, nor no other nation to come to theſe parts in time comming. But if ſtrangers would pretend to enter into this Realme with a Navie or Armie, to occupie the ſame: In the which cauſe proviſion ſhall be made by their Majeſties, the judgement and counſell of the States of the Realme being had thereto, and that the French Men of Warre being now in the Town of *Leith*, ſhall be ſent to *France* the ſame time, that the Navie and Armie of Engliſh-men and Scottiſh-men be ſcattered and departed both by ſea and land, the which ſhall be done in the beſt manner may be, as at more large conſideration ſhall be had thereupon, and as to the bands of

Anno Scottiſh men of warre, being at the ſaid place, they ſhall be broken, and the men of war licenſed to depart. Moreover, as to the Forts of *Dumbar*, and *Incheketh*; that there ſhall remain in them an 120. Frenchmen of war onely, which ſhall be parted and diſtributed in theſe two places, and there ſhall remain no more in *Dumbar*, but threeſcore men of warre, ſo it be affirmed by the Captains choſen to that effect by both the parties, that for the keeping of the ſame, a greater number is not needfull: alſo to depart when the States of the Realm can finde any good and ſure remedie upon the expences made in the ſaid places, to keep the ſame from peril of invaſion or ruine thereof from them that would pretend to occupie the ſame, they ſhall immediatly ſhew the ſame unto their Majeſties as haſtily as may be done: and in the mean time the number of the ſaid men of war ſhall not be augmented. And in like manner, it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaid men of warre, to do any injuries to any perſons, nor yet to maintain and defend any Scottiſh men, of what qualitie ſoever they be of, againſt the will and authoritie of the Magiſtrates of the Realm; nor to receive them in the ſaid places that the Miniſter of Juſtice may not put hands on them, nor yet ſhall intromit in any manner of way, with the quarrels and diſcords of the Lords, and other particular men of this Realm: But they themſelves ſhall be bound in caſes of any quarrell, to be puniſhed after the Laws and conſtitutions of this Realm, and to anſwer for themſelves before the Judges Ordinaries of the ſame. Laſt of all, that from henceforth they be not compelled to take on credite, they ſhall be every moneth ſatisfied of their wages, ſo that two Scottiſh Lords choſen by the Councell, may preſent it, at the Wapon-ſhawing and muſters of the ſaid men of warre, and alſo to viſit the ſaid Forts, to ſee if the number of them be liked, and it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaid men of war to take any victuals for their ſuſtentation, or for munition of the ſaid places, but by paiment of readie money numerate, and with the pleaſures of them that delivereth the ſame unto them: And therefore the ſaid Lords obliges themſelves to give them ſo much as is needfull unto them, they having to pay therefore.

Item, upon the petition preſented unto the ſaid Lords Deputies, anent the demolition of the fortifications, the ſaid Deputies conſent, agree and aſſureth, that the fortification of *Leith* ſhall be demoliſhed, and that two, three, or four Captains ſhall be choſen by both the parties to view the Caſtle of *Dumbar*; and if it be found by them, that the reparation, amplification, and fortifying made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men to the keeping thereof be required, the reparation and fortification thereof ſhall be aboliſhed, ſo ſoon as may be done, and ſhall remaine onely untouched that thing while we may make the ſaid Caſtell more ſure, and in leſſe danger from invaſion. Providing nor the leſſe that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the ſame. Moreover, in times comming the King and Queene ſhall make no moe new Forts within this Realm, and ſhall not augment them, that are elſe made, nor ſhall repair them that are demoliſhed without counſell and conſent of the Eſtates, nor yet ſhall tranſport to theſe parts, any Artillery, Munition of Warre, Powder, or Victuals, but ſo much as may

Note how they limit the Prince.

may ſerve for keeping of the ſaid places by the ſpace of ſix moneths, or a yeer. Anno

Item, Anenſt the Demand made about the debts contracted by the French men of War in this Countrey, The ſaids Deputies conſenteth, That the King and Queen ſhall cauſe to be reſtored all that which happeneth to be found given and granted to the Kings Lieutenant, and his Captains, and other Officers, for the nouriſhment, ſuſtentation, and maintenance of the ſaid French-men; or that which is found owing by the Lieutenants for ſervice of their Majeſties, that may appear by writ, or confeſſion of parties.

Item, Upon the Petition made anenſt the Convention of States of this Realm, the ſaid Deputies Conſented and Accorded, &c. That the States of the Realme may convene and hold a Parliament the twentieth day of the moneth of *July* next to come; upon the which day the Parliament ſhall be continued, as the uſe is, unto the firſt day of the moneth of *Auguſt* following. Providing alwayes, That before they begin to handle any thing in the ſaid Parliament, all tumult of War be diſcharged, and ceaſe, that they who are preſent may be free without fear of men of War, or others; and that in this mean time a Meſſenger be ſent by the ſaid Deputies to the King and Queen, to certifie them of the things agreed, treated and accorded, requeſting their Majeſties humbly to be contented with the ſame. And the ſaid Convention ſhall be as lawfull in all reſpects, as the ſame had been ordained and done by expreſſe Commandment of their Majeſties. Providing that no matter be treated therein before the ſaid firſt day of *Auguſt*.

Item, Upon the Article preſented concerning War and Peace, the ſaid Deputies Conſented, Accorded, &c. That the King and Queen neither make Peace nor War on their parts, but by the Counſell, Judgement, and conſent of the States, according to the Ordinance of the Countrey, and as was obſerved by their Predeceſſors. Note how the Prince is limitated, and his will is not a Law.

Item, Upon the Petition preſented to the ſaid Deputies concerning the Government and Regiment of the Policy, they have Conſented, &c. That four and twenty worthy men of this Realme be choſen by the States, of the which the King and the Queen ſhall chuſe ſeven, and the States five; which in their Majeſties abſence ſhall take order, and make one ordinary Councell for the adminiſtration aforeſaid; ſo that no man of whatſoever quality he be, ſhall have the power to order any thing to be done touching the ſaid buſineſſe, without the mediation, authority, and conſent of them; and the ſaid Councellors ſhall convene together as oft as they can conveniently, but ſhall convene no leſſe nor ſix together. And when any matter of importance occurreth, they ſhall all be called to conſult, and order to be taken by them, or the moſt part of them, if need be: And if it happen any of the ſaid ſeven choſen by the King and Queen to deceaſe, their Majeſties ſhall chuſe another forth of the ſaid number of four and twenty in the place of him that deceaſed. And if any of the ſaid five choſen by the States dieth, the remnant forechoſen by them ſhall name another of the number of 24. Moreover, if it be thought expedient to the ſaid States that other two be augmented to the ſaid number of 12. then and in

Anno that cauſe, the King and Queen ſhall chuſe one, and the States another; and ſo was this Article agreed under condition, that is to ſay, That the ſame be no prejudice in times coming to the King and Queen, and Rights of the Crown. And the ſaid Deputies offered their labours to make mediation to the King and Queen, for maintaining Penſions and Expenſes of the ſaid Councellors, and ordinary Officers of the ſaid Councell, to be provided of the Rents and Revenues of the Crown.

Item, Upon the Petition made to the ſaid Deputies anenſt the Officers of this Realm, they conſented and accorded, &c. That in time to come the King and Queen ſhall not depute any ſtranger in the adminiſtration of the Civill and Common Juſtice, and likewiſe in the Office of Chancery, Keeper of the Seale, the Treaſurer, Controller, and every like Offices, and ſhall not uſe them, but ſhall be content with their owne ſubjects borne in the Realm. Moreover, It ſhall not be *Note.* lawfull to put the Office of Treaſury, Controller, into the hands of any Church-man, or other which are not able to exerciſe the ſaid Offices; the which Treaſurer and Controller ſhall be provided of ſufficient Commiſſion to uſe the ſaid Offices: But it ſhall be lawfull to them to diſpoſe or ſell Wards of Marriages, or other caſualties, or any other things whatſoever they be, pertaining to their Offices, without advice and conſent of the ſaid Councell, to the effect that the Councell may know that all things be done to the profit of the King and Queen: And yet they will not binde or aſtraint the King or Queen to this Article, that they may not give when they think expedient.

Item, They accorded, That in the firſt Convention and Parliament of the States of this Realme, there ſhall be Conſtituted, Ordained, and Eſtabliſhed, an Act of Oblivion, which afterwards ſhall be confirmed by the Kings and Queens Majeſties, by the which the remembrance of bearing Armour, and other things which have been done ſhall be buried and forgotten, from the ſixth day of the moneth of *March*, in the yeer of our Lord God 1558 yeers: And by the ſame Act, they which have contravened the Laws of the Realme, ſhall be excuſed, and free of all pains contained therein, even ſo as if it had never been contravened. Providing, That the Priviledge of the ſaid Act be not extended to them which the States of the Realme ſhall judge unworthy thereof.

Item, It is agreed and concluded, That in the ſaid Convention or Parliament, the States of the Realme, as the Cuſtome is, and ordinarily is required, ſhall be called; in the which all they that have uſed to convene and to be preſent, may come without all fear or force done, or to be done to them by any perſon; ſo that the ſaid States ſhall oblige them. That where in time coming any Sedition, or gathering of men of War ſhall happen to be without command of the Councell, being of the number of twelve, the Realme and Countrey ſhall repute the cauſers thereof, and they that convene, as Rebells, and ſhall purſue them as ſuch like, that they may be puniſhed by the Laws of the Realm, ſo that the K. and Q. ſhall not be compelled in time coming to ſend any men of War ſtrangers in theſe parts, for obtaining due obedience of their ſubjects.

Item,

Item, They Offered, Accorded, and Agreed, That there ſhall be a generall peace and reconciliation amongſt all Lords and ſubjects of this Realm, ſo that they that are called of the Congregation, and they which are not of the ſame, ſhall lay no reproach to others for the things which are done from the ſaid ſixth day of *March*, 1558. Anno

Item, They Offered, Accorded, and Affirmed, That the King and Queen ſhall not purſue, revenge, nor make any perſecution for the things that have been done, nor yet ſhall they ſuffer the ſame to be done by their ſubjects French-men, but ſhall have all things in Oblivion, as if the ſame had never been done. And ſuch like the Lords of this Realm of *Scotland* ſhall do in all buſineſſe betwixt them and the French-men on their. And if by ſiniſter information, or any other occaſion, their Majeſties have conceived evill opinion againſt their ſubjects, they ſhall utterly forget and change the ſame: Nor ſhall they deprive any of them, nor take from them any of them, their Subjects, the Offices, Benefices, or Eſtates, which they have brooked and enjoyed in the ſaid Realm before, by reaſon of any things they have medled with, from the ſaid ſixth day of *March*, 1558. And further, ſhall make no occaſion of deprivation, nor depoſing of them by any other colour, without juſt cauſe, but rather they ſhall eſteem and uſe them in time coming, as good and obedient ſubjects. Providing, That the ſaid Lords, and other ſubjects on their part, make to their Majeſties all obedience ſuch like, as other faithfull and naturall ſubjects owe to their Soveraigns.

Item, It is Accorded and Agreed, That it ſhall be lawfull to none of the Lords and Nobility of *Scotland*, or any other, to make Convocation of men of War, but in the ordinary cauſe approved by the Laws and Cuſtome of the Realme; And none of them ſhall cauſe any men of War ſtrangers to come to their parts; and much leſſe ſhall attempt to do any thing againſt the King and Queen, or againſt the Authority of the Counceil, and other Magiſtrates of the Realme; and they which have preſented the Petition ſhall be bound thereunto. And in caſe any of them, or others, finde occaſion to invade or take Armour againſt any man as he pretendeth, after that he hath communicated the matter with the Councell of the Realme, he ſhall preſent his Complaint to their Majeſties, and generally they ſhall oblige them under the ſaid pains, to do the things which pertaineth to good and faithfull Subjects, for the quietneſſe and tranquility of the Realme, and Rights of their Soveraigne.

Item, It is Agreed, That if any Biſhops, Abbots, or other Churchmen, ſhall finde or alleadge them to have received any injuries, either in their perſons or goods, the Complaints ſhall be ſeen and conſidered by the States of the ſaid Convention and Parliament, and there ſhall be made redreſſe, as they ſhall finde according to reaſon; and in the meane time no man ſhall ſtop them, but they ſhall brook and enjoy their goods, nor ſhall do any hurt, injury or violence to them: And if any doth contravene to this Article, he ſhall be purſued by the Lords as a perturber of a good Common-weale.

Anno

Item, It is Accorded, &c. That the ſaid Lords ſhall binde them to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all and ſundry Points and Articles agreed in this Treaty; And if it happen that any of them, or any other ſhould gainſay the ſame, the remnant Lords, and reſidue of the whole people, ſhall be enemies to him, and ſhall purſue him till he be chaſtned, and puniſhed according to his demerits.

Item, It is Concluded, &c. That all the whole Realm may know that the King and Queen are not willing to keep any remembrance of the troubles and differences paſt, and ſo far as concerns the Nobility, and other ſubjects of this Realme; That their Majeſties deſire is to uſe them humanely, and to be favourable unto them, the ſaid Deputies have promiſed and accorded, That the Duke of *Chattellarault*, and all other Noble-men of *Scotland*, ſhall be reſtaured and ſetled again in all their goods and benefices, which they had enjoyed in *France*; That they may brook and enjoy the ſame, in the ſame manner as they did before thoſe debates, the ſaid ſixth day of *March*, and yeer aforeſaid, even as the ſaid controverſies had never chanced. And alſo that all Capitulations and Articles agreed upon in times paſt, and eſpecially thoſe that were appointed in the King and Queens Contract ſhall be obſerved and kept, as well for the part of their Majeſties, as for the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland*. And as concerning *David*, ſon to the Duke of *Chattellarault*, now being in *Bois de Vincennes*, liberty ſhall be granted unto him to returne into *Scotland*, and to do as he pleaſeth. Moreover, when the ſaid Deputies expoſed that ſome time it might chance, That the King might have need and uſe of his great Guns and Artillery in *France*, the ſaid Lords having conſideration thereof, accorded, That no other Artillery be tranſlated out of this Realme, but thoſe which were ſent and brought in, from the ſaid day of the deceaſe of *Francis* King of *France*, of good memory, to theſe parts: And that all other Artillery aud Munition be repoſed into the places whence they were taken forth, and in ſpeciall they that have the Arms of *Scotland*, ſhall be put into the places whence they were taken forth of. And there ſhall be Noble-men of *Scotland* appointed therefore, and two for the part of the Kings Majeſty, are to be deputed to agnoſce and view the ſame afore the Shipping thereof.

And moreover, That whereas in the names of the Nobility and people of *Scotland* certain Articles concerning Religion and other Points have been preſented, which the ſaid Deputies will not touch; and conſidering the weight and importance of them, has remitted the ſame to be cognoſced and decided by their Majeſties; The ſaid Lords and Nobility do promiſe, That a certain number of Noble-men ſhould be choſen in the next Convention and Parliament to be ſent to their Majeſties, which ſhall expoſe to their Highneſſes thoſe things that ſhall be thought needfull for the ſtate of their buſines, and for the forementioned and other Articles and Points undecided by the Deputies, to the effect they may know their Majeſties intention & good wil concerning thoſe things which ſhal be expoſed from the Country: the which alſo ſhall have with them a confirmation & ratification by the ſtates of the Realm, of thoſe articles which are concorded, &c. by the Deputies; to whom alſo the ſame time or before ſhal

be

be given and delivered, and like Confirmation and Ratification made by their Majeſties, ſo being that the ſaid States ſend their Ratification aforeſaid. Anno

The Proclamation of the things above written, made the 8 of July, in the yeere of God 1560.

TO the glory of the Almighty Lord God, and to the comfort of all Chriſtians, the moſt puiſſant Prince and Princeſſe, and moſt Chriſtian King and Queen Francis *and* Mary, *by the grace of God, King and Queen of* France *and* Scotland: *and by the moſt puiſſant Princeſſe* Elizabeth, *by the ſame Grace, Queen of* England, France, *and* Ireland, &c. *It is accorded, and Reconciliation of Peace and Amitie made, which is to be obſerved inviolably, amongſt them, their Subjects, Realms and Countries. For as much as in name of the ſaid Prince and Princeſſe it is commanded, and ſtraitly charged to all manner of perſons under their obedience, or being in their ſervice, from henceforth to deſiſt from all hoſtility both by Sea and Land, and to keep a good Peace the one with the other, and with charge, that none ſhall break the ſame under perill of,* &c.

Theſe things tranſacted, and the Peace Proclaimed, as is ſaid, ſudden proviſion was made for tranſporting of the French to *France*, of whom the moſt part were put in the Engliſh Ships, who alſo carried with them the whole ſpoile of *Leith*: and that was the ſecond benefit which they received of their late promiſed liberty, the end whereof is not yet. The Engliſh Army departed by land the 16 day of July, in the yeere of God 1560. The moſt part of our Nobility Proteſtants, honourably conveyed them (as in very deed they had well deſerved) But Lord *James* would not leave the Lord *Gray* with the other Noble-men of *England*, till that they entred into *Barwick*. After whoſe returning, the Councell began to look as well upon the affaires of the Common-wealth, as upon the matters that might concern the ſtability of Religion. As before we have heard the Parliament was concluded to begin the tenth of July, and to be continued till the firſt of Auguſt next, and therefore the Lords made the greater haſte and diligence, that all things ſhould be put in convenient order. But before all things the Preachers exhorted them (for then in *Edinburgh* were the moſt part of the chief Miniſters of the Realme) to be thankfull unto God, and next to provide that the Miniſters ſhould be diſtributed, as the neceſſity of the Countrey required. A day was appointed, when that the whole Nobility, and the greateſt part of the Congregation aſſembled in S. *Gites* Church in *Edinburgh*, where after the Sermon made for that purpoſe, publike thanks were given unto God for his mercifull deliverance, in forme as followeth.

The profit that Leith got of their promiſe liberty.

Thankeſ-

no

Thankeſgiving for our deliverance with Prayers.

O Eternall and everlaſting God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath not onely commanded us to Pray, and promiſed to hear us; but alſo willeſt us to magnifie thy mercies, and to glorifie thy Name, when thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe pitifull, and favourable unto us, eſpecially when thou delivereſt us from deſperate dangers: for ſo did thy ſervants, *Abraham*, *David*, *Jehoſaphat*, and *Ezechias*, yea, the whole people of Iſrael omitted not the ſame, when thou by thy mighty hand didſt confound their enemies, and didſt deliver them from feare and danger of death intended. We ought not, nor can we forget, O Lord, in how miſerable eſtate ſtood this poore Countrey, and we the juſt inhabitants of the ſame, not many dayes paſt; When Idolatry was maintained; When cruell ſtrangers did bear rule; When Virgins were defloured, Matrones corrupted, Mens Wives violently and villanouſly oppreſſed, The blood of innocents ſhed without mercy. And finally, when the unjuſt commandments of proud tyrants were obeyed as Law. Out of theſe miſeries (O Lord) could neither our wit, policie nor ſtrength deliver us, yea, thou didſt ſhew to us how vain was the help of man, where thy bleſſing giveth not victory. In theſe our anguiſhes, O Lord, we ſobbed unto thee, we cried for thy help, and we reclaimed thy Name, as thy troubled flock perſecuted for thy Trueths ſake. Mercifully haſt thou heard us (O Lord) mercifully, we ſay, becauſe that neither in us, neither yet in our confederates was there any cauſe why that thou ſhouldſt have given unto us ſo joyfull and ſudden a deliverance. For neither of us both ceaſed to do wickedly, even in the midſt of our greateſt troubles, and yet haſt thou looked upon us ſo pitifully, as that we had given unto thee moſt perfect obedience. For thou haſt diſappointed the counſels of the craftie; Thou haſt bridled the rage of the cruell; and thou haſt of thy mercy ſet this our periſhing Realm, at a reaſonable liberty. Oh give us hearts (thou Lord, that onely giveſt all good gifts) with reverence and fear to meditate thy wondrous works late wrought in our eyes. Let not the remembrance of the ſame unthankfully to ſlip from our wavering mindes. We grant and acknowledge, O Lord, That whatſoever we have received, ſhall fall into oblivion with us, and ſo turn to our condemnation; unleſſe thou by the power of thy Spirit keep and retain us in recent and perpetuall memory of the ſame. We beſeech thee therefore, O father of mercies, that as of thy undeſerved grace, thou haſt partly removed our darkneſſe; ſuppreſſed Idolatry; and taken from above our heads the devouring ſword of mercileſſe ſtrangers, that ſo it would pleaſe thee to proceed with us in this thy grace begun. And albeit that in us there is nothing that may move thy Majeſtie, to ſhew us this favour; yet for Chriſt Jeſus, thy onely welbeloved Sons ſake, whoſe Name we bear, and whoſe Doctrine we profeſſe; we beſeech thee never to ſuffer us to forſake or deny this Verity which now we profeſſe. But ſeeing that thou haſt mercifully heard us, and haſt cauſed thy Veritie to triumph in us; ſo we crave of thee continuance to the end, that thy godly Name may be glorified in us thy creatures.

And

And ſeeing that nothing is more odious in thy preſence (O Lord) then is ingratitude and violation of an Oath and Covenant made in thy Name. And ſeeing thou haſt made our Confederates of *England* the Inſtrument by whom we are now ſet at this libertie, and to whom in thy Name we have promiſed mutuall faith againe. Let us never fall to that unkindneſſe (O Lord) that either we declare our ſelves unthankfull unto them, or prophaners of thy holy Name. Confound thou the Counſell of thoſe, that goe about to break that moſtgodly League contracted in thy Name, and retaine thou us ſo firmly together by the power of thy holy Spirit, that Sathan have never power to ſet us again at variance nor diſcord. Give us thy grace to live in that Chriſtian charitie, which thy Sonne our Lord Jeſus hath ſo earneſtly commended to all the members of his body, that other Nations provoked by our example, may ſet aſide all ungodly warre, contention and ſtrife, and ſtudie to live in tranquilitie and peace, as it becometh the Sheepe of thy Paſture, and the people that daily look for our finall deliverance by the coming again of our Lord Jeſus. To whom with thee and the Holy Spirit be all honour, glory and praiſe now and ever. Amen. Anno 1560.

Note a Covenant betwixt *England* and *Scotland*.

Hereafter were the Commiſſioners of Boroughs, with ſome of the Nobility and Barons, appointed to ſee the equall diſtribution of Miniſters to change and tranſport, as the moſt part ſhould think expedient. And ſo was *John Knox* appointed to *Edinburgh*, *Chriſtopher Goodman* (who the moſt part of the troubles had remained in *Ayr*) was appointed to Saint *Andrews*, *Adam Heriot* to *Aberdeene*, Maſter *John Row* to Saint *Johnſton*, *Paul Meaffen* (to whom was no infamie then knowne) to *Fedburgh*, *William Chriſtiſon* to *Dundie*, *David Fargeſon* to *Dunfermelin*, and Maſter *David Lindſay* to *Leith*. There were nominated for Superintendents, and Overſeers, that all things in the Church ſhould be carried with Order, and well, Maſter *John Spottiſwood* for *Lowthian*, Maſter *John Wyram* for *Fyfe*, Maſter *John Willock* for *Glaſgow*, the Laird of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Mearnes*, Maſter *John Carſwell* for *Argyle* and the Iſles. Theſe to be elected at the dayes appointed; unleſſe that the Countreys whereto they were to be appointed, could in the mean time finde out men more able and ſufficient, or elſe ſhew ſuch cauſes as might diſable them from that imployment.

The Parliament approaching, due advertiſement was made by the Councell, to all ſuch as by Law and ancient Cuſtome had, or might claime to have Title therein. The aſſembly was great, notwithſtanding ſome, as well of thoſe that be called Spirituall as Temporall Lords, contemptuouſly did abſent themſelves. And yet the chief Pillars of the Papiſticall Church gave their preſence, ſuch as the Biſhops of Saint *Andrews*, *Dumblane*, and *Dunkell*, with others of the inferiour ſort, beſide thoſe that had renounced Papiſterie, and openly profeſſed Jeſus Chriſt with us, ſuch as the Biſhop of *Galloway*, the Abbots of *Lindroſſe*, *Culroſſe*, Saint *Colmes Inch*, *New-battell*, *Halyrud-houſe*, the Priour of Saint *Andrews*, *Coldinghame*, *Saint-Mary* Ile, the Sub-priour of S. *Andrews*, and divers others, whom we obſerved not. At the ſame time of Parliament *John Knox*

Some Prelats left Antichriſt, and did adhere unto Chriſt.

Anno

William Maitlands mockage of God.

publikely Preached upon ſome Texts of the Prophet *Haggai*, the Doctrine was proper for the time. In application whereof he was ſo ſpeciall and ſo vehement, that ſome (having greater reſpect to the world then to Gods glory) feeling themſelves pricked, ſaid in mockage, *We may now forget our ſelves, and beare the Barrow to build the houſe of God.* God be mercifull to the ſpeaker, for we fear yet he ſhall have experience, That the building of his own houſe (the houſe of God being deſpiſed) ſhall not be ſo proſperous, and of ſuch firmitie as we deſire it were. And albeit ſome mocked, yet others were godly moved, who did aſſemble themſelves together, to conſult what things were to be propoſed to that preſent Parliament: And after deliberation, was this ſubſequent ſupplication offered.

The Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, and other true Subjects of this Realm, profeſſing the Lord Jeſus within the ſame.

To the Nobilitie and States of Parliament preſently aſſembled within the ſaid Realm, deſire Grace, Mercy and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the increaſe of his holy Spirit.

PLeaſe your Honours to call to remembrance, how divers and ſundry times, we (with ſome of your ſelves) moſt humbly Petitioned, at the feet of the late Queen Regent, for freedom and liberty of Conſcience, with a godly Reformation of abuſes, which by the malice of Satan and negligence of men, are crept into the Religion of God, and are maintained by ſuch as take upon them the name of Clergie. And albeit that our godly and moſt reaſonable ſuit was then diſdainfully rejected, whereof no ſmall troubles have enſued, as your Honours well know, yet ſeeing that the ſame neceſſity yet remaineth, that then moved us; And moreover, that God of his mercy hath now put into your hands, to take ſuch order; As God thereby may be glorified; This Common-wealth quieted; And the Policy thereof eſtabliſhed: We cannot ceaſe to crave of your Honours the redreſſe of ſuch enormities, as manifeſtly are (and of long time have been) committed by the place-holders of the Miniſterie, and others of the Clergie within this Realm. And firſt, ſeeing that God of his great mercy hath by the light of his Word manifeſted to no ſmall number of this Realme, That the Doctrine of the Romane Church, received by the ſaid Clergie, and maintained through their tyrannie by fire and ſword, contained in it ſelfe many peſtiferous errours, which cannot but bring damnation to the ſouls of ſuch as therewith ſhall be infected; ſuch as are the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation; of the Adoration of Chriſts Body, under the form of Bread, as they terme it; of the Merits of Works, and Juſtification that they alleadge commeth thereby; together with the Doctrine of the Papiſticall Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and Praying to Saints departed, which all either repugne to the plain Scriptures, or elſe have no ground in the Doctrine of our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, his Prophets and Apoſtles.

1. We

1. We humbly therefore crave of your Honours, That ſuch doctrine and Idolatry as by Gods Word are both condemned, ſo may they be aboliſhed by Act of this preſent Parliament, and puniſhment appointed for the tranſgreſſors. Anno

Secondarily, ſeeing that the Sacraments of Jeſus Chriſt are moſt ſhamefully abuſed and profaned by that Romane Harlot and her ſworne vaſſals; and alſo becauſe that the true Diſcipline of the ancient Church is utterly now amongſt that Sect extinguiſhed: For who within the Realme are more corrupt in life and manners then are they that are called the Clergie, living in whoredom, adultery, deflouring Virgins, corrupting Matrons, and doing all abomination, without fear of puniſhment. We humbly therefore deſire your Honors to finde remedy againſt the one and the other.

3. Thirdly, Becauſe that *man of ſin* falſly claimeth to himſelfe the titles of, *The Vicar of Chriſt*, *The Succeſſor of* Peter, *The Head of the Church*, *That he cannot erre*, *That all power is granted unto him*, *&c.* By the which uſurped Authority, he taketh upon him the diſtribution and poſſeſſion of the whole Patrimony of the Church, whereby the true Miniſtry of the Word of God long time hath been altogether neglected, the godly learning deſpiſed, the Schools not provided, and the poor not only frauded of their portion, but alſo moſt tyrannouſly oppreſſed: we likewiſe hereof deſire remedy. And leſt that your Honors ſhould doubt in any of theſe premiſes, we offer our ſelves evidently to prove, That in all the rabble of the Clergie there is not one lawfull Miniſter, if Gods Word, the practices of the Apoſtles, the ſincerity of the Primitive Church, and their own ancient Laws, ſhall judge of lawfull Election. We further offer to prove them all thieves and murtherers, yea, rebels and traytors to the lawfull Authority of Emperors, Kings and Princes, and therfore unworthy to be ſuffred in any reformed Common-wealth. How malicioufly they murthered our brethren, for no other cauſe, but for that they offred to us the light of Gods Word, your Honours cannot be ignorant; and into what hazard their tyranny hath brought this whole Realm, the Ages after will conſider. If ye look for other fruit in times to come, then ye have ſeen in them whom we accuſe, we are aſſured ye ſhall be deceived. Now hath God, beyond all expectation of man, made you, who ſomtimes were ſuppliants with us for Reformation, Judges, as it were, in the Cauſe of God: At leaſt, he hath ſo ſubdued your enemies unto you, that by violence they are not able to ſuppreſſe the Verity, as heretofore they have done. We therefore, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, crave of your Honors, That either they may be compelled to anſwer to our former accuſations, and unto ſuch others as juſtly we have to lay to their charges; or elſe that all affection laid aſide, ye pronounce them ſuch by cenſure of this Parliament, and cauſe them to be ſo reputed, as by us moſt juſtly they are accuſed: Eſpecially, that they may be diſcerned unworthy of honour, authority, charge or cure in the Church of God, and ſo from henceforth never to enjoy voice in Parliament: Which if ye do not, then in the fear of God, and by aſſurance of his Word we forewarn you, That as ye leave a grievous yoke, & a burden intolerable upon the Church of God in this realm,

Anno ſo ſhall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your ſides, whom after, when ye would, ye ſhall have no power to remove. God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt give you upright hearts, ſeeking his glory, and true underſtanding, what this day he who hath delivered you from Bondage both Spirituall and Temporall, craveth of you by his ſervants, and your Honours anſwer moſt humbly require.

See how this agrees with our times.

This our Supplication being read in audience of the whole Aſſembly, divers men were of divers judgements; for as ſome there were that uprightly favoured the Cauſe of God; ſo were there many that for worldly reſpects abhorred a perfect Reformation (for how many within *Scotland* who have the name of Nobility, and are unjuſt poſſeſſors of the Patrimony of the Church) and yet were the Barons and Miniſters called, and commandment given unto them, to draw into plain and ſeverall Heads the ſum of that Doctrine which they would maintain, and would deſire the preſent Parliament to eſtabliſh, as wholeſome, true, and onely neceſſary to be beleeved, and to be received within the Realm: Which they willingly accepted; and within four dayes preſented this Confeſſion as it followeth, without alteration of any one ſentence.

The Confeſſion of Faith profeſſed and believed by the Proteſtants within the Realme of Scotland, *publiſhed by them in Parliament, and by the Eſtates thereof Ratified and Approved, as wholeſome and ſound Doctrine, grounded upon the infallible Truth of God.*

MATTH. 24.

And this glad Tydings of the Kingdom ſhall be preached throughout the whole world for a Witneſſe unto all Nations, and then ſhall the end come.

The Preface.

The States of *Scotland*, with the Inhabitants of the ſame profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus his holy Goſpel, To their naturall Countrey-men, and unto all other Realmes and Nations profeſſing the ſame Lord Jeſus with them, Wiſh Grace, Mercy, and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of righteous Judgement, for Salvation.

LOng have we thirſted (dear Brethren) to have notified unto the world the ſum of that Doctrine which we profeſſe, and for the which we have ſuſtained infamy and danger. But ſuch hath been the rage of Sathan againſt us, and againſt Chriſt Jeſus his Eternall Verity lately now again borne amongſt us, that to this day notime hath been granted unto us, to clear our conſciences, as moſt gladly we would have done: For how we have been toſſed a whole yeer paſt, the moſt part of Europe *(as we do ſuppoſe) doth underſtand. But ſeeing that of the infinite goodneſſe of our God (who never ſuffereth his afflicted utterly to be confounded) above expectation, have we obtained ſome reſt and libertie, we could not but ſet forth this briefe and*

and plain Confeſſion of ſuch Doctrine as is propoſed unto us, and as we believe and profeſſe; partly for ſatisfaction of our Brethren, whoſe hearts, we doubt not, have been, and yet are, wounded by the deſpightfull rayling of ſuch as yet have not learned to ſpeak well: And partly for ſtopping the mouths of impudent blaſphemers, who boldly condemne that which they neither heard nor underſtood: Not that we judge that the cankred malice of ſuch is able to be cured by this ſimple Confeſſion; No, we know that the ſweet ſavour of the Goſpel is and ſhall be death unto the ſons of perdition. But we have chief reſpect to our weak and infirme Brethren, to whom we would communicate the bottom of our hearts, leſt that they be troubled or carried away by diverſity of rumours which Sathan ſpreadeth againſt us, to the defeating of this our moſt godly enterpriſe; Proteſting, That if any man will note in this our Confeſſion any Article or ſentence repugning to Gods holy Word, that it would pleaſe him of his gentleneſſe, and for Chriſtian charities ſake, admoniſh us of the ſame in writing; and we upon our Honours and fidelity do promiſe unto him ſatisfaction from the mouth of God (that is, from his holy Scriptures) or elſe Reformation of that which he ſhall prove to be amiſſe. For God we take to Record in our conſciences, That from our hearts we abhorre all Sects of Hereſie, and all teachers of erroneous doctrine; And that with all humility we embrace the purity of Chriſts Goſpel, which is the onely food of our ſoules; and therefore ſo precious unto us, that we are determined to ſuffer the extremeſt of worldly danger, rather then that we will ſuffer our ſelves to be defrauded of the ſame. For hereof we are moſt certainly perſwaded, That whoſoever denieth Chriſt Jeſus, or is aſhamed of him in preſence of men, ſhall be denied before the Father, and before his holy Angels. And therefore by the aſſiſtance of the mighty Spirit of the ſame our Lord Jeſus, we firmly purpoſe to abide to the end in the confeſſion of this our Faith. Anno

The firſt Article.

of God.

WE confeſſe and acknowledge one onely God, to whom onely we muſt cleave, whom onely we muſt Worſhip, and in whom onely we muſt put our truſt; who is Eternall, Infinite, Unmeaſurable, Incomprehenſible, Omnipotent, Inviſible, one in Subſtance, and yet diſtinct into three Perſons, The Father, The Son, And the holy Ghoſt; by whom we confeſſe and believe all things in heaven and earth, as well Viſible as Inviſible, to have been Created, to be Retained in their being, and to be Ruled and Guided by his inſcrutable Providence, to ſuch end as his eternall Wiſedom, Goodneſſe and Juſtice hath appointed them, to the manifeſtation of his own Glory.

Deut. 4. 1 Cor. 8. Iſa. 44. 6, 8. 1 Tim. 1. 17. 1 King. 8. 27. 2 Chron. 2. 18. Pſal. 139. 7, 8. Gen. 17. 1. 1 Tim. 6. 15, 16 Exod. 3. 14, 15. Matt. 28. 19. 1 Joh. 5. 7. Gen. 1. 1. Heb. 11. 3. Act. 17. 28. Prov. 16. 4.

II.

Of the Creation of Man.

WE confeſſe and acknowledge this our God to have Created man (to wit, our firſt Father *Adam*) of whom alſo God formed the Woman, to his own Image and Similitude; To whom he gave Wiſedom, Lordſhip, Juſtice, free-Will, and clear Knowledge of himſelf; Gen. 1. 26, 27, &c. Col. 3. 10.

Anno

Epheſ. 4. 24. Gen. 3. 6. Gen. 2. 7.

ſo that in the whole Nature of man there could be no imperfection: From which Honour and Perfection Man and Woman did both fall; the Woman, being deceived by the Serpent; and Man, obeying to the voice of the Woman, both conſpiring againſt the Soveraigne Majeſty of God, who in expreſſe words had before threatned death, if they preſumed to eat of the forbidden Tree.

III.

Of Originall Sin.

Pſal. 51. 5. Rom. 5. 10. Rom. 7. 5. 2 Tim. 2. 6. Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 5. 14, 12. Rom. 6. 3. John 3. 5. Rom. 5. 1. Phil. 1. 29.

BY which tranſgreſſion, commonly called Originall Sin, was the Image of God utterly defaced in Man, and he and his Poſterity of Nature became enemies to God, ſlaves to Sathan, ſervants to Sin, inſomuch that Death everlaſting hath had, and ſhall have power and dominion over all that hath not been, are not, or ſhall not be regenerate from above; which Regeneration is wrought by the power of the holy Ghoſt, working in the hearts of the Elect of God an aſſured Faith in the Promiſes of God revealed to us in his Word; by which Faith they apprehend Chriſt Jeſus, with the Graces and Benefits promiſed in him.

IIII.

Of the Revelation of the Promiſes.

Gen. 3. 15. Gen. 3. 9. Gen. 12. 3. Gen. 15. 5, 6. 2 Sam. 7. 14. Iſai. 7. 14. Iſai. 9. 6. Hag. 2. 6. John 8. 38.

FOr this we conſtantly believe, That God, after the fearfull and horrible defection of man from his obedience, did ſeek *Adam* again, call upon him, rebuke his ſin, convince him of the ſame, and in the end made unto him a joyfull Promiſe, to wit, *That the Seed of the Woman ſhould breake downe the Serpents head*; that is, He ſhould deſtroy the works of the devill: which Promiſe, as it was repeated and made more cleer from time to time, ſo was it embraced with joy, and moſt conſtantly retained of all the faithfull, from *Adam* to *Noah*, from *Noah* to *Abraham*, and from *Abraham* to *David*, and ſo forth to the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt; who all (we mean the faithfull Fathers) under the Law, did ſee the joyfull dayes of Chriſt Jeſus, and did rejoyce.

V.

The Continuance, Encreaſe, and Preſervation of his Church.

Ezek. 6. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. Gen. 1. 12. Gen. 13. 1. Exod. 1. 1. Exod. 1. 20. Joſh. 1. 3. & 23. 4. 1 Sam. 10. 1. 1 Sam. 16. 13. 2 Sam. 7. 12. 2 King. 17. 15, 16, &c.

WE moſt conſtantly believe, That God Preſerveth, Inſtructeth, Multiplieth, Honoureth, Decoreth, and from death called to Life his Church in all Ages, from *Adam*, till the coming of CHRIST JESUS in the Fleſh: For *Abraham* he called from his fathers Countrey, him he inſtructed, his Seed he multiplied, the ſame he marvellouſly preſerved, and more marvellouſly delivered from the Bondage of *Pharaoh*; to whom he gave his Lawes, Conſtitutions and Ceremonies. Them he poſſeſſed in the Land of *Canaan*, to them after Judges, and after *Saul*, he gave *David* to be King; to whom he made promiſe, That of the fruit of his Loynes ſhould one ſit for ever upon his Regall Seat. To this ſame people from time to time

time he ſent Prophets to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by Idolatry. And albeit for their ſtubborne contempt of Juſtice, he was compelled to give them into the hands of their enemies, as before he threatned by the mouth of *Moſes*: Inſomuch that the holy City was deſtroyed, the Temple burnt with fire, and the whole land left deſolate the ſpace of ſeventy yeeres; yet of mercy did he reduce them again to *Jeruſalem*, where the Citie and Temple were reedified, and they againſt all temptations and aſſaults of Satan, did abide till the Meſſias came, according to the promiſe. Anno 2 King. 14 34, &c. Deu. 28. 36, 38, &c. 2 Kin. 25. 2. Dan. 9 2. Ezr. 1, &c. Hag. 1 14. Zach. 3. 1.

VI.
Of the Incarnation of Chriſt Jeſus.

VVHen the fulneſſe of time came, God ſent his Sonne, his eternall Wiſdome, the ſubſtance of his own Glory into this World, who took the nature of manhood, of the ſubſtance of a woman; to wit, of a Virgine, and that by the operation of the holy-Ghoſt, and ſo was born, The juſt ſeed of *David*, The Angel of the great councell of God, The very *Meſſias* promiſed, whom we acknowledge, and confeſſe, *Emanuel*, very God and very man, two perfect natures united and ioyned in one perſon. By which our Confeſſion, we condemne the damnable and peſtilent Hereſies of *Arrius*, *Marcion*, *Eutiches*, *Neſtorius*, and ſuch others, as either denie the Eternitie of his God-head, or the Veritie of his humane nature, or confound them, or yet divide them. Gal 4 4. Luke 1. 31. Matth. 1. 18. Matth. 2. 1. Rom. 1. 3. Matth. 1 23. John 1. 1. 45. 2 Tim. 2 5.

VII.
Why it behoveth the Mediatour to be very God and very man.

VVE acknowledge and confeſſe, That this moſt wondrous conjunction betwixt the God-head and Man-hood of Chriſt Jeſus, did proceed from the eternall and immutable Decree of God, whence alſo our ſalvation ſpringeth and dependeth. Epheſ. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.

VIII.
Of Election.

FOr that ſame eternall God, who of meere grace elected us in Chriſt Jeſus his Sonne, before the foundation of the world was laid, appointed him to be our Head, our Brother, our Paſtour, and great Biſhop of our ſoules: But becauſe that the enmitie betwixt the juſtice of God and our ſinnes, was ſuch, That no fleſh by it ſelf, could, or might have attained unto God; It behoved that the Son of God ſhould deſcend unto us, and take himſelf a body of our body, fleſh of our fleſh, and bones of our bones, and ſo become the perfect Mediatour betwixt God and man; giving power to ſo many as beleeve in him, to be the ſons of God, as he himſelf doth witneſſe. I paſſe up to my Father and your Father, to my God and unto your God: By which moſt holy fraternity, Epheſ. 1. 11. Matth 25 34. Epheſ. 1 21, 22. Heb 2 9. Pſal. 22. 11. Heb 13. 20. 1 Pet. 2. 24, & 3. 4. Pſal. 130. 3. Pſal. 143 3. 1 Tim. 2. 5. John 1. 12. John 20. 17.

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Anno

whatſoever we have loſt in *Adam*, is reſtored to us again. And for this cauſe are we nothing afraid to call God our Father, not ſo much in that he hath created us (which we have common with the reprobate) as for that, that he hath given to us his onely Sonne to be our Brother, and given unto us grace to imbrace him for our onely Mediatour, as before is ſaid. It behoved further the Meſſias and Redeemer to be very God and very Man, becauſe he was to ſuffer the puniſhment due for our tranſgreſſions, and to preſent himſelf in the preſence of his fathers judgement, as in our perſon to ſuffer for our tranſgreſſion and diſobedience, by death to overcome him that was Authour of death. But becauſe the onely God-head could not ſuffer death, neither could onely the Man-hood overcome the ſame, he joyned both together in one perſon, that the imbecilitie of the one ſhould ſuffer and be ſubject to death (which we had deſerved) and the Infinite and Invincible power of the other; to wit, of the God-head ſhould triumph, and purchaſe unto us life, libertie, and perpetuall Victory: and ſo we confeſſe, and moſt undoubtedly beleeve.

Rom. 5. 17, 18, 19.
Rom 8.15.
Gal. 4 56.
Act. 17.26.
Heb. 2. 11, 12.
1 Pet. 3 18.
Iſa. 53. 8.
Act. 2. 4.
1 John 1 2.
Act. 20 28.
1 Tim 3. 16.
John 3. 16.

IX.

Chriſts Death, Paſſion, Buriall, &c.

THat our Lord Jeſus offered himſelf a voluntary Sacrifice unto his Father for us; That he ſuffered contradiction of ſinners; That he was wounded and plagued for our tranſgreſſions; That he being the clean and innocent Lambe of GOD, was condemned in the preſence of an earthly Judge; that we might be abſolved before the Tribunall Seat of our God: That he ſuffered not onely the cruell death of the Croſſe (which was accurſed by the ſentence of God) but alſo, That he ſuffered for a ſeaſon the wrath of his Father, which ſinners had deſerved. But yet we avow, That he remained the onely welbeloved and bleſſed Sonne of his Father, even in the midſt of his anguiſh and torment, which he ſuffered in body and ſoule, to make the full ſatisfaction for the ſinnes of his people. After the which, we confeſſe and avow, That there remains no other ſacrifice for ſinnes; which if any affirme, we nothing doubt to avow, That they are blaſphemous againſt Chriſts Death, and the everlaſting purgation and ſatisfaction purchaſed unto us by the ſame.

Heb. 10. 1, 12.
Iſa 53.5.
Heb. 12 3.
John 1. 29.
Matth. 26. 11.
Deut. 20. 23.
Matth 15. 1, 2.
Gal 3. 13.
Luke 23. 1, 2.
Matth. 26. 38.
2 Cor 5.
Heb 9 12.
Heb. 10. 5.

X.

Reſurrection.

WE undoubtedly beleeve, That in ſo much as it was impoſſible that the paines of death ſhould retain in bondage the Authour of life, that our Lord Jeſus Crucified, Dead, and Buried, who deſcended into hell, did riſe again for our Juſtification, and deſtroying him who was the authour of death, brought life again to us that were ſubject to death, and to the bondage of the ſame: We know that his Reſurrection was confirmed by the teſtimony of his very enemies. By the Reſurrection of the dead, whoſe ſepulchres did open, and they did ariſe and appeared to many within the City of *Jeruſalem*. It was alſo confirmed by the teſtimonie

Act. 2. 23.
Act. 3. 26.
Rom. 6. 5, 11.
Act. 2. 24
Rom. 4 25.
Heb. 2. 14, 15.
Matth. 28
John 20. 27 & 21. 7.
Luke 24. 41, 42, 43.

monie of Angels, and by the ſences and judgements of his Apoſtles and others, who had converſation, and did eat and drink with him after his Reſurrection. Anno Joh.21.12,13.

XI.
Aſcenſion.

VVE nothing doubt, but that the ſelf-ſame Bodie, which was born of the Virgin, was Crucified, Dead and Buried, and which did riſe again, did aſcend into the Heavens, for accompliſhment of all things: Where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath received all power in heaven and in earth: Where he ſitteth at the right hand of the Father, enthronized in his Kingdome, Advocate and onely Mediatour for us; which glory, honour, and prerogative, he alone amongſt the Brethren ſhall poſſeſſe, till that all his enemies be made his foot ſtoole, as that we undoubtedly beleeve they ſhall be in the finall judgement, to the execution whereof, we certainly beleeve that the ſame our Lord Jeſus ſhall viſibly and apparantly returne, as that he was ſeene to aſcend. And there we firmely beleeve that the time of refreſhing and reſtitution of all things ſhall come, inſomuch that thoſe that from the beginning have ſuffered violence, injury and wrong for righteouſneſſe ſake, ſhall inherite the bleſſed immortality promiſed from the beginning. But contrary wayes the ſtubborn, cruell, inobedient, oppreſſors, filthy perſons, adulterers, and all ſorts of unthankfull men, ſhall be caſt into the dungeon of utter darkneſſe, where their worme ſhall not die, neither yet their fire bee extinguiſhed: the remembrance of the which day, and of the judgement to be executed in the ſame, is not onely to us a Bridle, whereby our carnall luſts are reſerved, but alſo ſuch ineſtimable comfort, that neither may the threatning of worldly Princes, neither yet the feare of temporall death and preſent danger move us to renounce and forſake that bleſſed ſocietie, which we the members have with our Head and onely Mediatour Chriſt Jeſus; whom we confeſſe and avow to be the Meſſias promiſed, the onely Head of the Church, our juſt Lawgiver, our onely High Prieſt, Advocate and Mediator. In whoſe honours and Offices, if a man or Angell preſume to intrude themſelves, we utterly deteſt and abhorre them, as blaſphemous to our Soveraigne Governour Chriſt Jeſus.

Luke 24.51. Act.1.6. Matth.28.6. Matth.16.9. Luke 24.6. John 20.9. Matth.28.18. 1 John 2.1. 1 Tim.2.5. Pſal.110.1. Matth.22.44. Matth.12.36. Luke 20.42,43 Acts 1.1. Acts 3.19. 1 Theſſ 1.4,5, 6,7,8. Matth.25.34. Revel.21.27. Eſay 66.24 Matth 25.41. Matth 9.44, 46,48 Matth.22.13. 2 Pet.3.11. 2 Cor.5.11. Luke 21.28. John 15.4,&c. Eſay 7.14. Epheſ.1.22. Col.1.18. Heb.1.11,15. Heb.10.21. 1 John 2.1. 1 Tim 2.5.

XII.
Faith in the Holy Ghoſt.

THis our faith, and the aſſurance of the ſame proceedeth not from fleſh and blood; that is to ſay, from no naturall powers within us, but is the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, whom we confeſſe, God equall with the Father, and with the Sonne, who ſanctified us, and bringeth us into all veritie by his own operation, without whom we ſhould remaine for ever enemies to God, and ignorant of his Sonne Chriſt Jeſus. For of nature we are ſo dead, ſo perverſe and blinde, that

Matth.16.17. John 14.26. John.14.11. Acts 5.4. John 10.13. Col.2.13. Epheſ.2.1. John 9.39. Revel 3.13.

Anno

Matth 17.17. Matth 9.19. Luke 9 41. John 6 63. Mic 7.8. 1 King.8. 8. Pſal. 10. 3. Rom.5.10. John 3. 5. Tit. 3.5. Rom.5 8. Pſal.3.9. Pſal.1.6. 2 Cor.3.5. Epheſ 1 6.

neither we can feel when we were pricked, ſee the light when it ſhineth, nor aſſent to the will of God when it is revealed, onely the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus quickeneth that which is dead, removeth the darkneſſe from our mindes, and boweth our ſtubborne hearts to the obedience of his bleſſed will, and ſo as we confeſſe that God the Father created us when we were not, as his Sonne our Lord Jeſus redeemed us, when we were enemies to him; So alſo we confeſſe that the Holy Ghoſt doth ſanctifie, and regenerate us without all reſpect of any merit proceeding from us, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. To ſpeak this one thing yet in more plain words, as we willingly ſpoile our ſelves of all honour and glory of our own Creation and Redemption, ſo do we alſo of our regeneration and ſanctification; for of ſelves we are not ſufficient to thinke one good thought, but he who hath begun the good work in us, is onely he that continueth us in the ſame, to the praiſe and glory of his undeſerved grace.

XIII.

The cauſe of good works.

Epheſ.2.10. Phil.3.13. John 15.5. Rom.8.9.

SO that the cauſe of good Works we confeſſe to be, not of free Will, but the Spirit of the *Lord Jeſus*, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith, bringeth forth ſuch good works, as God hath prepared for us to walke in; for this we moſt boldly affirme that blaſphemie, it is to ſay that Chriſt Jeſus abideth in the heart of ſuch, as in whom there is no ſpirit of ſanctification; and therefore we feare not to affirme, that Murderres, Oppreſſors, cruell Perſecutors, Adulterers, Whoremongers, filthy Perſons, Idolaters, Drunkards, Theeves, and all workers of iniquitie, have neither true faith, neither any portion of the Spirit of Sanctification, which proceedeth from the Lord Jeſus, ſo long as they obſtinately continue in their wickedneſſe. For how ſoon ſo ever the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus (which Gods Elect Children receive by true faith) taketh poſſeſſion in the heart of any man, ſo ſoon doth he regenerate and renew the ſame man, ſo that he begins to hate that which before he loved, and beginneth to love that which before he hated; and from thence cometh to that continuall battaile, which is betwixt the fleſh and the Spirit in Gods Children, while the fleſh and naturall man (according to their own corruption) luſteth for things pleaſing and delectable to it ſelf, grudgeth in adverſitie, is lifted up in proſperitie, and at every moment is prone and ready to offend the Majeſtie of God; but the Spirit of God which giveth witneſſing unto our ſpirit, that we are the ſonnes of God, maketh us to reſiſt the Devill to abhorre filthie pleaſures, to groane in Gods preſence for deliverance from this bondage of corruption, and finally to triumph over ſinne, that it reigne not in our mortall bodies. This battaile have not the carnall men, being deſtitute of Gods Spirit, but do follow and obey ſinne with greedineſſe, and without repentance, even as the Devill and their corrupt luſts do prick them. But the Sons of God (as afore is ſaid) do fight againſt ſin, do ſob and mourn when they perceive themſelves tempted to iniquity, and if they fall, they riſe again with earneſt and unfained repentance:

Rom.7. 15, 16, 17. Gal.5.17. Rom.8 16. Rom.7. 24. Som.8 22. Epheſ 4.17,18, 19. 2 Tim.2.26.

and

and theſe things they do not by their own power, but the power of our Lord Jeſus (without whom they were able to do nothing) worketh in them all that is good. Anno John 15 5.

XIIII.

What works are reputed good before God.

WE confeſſe and acknowledge, That God hath given to man his holy Law, in which not onely are forbidden all ſuch works as diſpleaſe and offend his godly Majeſty, but alſo are commanded all ſuch as pleaſe him, and as he hath promiſed to reward. And theſe works be of two ſorts; the one are done to the honour of God; the other to the profit of our neighbours: And both have the revealed Will of God for their aſſurance; To have one God, To worſhip and honour him, To call upon him in all our troubles, To reverence his holy Name, To hear his Word, To believe the ſame, To communicate his holy Sacraments, are the works of the firſt Table. To honour father and mother, Princes, Rulers, and ſuperiour Powers, To love them, To ſupport them, yea, To obey their Charges (not repugning to the Commandment of God) To ſave the life of Innocents, To repreſſe tyranny, To defend the oppreſſed, To keep our bodies clean and holy, To live in ſobriety and temperance, To deal juſtly with all men, both in word and deed; and finally, To repreſſe the appetite of our neighbours hurt, are the good works of the ſecond Table, which are moſt pleaſing and acceptable unto God, as thoſe works are commanded by himſelf. The contrary thereof is ſin moſt odious, which always diſpleaſeth him, and provoketh him to anger; as, Not to call upon him alone when we have need, Not to hear his Word with reverence, To contemne and deſpiſe it, To have or to worſhip Idols, To maintain and defend Idolatry, Lightly to eſteem the reverent Name of God, To profane, abuſe, or contemne the Sacraments of Chriſt Jeſus, To diſobey or reſiſt any that God hath p'aced in Authority (while they paſſe not over the bounds of their Office) To murther, or conſent thereunto, To bear hatred, or to ſuffer Innocent blood to be ſhed, if we may gainſtand it; and finally, The tranſgreſſing of any other Commandment in the firſt or ſecond Table, we confeſſe and affirm to be ſin, by the which Gods hot diſpleaſure is kindled againſt the proud and unthankfull world: So that good works we affirme to be thoſe onely that are done in Faith, and at Gods Commandment, who in his Law hath expreſſed what be the things that pleaſe him: And evill works we affirme, not onely thoſe that are expreſly done againſt Gods Commandment, but thoſe alſo that in matters of Religion, and worſhipping of God, have no aſſurance, but the invention and opinion of man, which God from the beginning hath ever rejected, as by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, and by our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus, we are taught in theſe words; *In vaine do they worſhip me, teaching doctrines which are the Precepts of men.*

Exod. 20. 3, &c. Deut. 4. 7, &c. Luke 21 75. Mica 6. 7. Ephes 6. 17. Ezech. 22. 104 1 Cor 6. 19, 20 1 The 4. 4, 5, 6 Jer. 22. 3 9 9. &c. Eſay 50. 1, &c. 1 Theſſ. 4 6. Rom 13. 2. Ezek. 22. 13. 1 John 3 4. Rom. 14. 23. Heb. 11 6. 1 Sam. 15. 22. 1 Cor. 10. 31. 1 John 3. 4. Eſay 29. 19. Matth. 15 9. Mar. 7. 7.

Anno

XV.

The perfection of the Law, and the imperfection of man.

Levit.18.5. Gal.3.12. 1 Tim.1.18. Rom.7.12. Pſal.19.7,8,9. Deut.5.29. Rom.10.3. 1 Kin.8.46. Chron.6.36. Eccleſ.7.22. Prov.20.9. 1 Joh.1.18. 1ohn 1.18. Rom. 10.4. Gal.3 13. Deut.27.26. Phil.2.15. Iſai.64,6. Luk.17.10.

THe Law of God we confeſſe and acknowledge moſt juſt, moſt equall, moſt holy and moſt perfect, commanding thoſe things, which being wrought in perfection, were able to give life, and to bring man to eternall felicity. But our Nature is ſo corrupt, ſo weak and imperfect, that we are never able to fulfill the works of the Law in perfection; yea, *if we ſay we have no ſin* (even after we are regenerate) *we deceive our ſelves, and the Verity of God is not in us.* And therefore it behoveth us to apprehend Chriſt Jeſus with Juſtice and Satisfaction, who is the End and Accompliſhment of the Law to all that believe, by whom we are ſet at this liberty, that the curſe and malediction of the Law fall not upon us, albeit we fulfill not the ſame in all points: For God the Father beholding us in the Body of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, accepteth our unperfect obedience, as were perfect, and covered our works which are defiled with many ſpots, with the Juſtice of his Son. We do not mean that we are ſet ſo at liberty, that we owe no obedience to the Law (for that before we have plainly confeſſed) but this we affirm, That no man in earth (Chriſt Jeſus onely accepted) hath given, giveth, or ſhall give in work, that obedience to the Law, which the Law requireth; But when we have done all things, we muſt fall down and unfainedly confeſſe, That we are unprofitable ſervants. And therefore whoſoever boaſt themſelves of the merits of their own works, or put their truſt in the works of Supererogation, they boaſt themſelves of that which is not, and put their truſt in damnable Idolatry.

XVI.

Of the Church.

Mat.28.20. Epheſ.1.4. Col.1.18. Epheſ.5.23, 24,25,26. Apoc.7.8. Epheſ.2.19.

AS we believe in God the Father, Son, and holy Ghoſt, ſo do we moſt earneſtly believe, That from the beginning there hath beene, now is, and to the end of the world ſhall be, A Church; that is to ſay, A Company and Multitude of men choſen of God, who rightly worſhip and embrace him by true faith in Chriſt Jeſus, who is the onely Head of the ſame Church, which alſo is the Body & Spouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, which Church is catholike, that is, Univerſal, becauſe it containeth the elect of all Ages, all Realms, Nations and Tongues, be they of the Jews, or be they of the Gentiles, who have Communion or Society with God the Father, and with his Son Chriſt Jeſus, through the Sanctification of his holy Spirit; and therefore it is called, Communion (not of profane perſons) but of Saints, who are Citizens of the heavenly *Jeruſalem*, have the fruition of the moſt ineſtimable benefits; to wit, of one God, one Lord Jeſus, one Faith, and one Baptiſme; without the which Church there is neither life nor eternall felicity: And therefore we utterly abhorre the blaſphemy of thoſe that affirm, That men that live according to equity and juſtice ſhall be ſaved, what Religion ſoever they have profeſſed: For as without

without Chriſt Jeſus there is neither life nor ſalvation: ſo ſhall there none bee participant thereof, but ſuch as the Father hath given unto his Sonne Chriſt Jeſus, and thoſe in time to come to him, avow his doctrine, and beleeve in him (we comprehend the Children, with the faithfull Parents) This Church is inviſibly known onely to God, who alone knoweth it, whom hee hath choſen, and comprehendeth as well (as is ſaid) the Elect that be departed (commonly called the Church triumphant) as thoſe that yet live, and fight againſt ſin and Sathan, as ſhall live hereafter. Anno

John 5.24. John 17.6. 1 Tim.2.19 John 13.18. Epheſ.1.10. Col.1.10. Heb.12.4.

XVII.

The immortalitie of the Soules.

THe Elect departed are in peace, and reſt from their labours, not that they ſleep, and come to a certain oblivion (as ſome fantaſtick heads do affirme) but that they are delivered from all fear, all torment, and all temptation, the which we and all Gods Elect are ſubject unto in this life, and therefore doe bear the name of the Church militant. As contrary alwayes the reprobate and unfaithfull departed, have anguiſh, torment and paine, that cannot be expreſſed, ſo that neither are the one nor the other in ſuch ſleepe, that they feele not joy or torment, as the Parable of Chriſt Jeſus in the ſixteenth of *Luke*, his words to the Theefe. and theſe words of the ſouls crying under the Altar: *O Lord, thou that art righteous and juſt, how long ſhalt thou not revenge our blood upon them that dwell upon the earth*, doth plainly teſtifie.

Apoc.14.13. Iſai.25.8. Apoc 7.16.17 Apoc.21.4. Apoc 16.10,11 Iſai.66.24. Mark 9.44,36, 48. Luke 23.43. Luke 16.24, 25. Apoc.6.9,10.

XVIII.

Of the Notes by the which the true Church is diſcerned from the falſe, and who ſhall be Judge of the Doctrine.

BEcauſe that Sathan from the beginnig hath laboured to deck his peſtilent Synagogue with the Title of the Church of God, and hath inflamed the hearts of cruell murtherers to perſecute, trouble and moleſt the true Church and Members thereof, as *Cain* did *Abel*, *Iſhmael*, *Iſaac*, *Eſau*, *Jacob*, and the whole Prieſthood of the *Jewes*, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and his Apoſtles after him. It is a thing moſt requiſite, that the true Church be diſcerned from the filthy Synagogue, by cleere and perfect Notes, leſt we being deceived, receive and embrace to our own condemnation the one for the other. The Notes, Signes, and aſſured Tokens whereby the Immaculate Spouſe of Chriſt Jeſus is knowne from the horrible Harlot the Church malignant, we affirm, are neither antiquity, title uſurped, lineall deſcents, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving any errour; For *Cain* in age and title was preferred to *Abel* and *Seth*. *Ieruſalem* had prerogative above all places of the earth, where alſo were the Prieſts lineally deſcended from *Aaron*, and greater multitude followed the Scribes, Phariſees, and Prieſts, then unfainedly believed and approved Chriſt Jeſus and his Doctrine; and yet (as we ſuppoſe) no man of whole judgement will grant

Gen.4.8. Gen.21.9. Gen.27.41. Mat.23.34. Ioh.15.18,19. John 11 35. Ioh.15.20,24. Act.4.1,&c. Act 5.17,&c. Gen.4.1. Pſal48.1,2. Mat 5.35. John 12.42. Epheſ.2.20. Act.2.42. John 10,27. John 18.37. 1 Cor.1.13.

Anno

1 Cor.11.20, 23. Mat.28 19 20 Mark 16.15. Rom 4 11. Matth 18 20. 1 Cor 1 2. 2 Cor.1 1. Gal.1 2. Epheſ.1 1. Acts 16.9,10, 18. 1 Cor,1.8 c. Act.20 17,&c. John 20.31. 2 Tim 3 16 17 2 Pet.1 20,21.

that any of the forenamed were the Church of God: The Notes therefore of the true Church of God, we beleeve, confeſſe, and avow, to be firſt the true preaching of the Word of God; in which God hath revealed himſelf to us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles doe declare. Secondly, the right adminiſtration of the Sacraments of Chriſt Jeſus, which may be annexed to the word and promiſe of God, to ſeale and confirme the ſame in our hearts. Laſtly, Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline uprightly miniſtred, as Gods Word preſcribeth, whereby vice is repreſſed, and vertue nouriſhed, whereſoever then theſe former Notes are ſeen, and of any time continuall (be the number never ſo few above two or three) there without all doubt is the true Church of Chriſt, who according to his promiſe is in the midſt of them; not of that univerſall (of which we have before ſpoken) but particular, ſuch as was in *Corinthus*, *Galatia*, *Epheſus*, and other places in which the Miniſterie was planted by *Paul*, and were of himſelfe named the Churches of God: and ſuch Churches we the Inhabitants of the Realme of *Scotland*, profeſſours of Chriſt Jeſus, confeſſe us to have in our Cities, Townes, and places reformed: For the Doctrine taught in our Churches, is contained in the written Word of God, to wit, in the Books of the New and Old Teſtaments; in thoſe Books we meane, which of ancient have been reputed Canonicall, in the which we affirme that all things neceſſary to

John 5 29. be beleeved for the ſalvation of mankinde is ſufficiently expreſſed. The interpretation whereof, we confeſſe, neither appertaineth unto any private nor publike perſon; neither yet to any Church for any prehemi-

Epheſ 4 4 nence or prerogative perſonall or locall, which one hath above another, but appertaineth to the Spirit of God, by the which alſo the Scripture was written. When controverſie then hapneth for the right underſtanding of any place or ſentence of Scripture, or for the reformation of any abuſe within the Church of God, we ought not ſo much to looke what men before us have ſaid and done, as unto that which the Holy Ghoſt uniformly ſpeaketh within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that which Chriſt Jeſus himſelf did, and commanded to be done. For this is a thing univerſally granted, That the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of unitie, is in nothing contrary to himſelfe. If then the interpretation, determination or ſentence of any Doctor, Church or Councell, repugne to the plain Word of God, written in any other place of Scripture, it is a thing moſt certain that there is not the true underſtanding and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt; ſuppoſing that Counſels, Realms, and Nations have approved and received the ſame. For we dare not receive and admit any Interpretation, which directly oppugneth to any principall point of our faith, to any other plain text of Scripture, or yet to the rule of charitie.

XIX.

The Authoritie of the Scriptures.

1 Tim.3.16,17 AND we beleeve and confeſſe the Scriptures of God ſufficient to inſtruct, and make the man of God perfect, ſo do we affirm and avow the Authoritie of the ſame to be of God, and neither to depend on men

men nor Angels: We affirme therefore, That ſuch as alleadge the Scriptures to have no authority, but that which is received from the Church, to be blaſphemous againſt God, and injurious to the true Church, which alwayes heareth and obeyeth the voice of her own Spouſe and Paſtour, but taketh not upon her to be Miſtreſſe over the ſame. Anno Geneſ. 27.

XX.

Of the Generall Councells, of their Power, Authoritie, and Cauſe of their Convention.

AS we not raſhly condemne that which godly men aſſembled together in Generall Councells, lawfully gathered, have approved unto us: So without juſt examination dare we not receive whatſoever is obtruded unto men, under the name of Generall Councells, for plain it is, that as they were men, ſo have ſome of them manifeſtly erred, and that in matters of great weight and importance. So far then as the Councell proveth the Determination and Commandment, that it giveth by the plain Word of God, ſo far do we reverence and imbrace the ſame. But if men under the name of a Councell pretend to forge unto us new Articles of our Faith, or to make Conſtitutions repugning to the Word of God, then utterly we may refuſe the ſame, as the Doctrine of Devils, which draweth our ſouls from the voice of our onely God, to follow the Doctrines and Conſtitutions of men. The cauſe then why Generall Councells convened, was neither to make any perpetuall Law (which God before had not made) neither yet to forge new Articles of our beliefe, neither to give the Word of God authority, much leſſe to make that to be his Word, or yet the true interpretation of the ſame, which was not before by his holy Will expreſſed in his Word. But the cauſe of Councells (we mean of ſuch as merited the name of Councel) was partly for Confutation of Hereſies, and for giving publike Confeſſion of their Faith to the poſterities following, which both they did by the authority of Gods written Word, and not by any opinion or prerogative that they could not erre, by reaſon of their generall aſſembly. And this we judge to have been the chiefe cauſe of Generall Councells. The other was for good policie and Order to be conſtituted and obſerved in the Church, in which (as in the houſe of God) it becometh all things to be done decently, and in order: not that we think that one Policie, and one Order in Ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places; for as Ceremonies (ſuch as men have deviſed) are but temporall, ſo may, and ought they to be changed, when they rather foſter ſuperſtition, then that they edifie the Church uſing the ſame.

Gal 2. 11, 12, 13, 14. 1 Tim. 4. 1. 23. Col. 2. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. Act. 15. 1, &c. 1 Tim. 3. 15. Heb. 3. 2. 1 Cor. 14. 40.

XXI.

Of the Sacraments.

AS the Fathers under the Law, beſides the verity of the Sacrifices had two chief Sacraments, to wit, Circumciſion and the Paſſeover, the deſpiſers and contemners whereof were not reputed for Gods people: ſo

Gen. 17. 10. Exod. 12. 32. Gen. 17. 4. Num. 9. 13.

Anno

ſo we acknowledge and confeſſe, That we now in time of the Goſpel, have two Sacraments onely, inſtituted by the Lord Jeſus, and commanded to be uſed by all thoſe that will be reputed to be Members of his Body; to wit, Baptiſme; and, The Supper, or Table of the Lord Jeſus, called, The Communion of his Body and Blood. And theſe Sacraments (as well of the Old as of the New Teſtament) were inſtituted of God, not onely to make a viſible difference betwixt his people, and thoſe that were without his league; but alſo to exerciſe the Faith of his children, and by participation of the ſame Sacraments, to ſeale in their hearts the aſſurance of his promiſe, and of that moſt bleſſed Conjunction, Union, and Societie, which the Elect have with their Head, Chriſt Jeſus. And thus we utterly condemne the vanity of thoſe, that affirme Sacraments to be nothing elſe but naked and bare ſignes: No, we aſſuredly beleeve, That by Baptiſme we are ingrafted into Jeſus Chriſt, to be made partakers of his Juſtice, by the which our ſinnes are covered and remitted. And alſo, That in the Supper rightly uſed, Chriſt Jeſus is ſo joyned with us, that he becometh the very nouriſhment and food of our ſoules. Not that we imagine any Tranſubſtantiation of Bread into Chriſts naturall Body; and of Wine into his naturall Blood (as the Papiſts have perniciouſly taught, and damnably beleeved) but this Union and Communion which we have with the Body and Blood of Chriſt Jeſus in the right uſe of the Sacraments, is wrought by operation of the holy Ghoſt, who by true Faith carrieth us above all things that are viſible, carnall, and earthly, and maketh us to feed upon the Body and Blood of Chriſt Jeſus, which was once broken and ſhed for us, which now is in the heaven, and appeareth in the preſence of his Father for us. And yet notwithſtanding the far diſtance of place which is betwixt his Body now glorified in the heaven, and us now mortall in this earth: Yet we moſt aſſuredly beleeve, That the Bread that we break is the Communion of Chriſts Body; and, The Cup which we bleſſe, is The Communion of his Blood. So that we confeſſe and undoubtedly beleeve, That the faithfull in the right uſe of the Lords Table, ſo do eat the Body and drink the Blood of the Lord Jeſus, That he remaineth in them, and they in him: Yea, That they are ſo made fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, That as the eternall God-head hath given to the fleſh of Chriſt Jeſus (which of the owne condition and nature was mortall, and corruptible) life and immortalitie, ſo doth Chriſt Jeſus Fleſh and Blood eaten and drunken by us, give to us the ſame prerogatives; which albeit we confeſſe, are neither given unto us at that onely time, neither yet by the proper power and vertue of the Sacraments onely; yet we affirme, That the faithfull in the right uſe of the Lords Table hath ſuch conjunction with Chriſt Jeſus, as the naturall man cannot comprehend: yea, and further we affirme, That albeit the faithfull oppreſſed by negligence, and manly infirmity, doth not profit ſo much as they would at the very inſtant action of the Supper, yet ſhall it after bring forth fruit, as lively ſeed ſowne in good ground; for the holy Spirit which can never be divided from the right inſtitution of the Lord Jeſus, will not fruſtrate the faithfull, of the fruit of that myſticall action; but all this we ſay cometh by true Faith, which

Mat.28.19. Mar.16.17. Mat.26.26. Mar.14.22. Luke 22.19. 1 Cor.11.24. & 10.16.

Rom.6.3,4,5. Gal.3.27.

Mat.16.19. Luke 24.51. Act.1.11. Act.3.21. 1 Cor.10, &c.

Epheſ 5.30. Matth.27.50. Mar.15.31. Luke 23.46. John 14.30. & 6.51,53,54, 55,56,57,58.

which apprehendeth Christ Jesus, who onely maketh his Sacraments effectuall unto us, and therefore whosoever slandereth us, as though we affirmed or beleeved Sacraments to be openly naked and bare signes, do injurie unto us, and speak against a manifest truth. But this liberally and frankly we must confesse, That we make a distinction betwixt Christ Jesus in his naturall substance, and betwixt the elements in the Sacramentall signes. So that we will neither worship the signes, in place of that which is signified by them, neither yet do we despise and interpret them, as unprofitable and vain, but do use them with all reverence, examining our selves diligently before that so we do, because we are assured by the mouth of the Apostle, that such as eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup unworthily, are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus. Anno 1 Cor.11.28, 29.

XXII.

Of the right administration of the Sacraments.

THat Sacraments be rightly ministred, we judge two things requisite: The one, that they be ministred by lawfull Ministers, whom we affirme to be onely they that are appointed to the Preaching of the Word, or unto whose mouthes God hath put some Sermon of Exhortation, they being men of lawfull choosing thereto by some Church. The other, That they be ministred in such elements, and in such sort as God hath appointed. Else we affirme, That they cease to be right Sacraments of Christ Jesus. And therefore it is, that we flee the societie with the Papisticall Church, in participation of their Sacraments; First, because their Ministers are no Ministers of Jesus Christ (yea, which is more horrible) they suffer women, whom the holy Ghost will not suffer to teach in the Congregation, to Baptize. And secondly, because they have so adulterate, both the one Sacrament and the other, with their own inventions, that no part of Christs action abideth in the originall purity, for Oyl, Salt, Spittle, and such like in Baptisme, are but mens inventions, Adoration, Veneration, bearing through Streets and Townes, and keeping of bread in Boxes, are prophanation of Christs Sacraments, and no use of the same: For Christ Jesus said, *Take and eat, &c. Do ye this in remembrance of me.* By which words and charge he sanctified Bread and Wine to be the Sacrament of his Body and Blood; to the end, that one should be eaten, and that all should drink of the other; and not that they should be kept to be worshipped and honoured as God, as the blinde Papists have done heretofore, who also have committed Sacriledge, stealing from the people one part of the Sacrament, to wit, The blessed Cup. Moreover, that the Sacraments be rightly used, it is required, That the end and cause why the Sacraments were instituted, be understood and observed, as well of the Minister as the Receivers: for if the opinion be changed in the Receiver, the right use ceaseth: which is most evident by the rejection of the sacrifices (as also if the teacher teach false Doctrine) which were odious and abhominable unto God (albeit they were his own ordinances) because that wicked men used them to another Mat.26.26,&c Mar.14.22,&c Luk.22.19,&c 1 Cor.11.24.

Anno

end then God hath ordained. The ſame affirm we of the Sacraments in the Papiſticall Church, in which we affirm the whole action of the Lord Jeſus to be adulterate, as well in the externall form, as in the end and opinion; What Chriſt Jeſus did, and commanded to be done, is evident by the three Evangeliſts who ſpeak of the Sacrament, & by S. *Paul*; what the Prieſt doth at his Altar, we need not to rehearſe. The end and cauſe of Chriſts inſtitution, and why the ſelf-ſame ſhould be uſed, is expreſſed in theſe words, *Do ye this in remembrance of me, as oft as ye ſhall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye ſhall ſhew forth* (that is, extoll, Preach, and magnifie) *the Lords death till he come.* But to what end, and in what opinion the Prieſts ſay their Maſſes, let the words of the ſame their own Doctours and Writings witneſſe; to wit, That they are Mediatours betwixt Chriſt and his Church, to offer unto God the Father, a Sacrifice propitiatorie for the ſinnes of the quick and the dead: Which Doctrine, as blaſphemous to Chriſt Jeſus, and making derogation to the ſufficiencie of his onely Sacrifice once offered for purgation of all thoſe that ſhall be ſanctified, we utterly abhorre, deteſt, and renounce.

Note.

1 Cor. 11. 25, 26

Heb. 9. 27, 28

XXIII.

To whom Sacraments appertaine.

VVE confeſſe and acknowledge, That Baptiſme appertaineth as well to the infants of the faithfull, as unto thoſe that be of age and diſcretion; And ſo we condemne the errour of the Anabaptiſts, who deny Baptiſme to appertaine to children, before that they have Faith and underſtanding. But the Supper of the Lord we confeſſe to appertaine onely to ſuch as have been of the houſhold of Faith, can try and examine themſelves, as well in their Faith, as in their duties towards their neighbours. Such as eat at that holy Table without Faith, or being at diſſenſion and diviſion with their brethren do eat unworthily. And therefore it is, that in our Churches Miniſters take publike and particular examination of the knowledge and converſation of ſuch as are to be admitted to the Table of the Lord Jeſus.

Col. 2. 11, 12

Rom. 4. 11. Gen. 17. 10. Mat. 28. 19.

1 Cor. 28. 29.

XXIV.

Of the Civill Magiſtrate.

VVE confeſſe and acknowledge Empires, Kingdomes, Dominions and Titles, to be diſtincted and Ordained by God, the powers and authorities in the ſame (be it of Emperours in their Empires, of Kings in their Realms, Dukes and Princes in their Dominions, or of other Magiſtrates in free Cities) to be Gods holy Ordinance, ordained for manifeſtation of his owne glory, and for the ſingular profit and commoditie of mankinde. So that whoſoever goeth about to take away, or to confound the holy ſtate of Civill Policies, now long eſtabliſhed; We affirm the ſame men not onely to be enemies to mankinde, but alſo wickedly to fight againſt Gods expreſſe will. We further confeſſe and acknowledge, That ſuch perſons as are placed in authority, are to be loved, honoured,

Rom. 13. 1. Titus 3. 1. 1 Peter 13. 2.

Rom. 13. 2.

Rom. 13. 7.

honoured, feared, and holden in moſt reverent eſtimation, becauſe they are the Lieutenants of God, in whoſe Seſſion God himſelf doth ſit and judge (yea, even the Judges and Princes themſelves) to whom by God is given the ſword, to the praiſe and defence of good men, and to revenge and puniſh all open malefactours. To Kings, moreover Princes, Rulers, and Magiſtrates, to affirme, that chiefly and moſt principally the reformation and purgation of Religion appertaineth, ſo that not only they are appointed for civill policie, but alſo for maintenance of the true Religion, and for ſuppreſſing of Idolatry and Superſtition whatſoever, as in *David*, *Joſaphat*, *Ezekias*, *Joſias*, and others, highly commended for their zeal in the cauſe, may be eſpied. And therefore we confeſſe and avow, that ſuch as reſiſt the ſupreme Powers (doing that which appertaineth to their charge) do reſiſt Gods Ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltleſſe: And further we affirme, that whoſoever deny unto them their aide, counſell, and comfort, while the Princes and Rulers vigilantly travell in the executing of their Office, that the ſame men denie their help, ſupport and counſell to God, who by the preſence of his Lieutenant craveth it of them.

Anno

1 Pet 2. 17. Pſal 82. 1.

1 Chron. 12. 23, 24, 25. Chap. 26. 2 Chron. 29. 30, 31, chap. 2 Chron 34, & 35 chap.

XXV.

The gifts freely given to the Church.

ALbeit that the word of God truly preached the Sacraments rightly miniſtred, and diſcipline executed according to the Word of God, be the certain and infallible ſignes of the true Church, yet doe we not ſo meane, that every particular perſon joyned with ſuch a company, be an Elect Member of Chriſt Jeſus, for we acknowledge and confeſſe that Darnell, Cockle, and Chaffe may be ſowne, grow in great abundance, lie in the middeſt of the Wheate, that is, the Reprobate may be joyned in the ſocietie of the Elect, and may externally uſe with them the benefits of the Words and Sacraments. But ſuch being but temporall profeſſors in mouth, but not in heart, doe fall backe and continue to the end. And therefore have they no fruit of Chriſts death, reſurrection and aſcenſion. But ſuch as with heart unfained beleeve, and with mouth boldly confeſſe the Lord Jeſus (as before we have ſaid) ſhall moſt aſſuredly receive theſe gifts, firſt in this life remiſſion of ſinnes, and by faith onely in Chriſts blood, in ſo much, that albeit ſinne remain and continually abide in theſe mortall bodies, yet it is not imputed unto us, but is remitted and covered with Chriſts juſtice. Secondly, in the generall judgement there ſhall be given to every man and woman reſurrection of the fleſh For the Sea ſhall give her dead, the earth thoſe that therein be incloſed; yea, the Eternall our God ſhall ſtretch out his hand upon the duſt, and the dead ſhall ariſe incorruptible, and that in the ſubſtance of the ſame fleſh that every man now bears, to receive according to their works glory and puniſhment, for ſuch as now delight in vanitie, crueltie, filthineſſe, ſuperſtition, or idolatry ſhall be adjudged to the fire inextinguible, in the which they ſhall be tormented for ever, as well in their bodie, as in their ſoules; which

Mat. 13. 24, 25, 26, &c.

Mat. 13 20, 21

Rom 10. 9, 13.

Rom. 7, &c. 2 Cor 5. 21.

John 5 28, 29. Apoc 20. 28. Heb 9 25, 26, 27.

Mat 25 31. Apoc. 14. 10.

Rom. 26 7, 8, 9, 10.

Phil 3 21. 1 Cor, 15. 28.

Anno give to ſerve the devill in all abomination. But ſuch as continue in well doing to the end, boldly profeſſing the Lord Jeſus, to whoſe glorified Body all his Elect ſhall be like, when he ſhall appear againe to Judgment, and ſhall render up the Kingdom to God his Father, who then ſhall be, and ever ſhall remain All in All things God bleſſed for ever: To whom, with the Son, and with the holy Ghoſt, be all Honour and Glory, now and for ever. *Amen.*

Ariſe, O Lord, and let thine enemies be confounded, let them flie from thy preſence that hate thy holy Name: Give thy ſervants ſtrength to ſpeake thy Word in boldneſſe, and let all Nations attain to thy true knowledge.

This we confirmed, 1567. in the firſt Parliament of *Iames 6* held by the Earle *Murray*, and all Acts in any Parliament before whatſoever, againſt the truth, aboliſhed.

These Acts and Articles were read in face of Parliament, and ratified by the three States of this Realm, at *Edinburgh* the 17 day of *July*, in the yeer of our Lord 1560.

The Lord. of the Articles are a Commitee of 24. whereof in former times, there was eight Lords, eight Church-men, who were called Lords, and eight Commons: So from the greater part they were named Lords, and of the Articles, Becauſe all Articles and Heads that are to paſſe in Parliament are firſt brought to them, who having diſcuſſed them, ſends them to the Houſe of Parliament. The latin Hiſtories calls their Lords of the Articles *Apoſtoli.*

This our Confeſſion was publikely read, firſt in audience of the Lords of the Articles; and after, in the audience of the whole Parliament, where were preſent, not onely ſuch as profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, but alſo a great number of the adverſaries of our Religion, ſuch as the forenamed Biſhops, and ſome other of the Temporall State, who were commanded in Gods Name to object, if they could ſay any thing againſt that Doctrine. Some of our Miniſters were preſent, ſtanding upon their feet, ready to have anſwered, in caſe any would have defended Papiſtry, and impugned our affirmatives. But while that no objection was made, there was a day appointed for concurrence in that and other Heads. Our Confeſſion was read every Article by it ſelf over again, as they were written in order, and the voice of every man was required accordingly. Of the Temporall State, onely gave their voice on the contrary, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Simmerwaile* and *Borthwicke*: And yet for their diſaſſenting, they produced no better reaſon, but, We will believe as our Fathers believed. The Biſhops (Papiſticall we mean) ſpake nothing. The reſt of the whole three States by their publike Votes, affirmed the Doctrine; and the rather, Becauſe that fain the Biſhops would, but durſt ſay nothing on the contrary; for this was the Vote of the Earle Marſhall; *It is long ſince I have had ſome favour unto the Truth, and ſince that I have had a ſuſpicion of the Papiſticall Religion. But I praiſe my God, who this day hath fully reſolved me in the one and the other: For ſeeing that the Biſhops, who for their learning can, and for their zeal that they ſhould bear to the Verity, would, as I ſuppoſe, have gainſaid any thing that directly repugneth to the Verity of God. Seeing, I ſay, the Biſhops here preſent ſpeak nothing in the contrary of the Doctrine propoſed, I cannot but hold it for the very Truth of God, and the contrary to be deceivable Doctrine. And therefore ſo far as in me lieth, I approve the one, and condemne the other: And do farther ask of God, That not onely I, but alſo all my poſterity, may enjoy the comfort of the Doctrine that this day our ears have heard. And yet more I muſt Vote, as it were by way of Proteſtation, That if any perſon Eccleſiaſticall ſhall after this oppoſe themſelves to this our Confeſſion, that they that have no place nor credit, conſidering that they having long advertiſement, and full knowledge of this our Confeſſion, none is now found*

The Earle Marſhall his pious voyce in Parliament.

in

in lawfull, free, and quiet Parliament to oppose themselves to that which we professe: And therefore if any of this Generation pretend to do it after this, I protest he be repute rather one that loveth his own commodity, and the glory of the world, then the Truth of God, and the salvation of mens souls. Anno

After the Voting and Ratification of this our Confession by the whole Body of the Parliament, there were also pronounced two Acts; the one against the Masse, and the abuse of the Sacraments; and the other against the Supremacy of the Pope. The Tenour whereof followeth.

An Act against the Masse, and the Sayers and Hearers thereof.

IN the Parliament holden at Edinburgh *the tenth of July, the yeer of God,* 1560. *The said Parliament being continued to the first of August next thereafter following, with continuation of dayes, upon the twenty fourth day of the said moneth of August, the three States then being present: The which day, forsomuch as Almighty God, by his most true and blessed Word, hath declared the Reverence and Honour which should be given to him; and by his Son Jesus Christ hath declared the true use of the Sacraments, willing the same to be used according to his Will and Word; By the which it is notorious, and perfectly knowne, That the Sacraments of Baptisme, and of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, hath been this long time past, corrupted by the Papisticall Church, and by their Ministers. And at this present time, notwithstanding the Reformation already made according to Gods Word; yet nevertheless, there is some of the same Popes Church that stubbornly persevereth in their wicked Idolatry, saying Masse, and Baptizing conform to the Popes Church, prophaning therethrough the Sacraments aforesaid in quiet secret places, regarding therein neither God nor his Word:*

This Act is particularly confirmed 1567. in the Parliament under *James* 6. holden by the Earl *Murray*.

Therefore it is Decreed and Ordained in this present Parliament, That no manner of person or persons, in any time coming, administrate any of the Sacraments secretly, in any manner of way, but they that are admitted, and having power to that effect; Nor say Masse, nor yet heare Masse, nor be present thereat, under the pain of confiscation of all their goods, and punishing of their bodies at the discretion of the Magistrates within whose Jurisdiction such persons happeneth to be apprehended for the first fault; banishing out of the Realme for the second fault, and chastising by death for the third fault. And Ordaineth all Sheriffs, Stewards, Baylies, and their Deputies, Provosts and Bayliffs of Burroughs, and other Judges within this Realm, to make diligent sute and inquisition within their Bounds, where any such usurped Ministry is used, Masse-saying, or they that be present at the doing thereof, ratifying, and approving the same, and take, and apprehend them, to the effect, that the pains above written may be executed upon them.

Extractum de Libro Parliamenti, per me, &c.
Sic Subscribitur.
Jacobus Magill.

The

Anno

The Act for the aboliſhing of the Pope, and his uſurped Authority in SCOTLAND.

This alſo was confirmed by one particular Act 1567 by the Parliament holden by the Earle *Murray*.

IN the Parliament holden at Edinburgh *the tenth of* July, *the year of God* 1560. *And thereafter continued to the firſt day of* Auguſt *next thereafter following, with continuation of dayes upon the* 24 *of the ſaid Moneth of* Auguſt, *the three States then being preſent, underſtanding that the Juriſdiction and Authority of the Biſhop of* Rome, *called the Pope, uſed in this Realm in times paſt hath been very hurtſome and prejudiciall to our Soveraigns Authority and Common-weale of this Realm. Therefore hath decreed and ordained, That the Biſhop of* Rome *hath no Juriſdiction nor Authority in this Realm in times comming. And that none of our ſaid Soveraigns Subjects, claim, and deſire in any time hereafter title or right by the ſaid Biſhop of* Rome, *or his ſect, to any thing within this Realm, under the pains of Baratrie, that is to ſay, Proſcription, baniſhment, and never to brook and enjoy honour, office, nor dignity within this Realm; and the contraveners hereof to be called before the Juſtice, or his Deputies, or before the Lords of the Seſſion, and puniſhed therefore, confirm to the Laws of this Realm; and the furniſhers of them with fynance of money, and purchaſers of their title of right, or maintainers or defenders of them, ſhall incur the ſame pains: And that no Biſhop, nor other Prelat of this Realm, uſe any Juriſdiction in times to come, by the ſaid Biſhop of* Romes *Authority, under the pain aforeſaid.*

Extractum de Libro Parliamenti, per me,
Ut ſupra.

These and other things orderly done in lawfull and free Parliament, we directed to *France* to our Soveraign Sir *James Sandelandes* Lord of Saint-*John*, with the Acts of the ſaid Parliament, that by them they might be ratified, according to the promiſes of their Majeſties Commiſſioners made to us, as by the Contract of Peace may evidently appear. But how the ſaid Lord of Saint-*John* was received and uſed, we liſt not to rehearſe: But alwayes no ratification brought he unto us, but that we little regarded, or yet do regard; for all that we did, was rather to ſhew our dutifull obedience, then to beg of them any ſtrength to our Religion, which from God hath full power, and needed not the ſuffrage of man, but in ſo far as man had need to beleeve it, if that ever he ſhall have participation of the life everlaſting. But ſomewhat muſt we anſwer to ſuch as ſince hath whiſpered, that it was but a pretended Parliament, a privie Convention and no lawfull Parliament. Their reaſons are, The King and Queen were in *France*, there was neither Scepter, Sword, nor Crown born, &c. And ſome Principall Lords were abſent. We anſwer, That we rather wiſh the Papiſts to be quiet then too curiouſly to travell in that Point: for it may be, while they thinke to hurt us, they give the Queene and her authority

Note this diligently.

Queſt.

Anſw.

authority a great blow, and yet amend themſelves nothing. For in whoſe default we pray you was the Queen abſent from this Realm? We think they will not be ſo ſhameleſſe as that they will blame the Proteſtants thereof. Her perſon was abſent, and that to no ſmall grief of our hearts: But were not the States of her Realm aſſembled in her name? Yea, had they not her full power and Commiſſion, yea, the Commiſſion and commandment of her head the King of *France*, to convocate that Parliament, and to do all things that may be done in lawfull Parliament? Even as if our Soveraigns had been there in proper perſons: If they will limit the power of Princes to the places onely where their bodily preſence is, it will be thought ſtrange; for ſo not onely ſhall Kings be compelled to content them with one Realme, but alſo with one Citie: For the bodily preſence of Kings can no more be in divers cities at one inſtant, then that they can be in divers Realms. Hitherto we have underſtood, that whereſoever the great Councellers of the King with his power and Commiſſion are aſſembled, to do any thing at his juſt commandment, That there is the Kings ſufficient preſence and authority, whereſoever his own body be living at freedome and liberty; which if the Papiſts deny, we will finde faults with them, and with the Princes whom they have abuſed, that more will annoy them, then any thing that we can loſe by the inſufficiencie of that Parliament: Which nevertheleſſe we are bold to affirme to have been more lawfull and more free, then any Parliament that they are able to produce this hundred yeeres before it, or yet any that hath enſued ſince it was, (he meanes untill 1566. when this Book was written) for in it the voices of men were free, and given in conſcience, in others they were bought, or given at the devotion of the miſled Prince. All things in it concluded, are able to abide the triall, and not to be conſumed at the proofe of the fire: of others the godly may juſtly call in doubt things determined. To the Sword and Scepter, nor yet to the abſence of ſome Lords, we anſwer nothing. For our adverſaries know well enough that the one is rather a pompe, and vaine-glorious ceremonie, then a ſubſtantiall point of neceſſitie required to a lawfull Parliament: And the abſence of ſome prejudges not the powers of the preſent duely aſſembled: Providing, that due advertiſement be made unto them. But now we return to our Hiſtory.

Anno

Note this I pray you for theſe dayes ſake.

The Parliament diſſolved, conſultation was had, how the Church might be eſtabliſhed in a good and godly policie, which by the Papiſts was altogether defaced. Commiſſion and charge was given to Maſter *John Winram* Sub-priour of S. *Andrews*, Maſter *John Spottiſwood*, *John Willock*, Maſter *John Dowglas* Rectour of S. *Andrews*, Maſter *John Row*, and *John Knox*, to draw in a Volume the Policie and Diſcipline of the Church, as well as they had done the Doctrine, which they did, and preſented it to the Nobility, who did peruſe it many dayes. Some approved it, and willed the ſame to have been ſet forth by a Law, others perceiving their carnall liberty and worldly commodity ſomewhat to be impared thereby, grudged, in ſo much that the name of the Book of Diſcipline became odious unto them. Every thing that repugned to their corrupt imagi-

See how this agrees with the worldlings now adayes.

Anno imaginations was termed in their mockage, Devout imaginations. The cauſe we have before declared, ſome was licentious, ſome had greedily griped the poſſeſſions of the Church; and others thought that they would not lack their part of Chriſts Coat, yea, and that before that ever he was Crucified, as by the Preachers they were oft rebuked. The chief great man that had profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus, and refuſed to ſubſcribe the Book of Diſcipline, was the Lord *Erskin*. And no wonder, for beſides that, he had a very evill woman to his wife, if the Poore, the Schooles, and the Miniſterie of the Church had their owne, his Kitchin would lack two parts and more, of that which he unjuſtly now poſſeſſeth. Aſſuredly ſome of us hath wondered how men that profeſſe godlineſſe could of ſo long continuance hear the threatnings of God againſt theeves and againſt their houſes, and knowing themſelves guilty, in ſuch things as were openly rebuked, and that they never had remorſe of conſcience, neither yet intended to reſtore any thing of that which long they had ſtollen and reft. There were none within the Realme more unmercifull to the poore Miniſters then were they which had greateſt rents of the Churches. But in that we have perceived the old Proverb to be true; *Nothing can ſuffice a wretch.* And again, *The belly hath no eares.* Yet the ſame Book of Diſcipline was ſubſcribed by a great part of the Nobility; To wit, The Duke, the Earle of *Arrane*, the Earles *Argyle*, *Glencarn*, *Merſhell*, *Menteth*, *Morton*, *Rotheſſe*, Lord *James* after Earle of *Murray*, Lords *Teaſter*, *Boyd*, *Uchiltrie*, Maſter of *Maxwell*, Lord *Lindſay* elder, and the Maſter after Lord Barrons, *Drunlaurige*, *Lothingwar*, *Garleiſſe*, *Bargany*, Maſter *Alexander Gordon* Biſhop of *Galloway*, (this Biſhop of *Galloway*, as he renounced Popery, ſo did he Prelacie, witneſſe his ſubſcription of the Book of Diſcipline, as the reſt of the Prelats did who did joyne to the Reformation) *Alexander Campbell* Deane of *Murray*, with a great number moe ſubſcribed and approved the ſaid Book of Diſcipline in the Town-Buith of *Edinburgh*, the 27 day of January, the yeere of our Lord God 1560. by their approbation; In theſe words:

What bleſſings hath been ſince in the houſe of *Erskin*, they know beſt.

WE which have ſubſcribed theſe preſents, having adviſed with the Articles herein ſpecified, and as is above-mentioned from the beginning of this Book, thinks the ſame good and conforme to Gods Word in all points conforme to the Notes and Additions thereto, asked, and promiſe to ſet the ſame forward at the uttermoſt of our powers. Providing that the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and Beneficed men which elſe have adjoyned themſelves to us, brooke the revenues of their Benefices during their life times, they ſuſtaining and upholding the Miniſterie and Miniſters, as is heerein ſpecified, for Preaching of the Word and Miniſtring of the Sacraments.

Note how although the Prelats being convinced of the truth, did ſubſcribe unto it, yet it was with this Proviſo, That they ſhould enjoy their rents for their lives.

What be the contents of the whole Book, and how that this promiſe was illuded from time to time we ſhall after heare.

Shortly

Shortly after the ſaid Parliament were ſent from the Councell Ambaſſadours to *England*, the Earles *Morton* and *Glencarne*, together with *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, yonger. The chief point of their Commiſſion was earneſtly to crave the conſtant aſſiſtance of the Queens Majeſtie of *England*, againſt all forraigne invaſion and common enemies. Anno

That ſame time was the Caſtle of *Semple* hard beſieged and taken. Becauſe the Lord thereof diſobeyed the Lawes and Ordinances of the Councell in many things, and eſpecially in that, that he would maintain the Idolatrie of the Maſſe, and alſo, that he beſet the way to the Earle of *Arrane*, with a great gathering, as he was riding with his accuſtomed company. The Papiſts were proud, for they looked for a new Armie from *France* at the next Spring, and thereof was no ſmall appearance, if God had not otherwiſe provided. For *France* utterly refuſed the confirmation of the Peace contracted at *Leith*, would ratifie no part of our Parliament, diſmiſſed the Lord of *Saint-John*, without a reſolute anſwer, began to gather new Bands of throat-cutters, and to make great preparation for Ships. They further ſent before them certain practiſers, (amongſt whom the Lord *Seaton* who had departed with the French out of *Leith* was one) to raiſe up new troubles within this Realme. And all this came partly of the malice of the houſe of *Guiſe*, who had avowed to revenge the diſpleaſure of their ſiſter both upon *England* and *Scotland*, and partly by inſtigation of proud *Beton*, falſly called Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, of *Dury* Abbot of *Dunfermeling*, and *Saulles Seaton*, and Maſter *John Sinclair* Deane of *Reſtalrige*, with ſuch others of the French faction, who had openly ſpoken, That they had refuſed all portion of *Scotland*, unleſſe that it were under the government of a French-man. *Recompence them (O Lord) as thou knoweſt moſt expedient for thine owne glory, and for the perpetuall ſhame of all Traitours to their Common-wealth.* The certain knowledge of all theſe things came to our eares, whereat many were afraid, and divers ſuſpected that *England* would not be ſo forward in times to come, conſidering that their former expences were ſo great. The principall comfort remained with the Preachers, for they aſſured us in Gods Name that God would performe in all perfection that worke in our hands. The beginning whereof he had ſo mightily maintained, becauſe it was not ours, but his own. And therefore exhorted us, That we ſhould conſtantly proceed to reform all abuſes, and to plant the Miniſtery of the Church, as by Gods word we might juſtifie it; and then commit the ſucceſſe of all to our God, in whoſe power the diſpoſition of Kingdoms ſtandeth. And ſo we began to do, for troubles appearing, made us give eare to the admonitions of Gods ſervants. And while that we had ſcarcely begun again to implore the help of our God, and to ſhew ſome ſignes of our obedience unto his Meſſengers, and holy Word, Lo the mighty hand of God from above ſent unto us a wonderfull and moſt joyfull deliverance: For unhappy *Francis*, husband to our Soveraigne, ſuddenly periſhed of a rotten eare. But becauſe the death of that young man was not onely the cauſe of joy to us in *Scotland*, but alſo by it were the faithfull in *France* delivered as it were from the preſent death. We think expedient to ſpeak of the ſame ſomewhat more largely.

Note men to their owne countrey.

Note this for our dayes.

Let this teach us to ſeek God.

The death of the yong King of France husband to our Queen.

Anno

Theſe cruell and conjured enemies of God and of all godlineſſe, the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and their faction, who then at their owne appetite plaid the Tyrants in *France*, had determined the deſtruction of all that profeſſed the true knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt within that Realme. What tyrannie late before they had uſed at *Amboyſe*, the Hiſtory of *France* doth witneſſe: now in *Orleance* in the moneth of November, conveaned the King, unhappy *Francis*, the Queen our Soveraigne, and the Queen mother of the King, the Duke of *Guiſe*, with all his faction: The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condie*, his brother.

So that great was the confluence of the Nobilitie, but greater was the aſſembly of the murtherers, for there was not a Hang-man in all *France* which was not there. The priſons were full of the true ſervants of God: The King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condie* were conſtituted Priſoners. The Sheriffe of *Orleance*, a man fearing God, was taken, and ſo were many others of the Towne. Briefly, there was none that profeſſed God or godlineſſe within that Towne, that looked not for the extremity, for the Walles and Gates were night and day kept with the Gariſons of the Guyſians, miſerable men were daily brought in, to ſuffer judgement, but none was ſuffered to depart forth, but at the devotion of the Tyrants.

And ſo they proceeded till the tenth or twelfth of December, when that they thought time to put their bloody councell in execution, and for that purpoſe concluſion was taken, That the King ſhould depart out of the Towne, and lie at a certaine place; which was done to this intent, That there ſhould no ſuite be made to the King for the ſafetie of any mans life, whom they thought worthy of death. And ſo was the Kings houſe in *Orleance* broken up, his beds, cofers, and tapiſtrie ſent away, his owne bootes put on, he ſitting at the Maſſe immediately hereafter to have departed, and ſo their tyrannie to have begun.

When all things, we ſay, were in this readineſſe to ſhed the blood of innocents, the eternall, our God, *who ever watcheth for the preſervation of his owne*, began to worke, and ſuddenly did put his own work in execution, for as the ſaid King ſat at Maſſe, he was ſuddenly ſtricken with an Apoſthume, in that deaf ear that never would hear the Trueth of God, and ſo was he carried to a void and empty houſe, laid upon a palliaſe, unto ſuch time as a Cannaby was ſet up unto him, where he lay till
15. December the fifteenth day of December, in the yeere of God 1560. When his
1560. glory periſhed, and the pride of his ſtubborne heart vaniſhed in ſmoke; And ſo was the ſnare broken; The Tyrants diſappointed of their crueltie; Thoſe that was appointed to death, raiſed, as it were, out of their graves; And we, who by our fooliſhneſſe had made our ſelves ſlaves to ſtrangers, were reſtored againe to freedome and libertie of a free Realme.

O that we had hearts deepely to conſider what are thy wondrous works (O Lord) that we might praiſe thee in the midſt of this moſt obſtinate and wicked generation, and leave the memoriall of the ſame to our poſterities, which alas, we feare ſhall forget theſe thy ineſtimable benefits.

Some

Anno

Some in *France*, after the ſudden death of *Francis* the 2. and calling to minde the death of *Charles* the 9 in blood; and the ſlaughter of *Henry* the 2. did remark the Tragicall ends of theſe three Princes, who had perſecuted Gods ſervants ſo cruelly by their inſtruments the *Guiſians*, and by their Pens both in Proſe and Verſe, did adviſe all other Princes not to authorize any Perſecution or wrong done unto Gods ſervants, leſt they ſhould have the like end. And indeed the following Kings of *France* unto this day, hath found this true by their infortunate and unexpected ends.

The death of this King made great alteration in *France*, *England* and *Scotland*; *France* was erected in ſome eſperance that the tyranny of the *Guiſians* ſhould no longer raigne above them, becauſe God at unawares had broken the ſtaffe whereupon they leaned; but alas, they were deceived: For the ſimplicity of ſome was ſo abuſed, that againſt the Lawes of the Realm, to the Queen mother was committed the Regiment, which lifted up as well the Duke of *Guiſe*, as the cruell Cardinall, for a ſeaſon. The Queen of *England*, and the Councell, remitted our Ambaſſadours. The pride of the Papiſts of *Scotland* began to be abated, and ſome that ever had ſhewn themſelves enemies unto us, began to think, and plainly to ſpeak (amongſt whom the old Sheriff of *Ayre* was one) That they perceived God to fight for us. The Earle of *Arrane* having ſuffered repulſe in his deſigne to marry the Queen of *England*, he began to fancie unto himſelfe that the Queen of *Scotland* bare unto him ſome favour: And ſo he wrote unto her, and ſent for credit a Ring, which the ſaid Queen our Soveraign knew well enough. The Letter and Ring were both preſented to the Queen, and by her received: Such anſwer was returned to the ſaid Earle, after the which he made no further purſuit in that matter: And yet nevertheleſſe he did bear it heavily in heart, and more heavily then his friends would have wiſhed; for grief he was troubled in his underſtanding.

The certainty of the death foreſaid was ſignified unto us both by Sea and Land. By Sea received *John Knox* (who then had great intelligence both with the Churches abroad, and ſome of the Court of *France*) That the King was mortally ſick, and could not well eſcape death. Which Letters received that ſame day at afternoon he paſſed to the Duke to his own lodging at the Church of *Field*, with whom he found the Lord *James* in conference alone: The Earle of *Arrane* was in *Jedburgh*, to whom he opened ſuch news as he had received, and willed them to be of good comfort; for, ſaid he, the advertiſer hath never deceived me: It is the ſame Gentleman that firſt gave us knowledge of the ſlaughter of *Henry* King of *France*; and ſhewed unto them the Letter, but would not expreſſe the mans name. While they were reaſoning in divers purpoſes, and he comforting them: For while (we ſay) they three were familiarly communing together, there came a meſſenger from the Lord *Gray* forth of *Barwick*, aſſuring him of the death of the K. of *France*. Which noyſed abroad, a generall Convention of the Nobility was appointed to be holden at

Anno *Edinburgh* the fifteenth day of *January* following, in the which the Book of diſcipline was peruſed newly over againe, for ſome pretended ignorance, by reaſon that they had not heard it. In that aſſembly was Maſter *Alexander Anderſon* Subprincipall, and Under-Maſter of one of the Schools of *Aberdein*, a man more ſubtill and craftie than either learned or godly, called, who refuſed to diſpute anent his faith, abuſing a place of *Tertullian*, to cloak his ignorance. It was anſwered unto him, That *Tertullian* ſhould not prejudge the Authoritie of the Holy Ghoſt, who by the mouth of *Peter* commandeth us to give reaſon of our faith to every one that requireth the ſame of us; It was farther anſwered, that we neither required him, neither yet any man to diſpute in any point concerning our faith, which was grounded upon Gods Word, and fully expreſſed in his holy Scriptures, for all that we beleeved without controverſie. But we required of him, as of the reſt of Papiſts, that they would ſuffer their Doctrine, Conſtitutions, and Ceremonies to come to triall. And principally, that the Maſſe and the opinion thereof by them taught unto the people, might be laid to the ſquare rule of Gods Word, and unto the right Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, That they might underſtand whether that their Preachers offended, or not, in that, that they affirmed. The Action of the Maſſe to be expreſly repugning unto the laſt Supper of the Lord Jeſus, The ſayer of it to commit horrible blaſphemie in uſurping up him the Office of Chriſt, The hearers to commit damnable Idolatry, and the opinion of it conceived to be a derogation, and as it were a diſanulling of Chriſts death. While the ſaid Maſter *Alexander* denied, that the Prieſt took upon him Chriſts office, to offer for ſin, as he alleaged, a Maſſe book was produced, and in the beginning of the Canon were theſe words read, *Suſcipe Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo & vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius Eccleſia vivorum & mortuum.* Now ſaid the reaſoner, if to offer for the ſinnes of the whole Church, was not the Office of Chriſt Jeſus, yea that Office that to him onely might, and may appertaine, let the Scripture judge. And if a vile Knave, whom ye call Prieſt, proudly taketh the ſame upon him, let your own Books witneſſe. The ſaid Mr. *Alexander* anſwered, Chriſt offered the propitiatory, and that could none do but he; but we offer the remembrance. Whereto it was anſwered, We praiſe God that ye have denyed a ſacrifice propitiatorie to be in the Maſſe; and yet we offer to prove, that in moe than a hundreth places of your Papiſticall Doctors this propoſition is affirmed, *The Maſſe is ſaid to be a Sacrifice propitiatory.* But the ſecond part, where ye alleage that ye offer Chriſt in remembrance; we ask firſt, Unto whom do ye offer him? and next by what authority are ye aſſured of well-doing? In God the Father there falleth no Oblivion: And if ye will ſhift and ſay, that ye offer it not as God, were forgetfull, but as willing to apply Chriſts merits to his Church. We demand of you, What power & commandment have ye ſo to do? We know that our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus commanded his Apoſtles to do that which he did *in remembrance of him*, But plain it is, that *Chriſt took bread, gave thanks, brake bread, and gave it to his diſciples, ſaying, Take ye, eate ye, this is my body which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me, &c.* Here we finde a commandment, to take,

Note this well

Note.

to

to eat, to take and to drinke; but to offer Chriſts Body either for remembrance or application, we finde not: And therefore we ſay, To take upon you an Office which is not given unto you, is unjuſt uſurpation, and no lawfull power. The ſaid Maſter *Alexander* being more then aſtoniſhed, would have ſhifted; but then the Lords willed him to anſwer directly, whereto he anſwered, That he was better ſeen in Philoſophie, then in Theologie. Then was commanded M. *John Leſlie* (who then was Parſon of *Une*, and now Abbot of *Londors*, and after was made Biſhop of *Roſſe*) to anſwer to the former Argument; and he with great gravity began to anſwer, *If our Maſter have nothing to ſay to it, I have nothing; for I know nothing but the Cannon Law: And the greateſt reaſon that ever I could finde there, is,* Nolumus *and* Volumus, *and yet we underſtand that now* he is the onely Patron of the Maſſe. But it is no marvell, for we underſtand that he is a Prieſts get and Baſtard, and therefore we ſhould not wonder, albeit that the old truan Verſe be true*, Patrem ſequitur ſua proles. The Nobility hearing that neither the one nor the other would anſwer directly, ſaid, *We have been miſerably deceived heretofore; for if the Maſſe may not obtaine remiſſion of ſins to the quick and to the dead, Wherefore were all the Abbies ſo richly doted and endowed with our Temporall lands.*

Anno

Note *Leſly* his anſwer.

* That is, Anno 1566 when this book was written.

Thus much we thought good to inſert here, becauſe that ſome Papiſts are not aſhamed now to affirm, That they with their reaſons could never be heard, but that all we did, we did by meer force; when that the whole Realme knoweth; That we ever required them to ſpeak their judgements freely, not onely promiſing unto them protection and defence, but alſo that we ſhould ſubſcribe with them, if they by Gods Scriptures could confute us, and by the ſame Word eſtabliſh their aſſertions. *But who can correct the leaſings of ſuch as in all things ſhew them the ſons of the Father of all lies. Preſerve us, Lord, from that perverſe and malicious Generation. Amen.*

At this ſame Aſſembly was the Lord *Fames* appointed to go to *France* to the Queen our Soveraigne, and a Parliament was appointed to begin the 20 of *May* next following; for at that time was the returne of the ſaid Lord *Fames* looked for: and ſo was that Convention diſſolved, without any other thing of importance concluded. The ſaid Lord *Fames* prepared him for his journey (for albeit he paſt in the publike affairs, he ſuſtained the charge of his own expences; and yet there never paſt from this Realme in the company of one man ſo many, and ſo honeſt thorow *England* to *France*.) Before he departed, he was forewarned, as well of the danger in *France*, as of the Queens craft (not that we then ſuſpected her nature, but that we underſtood the malice of her friends) he was plainly premoniſhed, That if ever he condeſcended that ſhe ſhould have Maſſe publikely or privately within the Realme of *Scotland*, that then betrayed he the Cauſe of God, and expoſed the Religion even to the uttermoſt danger that he could do. That ſhe ſhould have Maſſe publikely, he affirmed that he would never conſent: But to have it ſecretly in her Chamber, Who could ſtop her? The danger was ſhewn, and ſo he departed.

Note the liberality of the Earle *Murray*.

Note this diligently.

Anno

The Forme and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, and all other Miniſters at Edinburgh, March *the* 9. 1560. John Knox *being then Preacher.*

FIrſt, was made a Sermon, in the which theſe Heads were handled: Firſt, The neceſſity of Miniſters and Superintendents, or Overſeers. The ſecond, the crimes and vices that might unable them of the Miniſtry. Thirdly, the vertues required in them. Fourthly and laſtly, Whether ſuch as by publike conſent of the Church were called to ſuch Office, might refuſe the ſame.

The Sermon finiſhed, it was declared by the ſame Miniſter, maker thereof, That the Lords of the Secret Councell had given Charge and Power to the Churches of *Lowthian*, to to chuſe Maſter *John Spottiſwood* Superintendent or Overſeer; And that ſufficient warning was made by publike Edict to the Churches of *Edinburgh*, *Linliethquow*, *Sterlin*, *Tranent*, *Hadington*, and *Dumbar*, as alſo to the Earles, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, and others, that have, or that might claim to have Vote in Election, to be preſent that day, and that ſame hour. And therefore enquiry was made, Who were preſent, and who were abſent. After was called the ſaid *John*, who anſwering the Miniſter, demanded; If he knew any crime or offence to the ſaid Maſter *John*, that might unable him to be called to that Office? and that he demanded thriſe. Secondly, queſtion was moved to the whole multitude, If there was any other whom they put in Election with the ſaid Maſter *John*: The people were asked, If they would have the ſaid Maſter *John* Superintendent or Overſeer? If they would honour and obey him as Chriſts Miniſter, and comfort and aſſiſt him in every thing pertaining to his Charge?

They anſwered:

We will and do promiſe unto him ſuch obedience, as becometh Sheep to give unto their Paſtor, ſo long as he remaineth faithfull in his Office.

Tne anſwers of the people, and their conſent received, the queſtions were propounded to him that was to be elected.

Queſtion.

Seeing that ye hear the thirſt and deſire of this people; Do ye not thinke your ſelfe bound in conſcience before God to ſupport them, that ſo earneſtly call for your comfort, and for the fruit of your labours?

Anſwer.

If any thing were in me able to ſatisfie their deſire, I acknowledge my ſelfe bound to obey God calling by them.

Queſtion.

Anno

Queſtion.

Do ye ſeek to be promoted to this Office and charge, for any reſpect of worldly commodity, riches, or glory?

Where then are Pluralities and fatneſſe of Livings in our dayes.

Anſwer.

God knoweth the contrary.

Queſtion.

Beleeve ye not that the Doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles, contained in the Books of the Old and New Teſtaments, are the onely true, and moſt abſolute foundation of the Univerſall Church of Chriſt Jeſus, in ſo much that in the ſame Scriptures are contained all things neceſſary to be beleeved for the ſalvation of mankinde?

Anſwer.

I verely beleeve the ſame, and do abhorre and utterly refuſe all Doctrine alleadged neceſſary to ſalvation, that is not expreſſedly contained in the ſame.

Queſtion.

Is not Chriſt Jeſus man of man, according to the fleſh; to wit, The Sonne of *David*, The ſeed of *Abraham*, Conceived by the holy Ghoſt, Born of the Virgine his mother; and that he is the onely Head and Mediatour of his Church?

Anſwer.

He is, and without him there is neither ſalvation to man, nor life to Angel.

Queſtion.

Is not the ſame Lord Jeſus, The onely true God, The eternall Son of the eternall Father, in whom all that ſhall be ſaved were elected before the foundation of the world was laid?

Anſwer.

I confeſſe and acknowledge, and confeſſe him in the Unitie of his God-head, to be God above all things bleſſed for ever.

Queſtion.

Shall not they whom God in his eternall Councell hath elected, be called to the knowledge of his Sonne, our Lord Jeſus, and ſhall not they who of purpoſe are called in this life, be juſtified, and juſtification and free remiſſion of ſins is obtained in this life by free grace? Shall not the glory of the ſons of God follow in the generall Reſurrection, when the Son of God ſhall appear in his glorious Majeſtie?

Anſwer.

This I acknowledge to be the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and the moſt ſingular comfort of Gods children.

Queſtion.

Anno

Queſtion.

Will ye not then containe your ſelf in all Doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Will ye not ſtudie to promove the ſame, as well by your life, as by your Doctrine? Will ye not, according to the graces and utterance that God ſhall grant unto you, profeſſe, inſtruct, and maintaine the puritie of the Doctrine contained in the ſacred Word of God, and to the uttermoſt of your power? Will ye not gain-ſtand and convince the gain-ſayers, and the teachers of mens inventions?

Let the Church-men now adayes look to this.

Anſwer.

That do I promiſe in the preſence of God, and of his Congregation heere aſſembled.

Queſtion.

Know ye not that the excellencie of this Office to the which God hath called you, requireth that your converſation and behaviour be ſuch, as that ye may be irreprehenſible, yea, even in the eyes of the ungodly?

Anſwer.

I unfainedly acknowledge, and humbly deſire the Church of God to pray with me that my life be not ſlanderous to the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus.

Queſtion.

Becauſe you are a man compaſſed with infirmities, will you not charitably and with lowlineſſe of ſpirit receive admonition of your brethren? And if ye ſhall happen to ſlide or offend in any point, will ye not be ſubject to the Diſcipline of the Church, as the reſt of your brethren.

The Anſwer of the Superintendent or Miniſter to be elected.

I acknowledge my ſelf a man ſubjected to infirmity, and one that hath need of correction and admonition, and therefore I moſt willingly ſubject my ſelfe to the wholſome Diſcipline of the Church, yea, to the Diſcipline of the ſame Church by which I am now called to this Office and Charge, and here in Gods preſence and yours, do promiſe obedience to all admonitions, ſecretly or publikely given; unto which, if I be found inobedient, I confeſſe my ſelfe moſt worthy to be rejected, not onely from this honour, but alſo from the ſocietie of the faithfull in caſe of my ſtubbornneſſe. For the vocation of God to beare charge within his Church, maketh not men Tyrants nor Lords, but appointeth them ſervants, Watch-men, and Paſtors to the flock.

What can the Prelats ſay to this.

Thus ended, queſtion muſt be asked again of the multitude.

Queſtion.

Require ye any further of this your Superintendent, or Overſeer and Miniſter.

If no man anſwer, let the Miniſter proceed.

Queſtion.

Anno

Queſtion.

Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the Miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus, your Overſeer and Paſtour? Will ye not reverence the Word of God that proceedeth from his mouth? Will ye not receive of him the Sermon of Exhortation with patience; not refuſing the wholſome Medicine of your ſoules, although it be bitter and unpleaſing to the fleſh? Will ye not finally maintain and comfort him in his Miniſterie and watching over you, againſt all ſuch as wickedly would rebell againſt God and his holy Ordinance?

The people anſwered.

We will: as we will anſwer to the Lord Jeſus, who hath commanded his Miniſters to be had in reverence, as his Ambaſſadours, and as men that carefully watch for the ſalvation of our ſoules.

Let the Nobilitie be urged with this.

Ye have heard the dutie and profeſſion of this our brother by your conſents appointed to this charge, as alſo the dutie and obedience which God requireth of us towards him heere in his Miniſterie. But becauſe that neither of both are able to performe any thing without the eſpeciall grace of our God in Chriſt Jeſus, who hath promiſed to be with us preſent even to the conſummation of the world, with unfained hearts let us crave of him his benediction and aſſiſtance in this work begun, to his glory, and for the comfort of his Church.

The Prayer.

O Lord, to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth, thou that art the eternall Sonne of the eternall Father, who haſt not onely loved thy Church, that for the redemption and purgation of the ſame, haſt humbled thy ſelfe to the ignominious death of the Croſſe, and thereupon haſt ſhed thy moſt precious and innocent blood, to prepare to thy ſelf a Spouſe without ſpot, but alſo to retain this moſt excellent benefit in recent memory, haſt appointed in thy Church, Teachers, Paſtours, and Apoſtles, to inſtruct, comfort, and admoniſh the ſame: Look upon us mercifully, O Lord, thou that onely art King, Teacher, and high Prieſt, to thine own flock: and ſend unto this our Brother, whom in thy Name we have charged with the chief care of thy Church within the bounds of L. ſuch portion of thy holy Spirit, as thereby he may rightly divide thy Word, to the inſtruction of thy flock, and to the confutation of pernicious errours and damnable Superſtitions. Give unto him, good Lord, a mouth and wiſdome, whereby the enemies of thy Trueth may be confounded, the Wolves expelled and driven from thy Fold, thy Sheep may be fed in the wholſome Paſtures of thy moſt holy Word, the blinde and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge.

Anno Finally, that the degrees of Superſtition and Idolatry which now reſteth within this Realme, being purged and removed, we may all not onely have occaſion to glorifie thee our onely Lord and Saviour, but alſo daily to grow in godlineſſe and obedience of thy moſt holy will, to the deſtruction of the body of ſin, and to the reſtitution of that image, to the which we were once created, and to the which after our fall and defection we are renewed by participation of thy holy Spirit, which by true Faith in thee we do profeſſe, as the bleſſed of thy Father, of whom the perpetuall increaſe of thy graces we crave, as by thee our Lord, King, and onely Biſhop we are taught to pray. *Our Father, &c.*

The Prayer ended, the reſt of the Miniſters, if any be, and Elders of that Church preſent, in ſigne of their conſent, ſhall take the elected by the hand. The chiefe Miniſter ſhall give the Benediction, as followeth.

God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath commanded his Goſpel to be Preached, to the comfort of his Elect, and hath called thee to the Office of a Watch-man over his people, multiply his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his holy Spirit; comfort and ſtrengthen thee in all vertue; governe and guide thy Miniſterie, to the praiſe of his holy Name, to the propagation of Chriſts Kingdom, to the comfort of his Church; and finally, to the plaine diſcharge and aſſurance of thine owne conſcience in the day of the Lord Jeſus; to whom with the Father and with the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, praiſe, and glory, now and ever. So be it.

The laſt Exhortation to the elected.

TAke heed to thy ſelfe, and unto the flock committed to thy charge, feed the ſame carefully, not as it were by compulſion, but of very love which thou beareſt to the Lord Jeſus. Walk in ſimplicity and pureneſſe of life, as it becometh the true ſervant and the Ambaſſadour of the Lord Jeſus. Uſurpe not dominion nor tyrannicall authority over thy brethren, be not diſcouraged in adverſity, but lay before thy ſelf the example of the Prophets, Apoſtles, and of the Lord Jeſus, who in their Miniſtery ſuſtained contradiction, contempt, perſecution, and death: fear not to rebuke the world of Sin, Juſtice, and Judgement. If any thing ſucceed proſperouſly in thy Vocation, be not puft up with pride, neither yet flatter thy ſelf, as that the good ſucceſſe proceedeth from thy vertue, induſtrie or care. But let ever that ſentence of the Apoſtle remain in thine heart; *What haſt thou which thou haſt not received? If thou have received, why glorieſt thou?* Comfort the afflicted, ſupport the poore, and exhort others to ſupport them. Be not carefull for things of this life, but be fervent in prayer to God for the increaſe of his holy Spirit. And finally, behave thy ſelfe in this holy vocation, with ſuch ſobriety as God may be glorified in thy Miniſtery. And ſo ſhalt thou ſhortly obtaine the Victory, and ſhalt receive the Crowne promiſed, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appeare in his glory, whoſe omnipotent Spirit aſſiſt thee and us to the end.

Sing 23. Pſalme.

As

As the ſervants of God uprightly travelled to have vice puniſhed, and vertue planted; ſo did the devill ever ſtirre up ſome in the contrary of both. There was a Law made againſt fornicators and adulterers, that the one and the other ſhould be Carted thorow the Towns, and ſo baniſhed, till that their repentance was offered and received. And albeit this was not the ſeverity of Gods Law, eſpecially againſt adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to the malefactors, whereat the wicked did wonderouſly ſtorme. It chanced that one *Sanderſon* a Fletcher or Boutcher, was deprehended to have put away his lawfull wife (under colour that he was lawfully parted after the manner of the Papiſticall Religion) and had taken to him another in his houſe. The complaint and ſlander propoſed to the Church, and triall taken, That he was not married with the ſecond woman, neither that he was able to prove that he was divorced by any order of the Law from the firſt, he was committed to the hands of the Magiſtrates, who according to the Laws commanded him to be Carted. But the raſcall multitude enflamed by ſome ungodly Crafts-men, made inſurrection, brake the Cart, boaſted and threatned the Officers, and took away the malefactor. This was the beginning of farther evils, as we ſhall after hear. In this mean time, while Lord *James* (we ſay) was in *France*, there came an Ambaſſadour from *France*, ſuborned, no doubt, with all craft that might, to trouble the ſtate of Religion. His Demands were, firſt, *That the League betwixt us and* England *ſhould be broken.* Secondly, *That the ancient League betwixt* France *and* Scotland *ſhould be renewed.* Thirdly, *And that the Biſhops and Church-men ſhould be reſtored in their former places, and be ſuffered to intermit with their Livings.* The Councell delayed anſwer, untill the Parliament appointed in *May*. In the mean time the Papiſts of *Scotland* practiſed with him. The Earls of *Huntlie, Atholl, Bothwell*, and others, intended to have taken *Edinburgh* before the ſaid Parliament. The whole Biſhops aſſembled, and held Councell in *Sterlin*. Some whiſpering there was, that the Duke, and the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* were too familiar; and ſome feared that the Authority of the Queen ſhould have been uſurped, by reaſon of her abſence, and that the Duke was the ſecond Perſon, for thereat had ſome of his preſſed immediately after the death of the King of *France*. The Proteſtants thereof advertiſed, prevented them, and came to *Edinburgh*. The Earle of *Arran* ſtood conſtant with his brethren; there were ſome that carefully and painfully travelled that nothing prejudiciall to the Queens Authority ſhould be done in the abſence of the Lord *James*, to whom the Queen hath recompenced evil for good ſervice. Maſter *James Magill* in that point did both ſtoutly and truely; for *John Knox* and he were then fallen in familiarity, in which they yet continue, 20 *Octobris* 1567. by reaſon that the ſaid Maſter *James* had embraced the Religion, and profeſſed it publikely. The Papiſts and Biſhops diſappointed of their principall enterpriſe, did yet make broyle for trouble: For the raſcall multitude were ſtirred up to make a *Robin-Hood*, which enormity was of many yeers left off, and condemned by Statute and Act of Parliament; yet would they not be forbidden, but would diſobey and trouble the Town, eſpecially upon the night: Whereat the Bayliffs offended, took from them ſome Swords and Enſigne, which was occa-

Anno

Ambaſſadour from *France*, and his demands.

See the ſtudy of *France* to divide the two Kingdoms newly bound for maintenance of Religion againſt the common enemies.

Note.

The Proteſtants faithfulneſſe all rewarded.

A fooliſh play uſed in time of darkneſs. Hence we ſay any fooliſh thing to be like a play of *Robin Hood*.

Anno occaſion that they that ſame night made a mutiny; kept the Gates of the Towne, and intended to have purſued ſome men within their owne houſes; But that upon the reſtitution of their Swords and Enſigne, was ſtayed. And yet they ceaſed not to moleſt, as well the Inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, as divers Countrey-men, taking from them money, and threatning ſome with farther injuries: Wherewith the Magiſtrates of the Town highly offended, took more diligent heed to ſuch as reſorted to the Town, and ſo apprehended one of the principall of that diſorder, named *Balon*, a Shoo-maker, whom they put to an Aſſizes; and being convinced (he could not be abſolved, for he was the chief man that ſpoyled *John Mubray* of ten Crowns of the Sun) they thought to have executed Judgement upon him, and ſo erected a Gibbet beneath the Croſſe. (Whether it came by Paction with the Proveſt and ſome other, or by inſtigation of the Crafts-men, who ever have been bent too much to maintain ſuch vanity and riotouſneſſe, we fully know not) but ſuddenly there did ariſe a tumult, the Tolbuith was broken up, and not onely the ſaid *Balon*, who before was condemned, was violently taken forth, but alſo all other malefactors were ſet at freedome, the Gibbet was pulled downe, and deſpightfully broken. And thereafter, as the Proveſt, and ſome of the Councell, aſſembled to the Clerks Chamber for conſultation. The whole raſcall banded together, with ſome knowne and honeſt Crafts-men, and intended invaſion on the ſaid Chamber; which perceived, the Proveſt, and ſuch as were in his company, paſt to the Tolbuith, ſuſpecting nothing that they would have been ſo enraged, to make new purſuit, after that they had obtained their intent: But they were ſuddenly deceived; for from the Caſtle hill they came with violence, and with ſtones, Guns, and ſuch other Weapons as they had, and began to aſſault the ſaid Tolbuith, ran at the doore of it, till that partly by ſtones caſt from above, and partly by a Piſtoll ſhot by *Robert Norwell*, (which hurt one *Tuedy*) they were repulſed from the door. But yet ceaſed they not to caſt and ſhoot in at the windows, threatning death to all that were within. And in very deed the malice of the Crafts-men, who were ſuſpected to be the occaſion of that tumult, bare no good will to divers of thoſe that were with the Proveſt. The Arguments that the Crafts-men were the cauſes of that uprore, beſides their firſt diſorder that they had uſed before, in taking *Sanderſone* from the execution of puniſhment, are two. The former, *Archibald Deware*, *Patricke Shaugzie*, with other ſix Deacons, came to *John Knox*, and willed him to ſolicite the Proveſt and the Towne to delay the execution. Who did anſwer, That he had ſo oft ſolicited in their favours, that his own conſcience accuſed him, That they uſed his labours for no other end, but to be a Patron to their impiety; for he had before made interceſſion for *William Harlaw*, *John Friſſell*, and others that were convinced of the former tumult: They proudly ſaid, That if it was not ſtayed, both he and the Bayliffs ſhould repent it. Who anſwered, He would not hurt his conſcience for the fear of any man: And ſo they departed; and the tumult, as ſaid is, immediately thereafter did ariſe. The ſecond Argument is; The tumult continued from two at afternoon, till after eight at night.

Some ſay his name is *Gillour.*

The

The Crafts-men were required to aſſemble themſelves together for deliverance of the Proveſt; but they paſt to their *four hours penie*, or afternoons Pinte, and in their jeſting, ſaid, *They will be Magiſtrates alone, let them rule the multitude alone.* And ſo, contrary to the Oath which they had made, they denied their aſſiſtance, counſell, & comfort to the Proveſt and Bayliffs, which are arguments very probable that the ſaid tumult roſe by their procurement. The end thereof was, That the Proveſt and Bayliffs were compelled to give their hands writs, that they ſhould never purſue any of thoſe that were of that tumult, for any crime that was done in that behalf. And this was proclaimed at the Croſſe, after nine of the clock at night; and ſo was that trouble quieted: But the Nobility vowed, That they would not ſpare it, nor forget it; and ſo a great number of that faction were abſent from the Towne, till the arrivall of the Queen. The whole multitude were holden excommunicate, and were admitted to no participation of the Sacraments, untill ſuch time as they ſatisfied the Magiſtrates, and made humble ſuit unto the Church. Of the death of the Queen Regent, we have heard before ſpoken; but of her Buriall was nothing heard. And it may appear, That ſuch matters are unworthy of remembrance: And if all things ſhould be rightly weighed, we ſhall perceive Gods juſt Judgements, how ſecret ſoever that they be. Before we heard the barbarous inhumanity that was uſed at *Leith* by the French, who expoſed the naked carkaſſes of the ſlain, as it were in a ſpectacle deſpighting God. We have heard that the Queen Regent rejoyced at the ſight, but her joy was ſuddenly turned into ſorrow, as we have heard. The queſtion was moved of her Buriall: The Preachers boldly gainſtood, *That any Superſtitious Rites ſhould be uſed within that Realm, which God of his mercy began to repugne.* And ſo concluſion was taken, That her Buriall ſhould be deferred till farther advertiſement; and ſo was ſhe wrapped in a Coffin of Lead, and kept in the Caſtle, from the ninth of *June*, untill the 19 of *October*, when ſhe by Pynours was carried to a Ship, and ſo carried to *France*: what pomp was uſed there, we neither heard, nor yet regard: But in it we ſee, That ſhe that delighted that others lay without Buriall, gat it neither ſo ſoon as ſhe her ſelfe (if ſhe had been of the counſell in her life) would have required it; neither yet ſo honourable in this Realm, as ſometimes ſhe looked for. *As men do, ſo they receive.*

Anno

Of the Queen Regents death.

Note.

Note.

The Papiſts, a little before the Parliament, reſorted in divers Bands to the Town, and began to brag, as that they would have defaced the Proteſtants: Which thing perceived, the brethren aſſembled, and went in ſuch Companies, and yet in peaceable manner, that the Biſhops and their Bands forſook the calſay or ſtreet. The Brethren underſtanding what the Papiſts meant, convened in Councell in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh* the ſeven and twentieth of *May*, the yeer of God 1561. and after conſultation, concluded, That an humble Supplication ſhould be preſented unto the Lords of the Secret Counſell, and unto the whole Aſſembly that then was convened, in the which ſhould theſe ſubſequent Heads be required, and a Law to paſſe thereupon.

Anno

1. *Firſt, That Idolatry, and all Monuments thereof ſhould be ſuppreſſed thorowout the whole Realme: That the ſayers, hearers, maintainers, and hanters of the Maſſe, ſhould be puniſhed according to the Act of Parliament, as ſaid is.*

2. *That ſpeciall and certain proviſion be made for the maintenance of the Superintendents, Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers: That Superintendents and Miniſters ſhould be planted where none were: That puniſhment ſhould be appointed for ſuch as diſobeyed or contemned the Superintendents in their Function.*

3. *That puniſhment may be appointed for the abuſers of the Sacraments, and for the contemners of the ſame.*

4. *That no Letters of the Seſion, or Warrant from the Judge, be given to anſwer or pay to any perſon of their Tenths, without eſpeciall proviſion that the Pariſhioners retain ſo much in their owne hands, as is appointed for the maintenance of the Miniſtry: And that all ſuch as are elſe given be called in and diſcharged; And likewiſe that no Sheriffs give Precepts to that effect.*

5. *That neither the Lords of Seſion, nor any other Judges, proceed upon ſuch Precepts or Warnings paſt at the inſtance of them that of late have obtained ſewis of Vicarages and Parſons Manſes, and Church-yards: And that ſix akers (if ſo much there be of the Gleebe) be alwayes reſerved to the Miniſter, according to the appointment of the Book of Diſcipline.*

6. *That no Letters of Seſion, nor other Warrants, take place while the ſtipends contained in the Book of Diſcipline for maintenance of the Miniſters, be firſt conſigned in the hands at the leaſt of the Principals of the Pariſhioners.*

7. *That puniſhment be appointed againſt all ſuch as purchaſe, bring home, or execute within this Realme the Popes Bulls.*

The Tenour of the Supplication was this:

PLeaſe your Honours, and the wiſedoms of ſuch as are preſently convened with you in Councell, to underſtand, That by many arguments we perceive what the peſtilent generation of that Romane Antichriſt within this Realme pretendeth, to wit, That they would of new erect their Idolatry, take upon them Empire above our conſcience, and ſo to command us, the true ſubjects of this Realme, and ſuch as God of his mercy hath (under our Soveraigne) ſubject unto us, in all things to obey their appetites. Honeſty craveth, and conſcience moveth us, to make the very ſecrets of our hearts patent to your Honours in that behalfe, which is this; *That before ever thoſe Tyrants and dumb dogges Empire above us, and above ſuch as God hath ſubjected unto us, that we the Barons and Gentlemen profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus within this Realme, are fully determined to hazard life, and whatſoever we have received of God in Temporall things.* Note diligently. Moſt humbly therefore beſeeching your Honours, That ſuch order may be taken, that we have not occaſion to take againe the Sword of juſt Defence into our hands, which we have willingly (after God had given Victory both to your Honours and us) reſigned over into your hands; To the end that Gods Goſpel may be publikely Preached within this Realme, The true Miniſters thereof reaſonably maintained, Idolatry ſuppreſſed, and the com-

committers thereof punished, according to the Lawes of God and man. In doing whereof your Honours shall finde us not onely obedient unto you in all things lawfull, but also ready at all times to bring under order and obedience such as would rebell against your just authority, which in absence of our Soveraigne we acknowledge to be in your hands, beseeching your Honours with upright judgement and indifferencie, to look upon these our few Articles, and by these our brethren to signifie unto us such answer againe, as may declare your Honours worthy of that place, whereunto God (after some danger sustained) in his mercy hath called you. And let these enemies of God assure themselves, That if your Honours put not order unto them, that we shall shortly take such order, That they shall neither be able to do what they list, neither yet to live upon the sweat of the brows of such as are no debters unto them. Let your honours conceive nothing of us, but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papists be yet once againe assured, That their Pride and Idolatry we will not suffer. Anno

Let this also be considered, and referred to our times.

Directed from the assembly of the Church the 28 of May 1561. And sent by these brethren; The Master of *Lindsay*, The Laird of *Lochinvar*, The Laird of *Pharmherst*, The Laird of *Whittingham*, *Thomas Menzeis* Provest of *Aberdeene*, and *George Lowell* Burgesse of *Dundie*.

Upon the which Request and Articles, the Lords and Counsell aforesaid, made an Act and Ordinance, answering to every head of the foresaid Articles, and commanded Letters to be answered thereupon, which divers Ministers raised and copied, as in the Books of secret Councell is yet to be found.

And thus gat Satan the second fall, after that he had begun to trouble the state of Religion, once established by Law. His first assault was by the rascall multitude, opposing themselves to the punishment of vice. The second was by the Bishops and their bands, in which he thought utterly to have triumphed: And yet he in the end prospered worse then ye have heard. In this meane time returned from *France* the Lord *James*, who beside his great expences, and the losse of a box wherein was his secret purse, escaped a desperate danger in *Paris*: for his returning from our Soveraigne (who then was with the Cardinall of *Loraine* her Uncle in *Rhemes*) understood of the Papists in *Paris*, they had conspired some treasonable act against him; for they intended either to have beset his house by night, or else to have assaulted him and his company as they walked in the streets: Whereof the said Lord *James* advertised by the *Rinegrave*, by reason of old familiaritie which was betwixt them in *Scotland*, he took purpose suddenly and in good order, to depart from *Paris*, as he did the second day after that he arrived there: And yet could not he depart so secretly, but that the Papists had their privie ambushes: For upon the new decayed *pont of change*, they had prepared a Procession, which met the said Lord and his Company even in the teeth; and knowing that they would not do the accustomed reverence to them and their Idols, they thought thereupon to have picked a Quarrell: And so as one part passed by,

Nota.

Nota.

Anno by, without moving of hat to any thing that was there, they had ſuborned ſome to cry, *Hugonots*, and ſo caſt ſtones. But God diſappointed their enterpriſe; for the ſaid *Rinegrave*, with other Gentlemen, being with the Lord *James*, rebuked the fooliſh multitude, and over-rode ſome of the formoſt, and ſo the reſt were diſperſed, and he and his companie ſafely eſcaped, and came with expedition to *Edinburgh*, while that yet the Lords and aſſembly were together, to the great comfort of many godly hearts, and to no little aſtoniſhment of the wicked: for from the Queen our Soveraigne he brought Letters to the Lords, praying them to entertain quietneſſe, and to ſuffer nothing to be attempted againſt the contract of Peace which was made at *Leith*, till her own home coming, and to ſuffer the Religion publikely eſtabliſhed, to go forward, &c. Whereupon the ſaid Lords gave anſwer to the French Ambaſſadour, a Negative to every one of his Petitions.

The Lords Anſwer to the French Ambaſſadour.

Reader remark the advantages that *Scotland* hath from *France*.

1. *And firſt, That* France *had not deſerved at their hands, that either they or their poſteritie ſhould enter with them againe in any League or Confederacie, offenſive or defenſive, ſeeing that ſo traiterouſly and cruelly they had perſecuted them, their Realme and Liberties, under pretence of amitie and Marriage.*

2. *Secondly, That beſides their conſcience, they could not take ſuch a worldly ſhame, as without offence committed to break the League, which in Gods Name they had made with them, whom he hath made inſtruments to ſet* Scotland *at freedome from the tyrannie of the French, at leaſt of the Guiſians and of their faction.*

A good Character of Biſhops.

3. *And laſt, That ſuch as they called Biſhops and Church-men, they knew neither for Paſtours of the Church, neither yet for any juſt poſſeſſours of the patrimony thereof. But underſtand them perfectly to be Wolves, Theeves, Murtherers, and idle Beſties; and therefore as* Scotland *hath forſaken the Pope and Papiſtry, ſo could not they be debters to his forſworn Vaſſals.*

With theſe anſwers departed the ſaid Ambaſſador, and the Lords of ſecret Counſell made an Act, that all places and Monuments of Idolatry ſhould be deſtroyed. And for that purpoſe was directed to the Weſt, the Earl of *Arrane*, having joyned with him the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencarne*, together with the Proteſtants of the Weſt, who burnt *Paſſay* (the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, who was Abbey thereof, narrowly eſcaped) caſt down *Failfurd*, *Kylwinning*, and a part of *Coſraguell*: The Lord *James* was appointed to the North, where he made ſuch Reformation, as nothing contented the Earle of *Huntly*, and yet ſeemed he to approve all things.

Let us ſtick to God, and he will not leave us.

And thus God ſo potently wrought with us, ſo long as we depended upon him, that all the World might ſee his potent hand to maintain us, and to fight againſt our enemies: yea, moſt to confound them, when that they promiſed to themſelves victory without reſiſtance. Oh that we would rightly conſider the wondrous works of the Lord our God.

In

In the Treatie of Peace contracted at *Leith*, there were contained certain Heads that required the Ratification of both Queens. The Queen of *England*, according to her Promiſe, Subſcription, and Seale, without any delay performed the ſame, and ſent it to our Soveraigne, by her appointed Officers. But our Soveraigne (whether becauſe her own craftie nature thereto moved her, or that her Uncles chiefe Counſellers ſo would, we know not) with many delayes fruſtrated the expectation of the Queen of *England*, as by the Copie of a Letter ſent from the Ambaſſadour of *England* to his Soveraigne we may underſtand. Anno

The Ambaſſadours Letter.

MADAME,

I *Sent* Sommer *to the Queen of* Scots *for audience, who appointed me to come to her the ſame day after dinner, which I did. To her I did remember your Majeſties hearty commendations, and declared unto her your Majeſties like gladſomneſſe of her recoverie from her late ſickneſſe, whoſe want of health, as it was grievous unto your Majeſtie, ſo, I told her, did you congratulate, and greatly rejoyce of the good termes of health ſhe was in for the preſent. After theſe offices of civilitie, I put her in remembrance againe what had paſſed from the beginning, in the matter of your Majeſties demand of Ratification, according to the Tenour of the ſaid Treatie, as well by me at the firſt, as afterward by my Lord of* Bedford, *at his being here, and alſo followed ſithence again by me in open audience, and by my Letter to her being in* Loraine, *adding hereto your Majeſties further commandment, and re-charge to me again preſently to renue the ſame demand, as before had been done.*

At *Paris* the 23 of June 1561.

The ſaid Queen made anſwer as followeth.

Monſieur L'Ambaſſadour,

I Thank the Queen, my good ſiſter, for this gentle viſitation and congratulation of this my recoverie, and though I be not yet in perfect health, yet, I thank God, I feele my ſelfe in a very good caſe, and in way of a full recoverie. And for anſwer to your demand (quoth ſhe) of my Ratification, I do remember all theſe things that you have recited unto me: And I would the Queen my good ſiſter ſhould think that I do deferre the reſolute anſwer in this matter, and performing thereof, untill ſuch time as I might have the adviſes of the Nobles and States of mine own Realme, which I truſt ſhall not be long a doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither ſhortly. And though this matter (quoth ſhe) doth touch me principally, yet doeth it alſo touch the Nobles and States of my Realm too: and therefore it ſhall be meet that I uſe their adviſes therein. Heretofore they have ſeemed to be grieved, that I ſhould do any thing without them. And now they would be more offended, if I ſhould proceed in this matter of my ſelfe without their adviſes. I do intend (quoth ſhe) to ſend *Monſieur Doſell* to the Queen your Miſtreſſe my good ſiſter, who ſhall declare Faire words to no purpoſe.

Anno

That was a ſecret Lardon.

She meant ſhe would ſeek a ſafe conduct.

* Ever till that ſhe may ſhew her evill will.

If *France* would have ſuſtained them they had not yet departed.

The friend ſecret Lardon.

The Arms of *England* were uſurped.

that unto her from me, that I truſt ſhall ſuffice her. By whom I will give her to underſtand of my journey into *Scotland*, I mean to embarke at *Calice*. The King of *France* hath lent me certain Galleyes and Ships to convey me home, and I intend to require of my good Siſter thoſe favours that Princes uſe to do in thoſe caſes. And though the termes wherein we have ſtood heretofore, have been ſomewhat hard, * yet I truſt that from henceforth we ſhall accord together as Coſins and good Neighbours. I mean (quoth ſhe) to retire all the *French* men forth of *Scotland*, who had given jealouſie to the Queen my Siſter, and diſcontent to my Subjects; ſo as I will leave nothing undone to ſatisfie all parties, truſting the Queen my good Siſter will do the like; and that from henceforth none of my diſobedient Subjects (if there be any ſuch) ſhall finde ayd or ſupport at her hands. I anſwered, That I was not deſirous to fall into the diſcourſe how thoſe hard termes firſt began, nor by what means they were nouriſhed, becauſe therein I muſt charge ſome party with injury, and perill offered to the Queen my Miſtreſſe, which was the very ground of thoſe matters. But I was well aſſured there could be no better occaſion offered to put the former unkindneſſe in forgetfulneſſe, then by ratifying the Treatie of Peace, for that ſhould repay all injuries paſt. And Madame, quoth I, where it pleaſed you to ſuſpend and delay the ratification, untill you have the advices of the Nobles and States of your Realm, the Queen my Miſtreſſe doth nothing doubt of their conformitie in this matter, becauſe the Treatie was made by their conſents. The Queen anſwered, yea, by ſome of them, but not by all; it will appeare, when I come amongſt them, whether they be of the ſame minde that you ſay they were then of: But of this I aſſure you, Monſieur Lambaſſadour (quoth ſhe) I for my part am very deſirous to have the perfect and the aſſured amity of the Queen my good ſiſter, and will uſe all the means I can, to give her occaſion to think that I mean it indeed. I anſwered, Madame, the Queen my Miſtreſſe you may be aſſured will uſe the like towards you, to move you to be of the ſame opinion towards her. Then (ſaid ſhe) I truſt the Queen your Miſtreſſe will not ſupport nor encourage none of my Subjects to continue in their diſobedience, nor to take upon them things that appertain not to Subjects (this we may anſwer here, It appertaineth to Subjects to worſhip God as he hath commanded, and to ſuppreſſe Idolatry, by whom ſo ever it be erected or maintained.) You know (quoth ſhe) there is much adoe in my Realme about matters of Religion. And though there be a greater number of a contrary Religion unto me then I would there were, yet there is no reaſon that Subjects ſhould give a Law to their Soveraigne, and ſpecially in matters of Religion, which I feare (quoth ſhe) my Subjects ſhall take in hand (anſwer for the part of *Scotland*, and if ſo they had done, they had eſcaped Gods heavie indignation which hath been felt, and ſtill hangeth over this Realm, for the Idolatry, and other abominations committed in the ſame, which ſhall not ceaſe till that it be ſuppreſſed) I anſwered, Madame, your Realme is in none other caſe at this day, then all other Realms through Chriſtendome are. The proofe whereof you ſee verified in this Realm. And you ſee what great difficultie it is to give order in this matter,

Your Papiſts and ours have practiſed, and ſtill practiſe diviſion.

So that ſhe might have *England* to the Popes Religion I think ſhe ſaid not amiſſe.

The feare of God in the heart of Elizabeth diſobedient to curſed [illegible]

[illegible] as well to [illegible] as [illegible] ſubjects.

though

though the King of *France* and all his Councell be very desirous thereunto. Religion is of the greatest force that may be; you have been long out of your own Realm, so as the contrary Religion to yours had won the upper hand, and the greatest part of your Realme: Your mother was a woman of great experience of deep dissimulation and policy, as they terme it now adayes, and kept that Realme in quietnesse, till she began to constrain mens consciences; and as you think it unmeet to be constrained by your subjects, so it may please you to consider, The matter is as intolerable to them to be constrained by you, in matters of conscience; for the duty due to God cannot be given to any other, without offence of his Majesty. Why (said she) God doth command subjects to be obedient to their Princes, and commandeth Princes to read his Law, and governe thereby themselves, and the people committed to their charges. Answer. Yea, Madame (quoth I) in those things that be not against his Commandments. Well (quoth she) I will be plain with you: The Religion that I professe, I take to be most acceptable to God; and indeed, neither do I know, nor desire to know any other. Constancy doth become all folks well, but none better then Princes, and such as have rule over Realmes, and specially in matters of Religion (the Turke is as constant in his *Alcoran*, as the Pope and his Sect are in his Constitutions) I have been brought up (quoth she) in this Religion, and who might credit me in any thing, if I should shew my selfe light in this case. And though I be young, and not well learned, yet I have heard this matter oft disputed by my Uncle the Cardinall, with some that thought they could say somewhat in the matter; and I found therein no great reason to change my opinion (neither yet did the high Priest, when Christ Jesus did reason in his presence. But what was the Cardinall compelled to confesse at *Poysie?*) Madame (quoth I) if you will judge well in that matter, you must be conversant in the Scriptures, which are the Touch-stone to try the right from the wrong. Peradventure you are so partially affected to your Uncles arguments, that you could not indifferently consider the other party: Yet this I assure you, Madam (quoth I) your Uncle the Cardinall, in conference with me about these matters, hath confessed, That there be great errours and abuses come into the Church, and great disorder in the Priests and Clergie, in so much that he desired and wished that there might be a Reformation of the one, and of the other. I have oftentimes heard him say the like (quoth she.) Then I said, Well, I trust God will inspire all you that be Princes, that there may be some good order taken in this matter, so as there may be one Unity in Religion thorow all Christendom. God grant (quoth she) but for my part you may perceive I am none of those that will change my Religion every yeer. And, as I told you in the beginning, I mean to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me. I will send Monsieur *Dosell* (quoth she) to you before he go, to know whether ye will any thing in *England*. I pray you so order your self in this matter betwixt the Queen my good sister and me, that there may be perfect and assured Amity betwixt us, for I know (quoth she) Ministers may do much good and harm. I told her I would faithfully

Anno

Note.

The third Lardon of accusing *England* of inconstancy in Religion.

Notwithstanding his own disorders.

Anno and truely make declaration of all that ſhe ſaid unto me, unto your Majeſtie; and truſted that ſhe would ſo ſatisfie your Majeſty by Monſieur *Doſſell* in all things, as I ſhould hereafter have no more occaſion to treat with her of any thing, but of the encreaſe of Amity, of which there ſhould be no want on her behalf. This is the effect of the Queen of *Scotlands* anſwer to your Majeſties demand of her ſaid Ratification, and of my Negotiation with her at this time.

Theſe advertiſements ſomewhat exaſperated the Queen of *England*, and not altogether without cauſe; for the Armes of *England* were before uſurped by our Soveraigne, and by her husband *Francis*; and *Elizabeth* Queen of *England* was of the *Guyſians* reputed little better then a Baſtard. It was appointed that this title ſhould be renewed. But hereof had our ill counſelled and miſled Queen no pleaſure, and eſpecially after that her husband was dead; for, thought ſhe, the ſhew of *England* ſhall allure many ſuiters to me. The *Guiſians*, and the Papiſts of both Realms, did not a little animate her in that purſuit: The effect whereof will ſooner appear then the godly of *England* would deſire. Queen *Elizabeth*, we ſay, offended with the former anſwer, wrote unto the Nobility and States of *Scotland* in form as followeth.

The Queen of Englands *Letter to the States of* Scotland.

RIght Truſty, and Right entirely Beloved Couſins, We greet you. We doubt not, but as our meaning is, and hath alwayes been, ſince our Raigne, in the ſight of Almighty God ſtraight and direct towards the advancement of his Honour, and Truth in Religion; and conſequently, to procure Peace, and maintain Concord betwixt both theſe Realms of *England* and *Scotland*; So alſo our outward acts have well declared the ſame to the world, and eſpecially to you, being our neighbours, who have taſted and proved in theſe, our friendſhip and earneſt good will, more then we think any of your anteceſſors have ever received from hence; yea, more then a great number of your ſelves could well have hoped for of us, all former examples being well weighed and conſidered. And this we have to rejoyce of, and ſo may ye be glad, That where in the beginning of the troubles in that Countrey, and of our ſuccours meant for you, the jealouſie, or rather the malice of divers, both in that Realme and in other Countreys was ſuch, both to deprive both us in the yeelding, and you in requiring our ayd, that we were noted to have meant the ſurpriſe of that Realm, by depriving of your Soveraigne the Queen of her Crown; and you, or the greateſt part of you, to have intended by our ſuccour the like; and either to prefer ſome other to the Crown, or elſe to make of that Monarchie a Common-weale; matters very ſlanderous and falſe. But the end and determination, yea, the whole courſe and proceſſe of the action on both our parts have manifeſted, both to the ſlanderers, and to all others, That nothing was more meant and proſecuted, then to eſtabliſh your Soveraigne the Queen, our Couſin and Siſter in her State and Crowne, the poſſeſſion whereof was in the hands of ſtrangers. And although no words could then well ſatisfie the malicious, yet our deeds do declare, That no other

Note this falſe lye, and ſee how it anſwers to the calumnies of theſe dayes.

thing was ſought, but the reſtitution of that Realme to the ancient Liberty, and as it were to redeem it from Captivity. Of theſe our purpoſes and deeds, there remaineth among other arguments good teſtimony, by a ſolemne Treaty and Accord made the laſt yeer at *Edinburgh*, by Commiſſioners ſent from us, and from your Queen, with full Authority in writing under both our Hands, and the great Seals of both our Realms, in ſuch manner as other Princes our Progenitors have always uſed. By which Treaty and Accord, either of us have faithfully accorded with other, to keep Peace and Amity betwixt our ſelves, our Countreys and ſubjects. And in the ſame alſo a good Accord is made, not onely of certain things happened betwixt us, but alſo of ſome differences betwixt the Miniſters of the late French King your Soveraigns husband and you the States of that Realm, for the alteration of Laws and Cuſtoms of that Countrey attempted by them. Upon which Accord there made and concluded, hath hitherto followed, as you know, ſurety to your Soveraignes State, quietneſſe to your ſelves, and a better Peace betwixt both Realms, then ever was heard of in any time paſt. Nevertheleſſe how it happeneth we know not (we can, for ſhe in her conceit thinketh her ſelfe Queen of both) That your Soveraigne either not knowing in this part her owne felicity, or elſe dangerouſly ſeduced by perverſe Counſell, whereof we are moſt ſorry; being of late at ſundry times required by us, according to her Bond with us, ſigned with her own Hand, and ſealed with the great Seal of that Realme, and allowed by you, being the States of the ſame, to ratifie the ſaid Treaty, in like manner as we by writing have done, and are ready to deliver it to her, who maketh ſuch delatory anſwers thereunto, as what we ſhall judge thereof, we perceive by her anſwer, That it is fit for us to require of you: For although ſhe hath alwayes anſwered ſince the death of her husband, That in this matter ſhe would firſt underſtand the mindes of certain of you, before that ſhe would make anſwer. And ſo having now of long time ſuſpended our expectation, in the end, notwithſtanding that ſhe hath had conference both by Meſſengers, and by ſome of your ſelves, being with her, yet ſhe ſtill delayed it, alleadging to our Ambaſſadour in *France* (who ſaid that this Treaty was made by your conſents) it was not by conſent of you all; and ſo would have us to forbear, untill ſhe ſhall returne into that her Countrey. And now ſeeing this her anſwer depended, as it ſhould ſeem by her words, upon your opinions, we cannot but plainly let you all underſtand, That this manner of anſwer, without ſome more fruit, cannot long content us: We have meant well to our ſiſter your Queen in time of offence given to us by her. We did plainly, without diſſimulation, charge her in her own doubtfull ſtate: while ſtrangers poſſeſſed her Realme, we ſtayed it from danger. And now, having promiſed to keep good Peace with her, and with you her ſubjects, we have obſerved it; and ſhall be ſorry if either ſhe or you ſhall give us contrary cauſe. In a matter ſo profitable to both the Realmes, we think it ſtrange that your Queene hath no better advice: And therefore we do require you all, being the States of that Realme, upon whom the burden reſteth, to conſider this matter deeply, and to make us anſwer, whereunto we may truſt. And if you

Anno

The Peace and Contract at *Leith*.

Many Princes little regarded that.

All power is not then in the Prince, if the States have any, as they have. Note this,

Anno you ſhall think meet ſhe ſhall thus leave the Peace imperfect, by breaking of her ſolemne promiſe, contrary to the order of all Princes, we ſhall be well content to accept your anſwer, and ſhall be as careleſſe to ſee the Peace, as ye ſhall give us cauſe; And doubt not, by the grace of God, but whoſoever of you ſhall incline thereto, ſhall ſooneſt repent. You muſt be content with our plain writing. And on the other ſide, if you continue all in one minde, to have the Peace inviolably kept, and ſhall ſo by your advice procure the Queen to ratifie it, we alſo plainly promiſe you, That we will alſo continue our good diſpoſition to keep the ſame in ſuch good termes as now it is: And in ſo doing, the honour of Almighty God ſhall be duely ſought and promoted in both Realms, The Queen your Soveraigne ſhall enjoy her State with your ſurety, and your ſelves poſſeſſe that which ye have with tranquility; to the encreaſe of your Families and Poſteritie; which by the frequent Wars heretofore your anteceſſors never had long in one ſtate. To conclude, we require you to advertiſe us of what minde you be, ſpecially if you all continue in that minde, that you mean to have the Peace betwixt both the Realmes perpetually kept: And if you ſhall forbear any longer to advertiſe us, ye ſhall give us ſome occaſion of doubt, whereof more hurt may grow then good. *From, &c.*

Theſe Letters received and peruſed, albeit the States could not be convened, yet did the Councell, and ſome others alſo in particular, return anſwers with reaſonable diligence. The Tenour of our Letters was this:

MADAME,

PLeaſe your Majeſtie, that with judgement we have conſidered your Majeſties Letters: And albeit the whole States could not ſuddenly be aſſembled, yet we thought expedient to ſignifie ſomewhat of our mindes unto your Majeſtie. Far be it from us, that either we take upon us, That infamy before the world, or grudge of conſcience before our God, that we ſhould lightly eſteem the obſervation of that Peace lately contracted betwixt theſe two Realmes. By what motives our Soveraigne delayed the ratification thereof, we cannot tell: But of us (of us, we ſay, Madame, that have proteſted fidelity in our promiſe) her Majeſty had none. Your Majeſtie cannot be ignorant, That in this Realme there are many enemies; and farther, That our Soveraigne hath Councellors, whoſe judgements ſhe in all ſuch cauſes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth us, not onely reverently to ſpeak and write of our Soveraigne, but alſo to judge and thinke: And yet your Majeſtie may be well aſſured, That in us ſhall be noted no blame, if that Peace be not ratified to your Majeſties contentment: For God is witneſſe, That our chief care in this earth, next the glory of God, is, That conſtant Peace may remain betwixt theſe two Realmes, whereof your Majeſtie and Realme ſhall have ſure experience, ſo long as our counſell or votes may ſtop the contrary. The benefit that we have received is ſo recent, that we cannot ſuddenly bury it in forgetfulneſſe. We would deſire your Majeſty rather to be perſwaded of us, That we to our powers will ſtudie to leave it in remembrance to our poſterity. And thus with lawfull and humble commendation of our ſervice, we commit your Majeſty to the Protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh *the ſixteenth day of July,* 1561.

Note.

Note the Scots acknowledgement.

There

Anno

There were ſome others that anſwered ſome of the Miniſters of *England* ſomewhat more ſharply, and willed them not to accuſe nor threaten ſo ſharply, till that they were able to convince ſuch as had promiſed fidelitie, of ſome evident crime, which although they were able to lay to the charge of ſome, yet reſpect would be had to ſuch as long had declared themſelves conſtant procurers of quietneſſe and peace. The ſudden arrivall of the Queen made great alteration even in the Councell, as after we will hear. In this mean time, the Papiſts by ſurmiſing troubled what they might, their Poſts, Letters, and Complaints were from day to day directed, ſome to the Pope, ſome to the Cardinall of *Loraine*, and ſome to our Queen. The principall of thoſe Curriers were Maſter *Steven Wilſon*, Maſter *John Leſlie*, called *Nolumus* and *Volumus*, Maſter *James Throgmorton*, and others, ſuch as lived, and ſtill live by the traffique of that Romane Antichriſt.

The Preachers vehemently exhorted us to eſtabliſh the Book of Diſcipline, by an Act and publike Law; affirming, That if they ſuffered things to hang in ſuſpence, when God had given unto them ſufficient power in their hand, they ſhould after ſob for it, but ſhould not get it. The Books of Diſcipline have been of late ſo often publiſhed, that we ſhall forbeare to Print them at this time, hoping that no good men will refuſe to follow the ſame, till God in a greater light eſtabliſh a more perfect.

The end of the third Booke.

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Anno

THE FOVRTH BOOK
OF
The Progreſſe and Continuance of true Religion *within* SCOTLAND.

IN the former Bookes (Gentle Reader) thou mayeſt clearly ſee how potently God hath performed in theſe our laſt and wicked dayes, as well as in the ages that have paſſed before us, the promiſes that are made to the ſervants of God, by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, in theſe words, *They that wait upon the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength, they ſhall mount up with wings as Eagles, they ſhall run, and not be weary, they ſhall walk and not faint.* Iſaiah 40 31. This promiſe, we ſay, ſuch as Satan hath not utterly blinded, may ſee performed in us, the Profeſſours of Chriſt Jeſus, within this Realme of *Scotland*, with no leſſe evidence, then it was in any age, that ever paſſed before us. For what was our force? What was our number? Yea, what wiſdome or worldly policie was in us, to have brought to any good end ſo great an enterpriſe? our very enemies can bear witneſſe. And yet in how great purity God did eſtabliſh amongſt us his true Religion, as well in Doctrine as in Ceremonies? To what confuſion and fear were Idolaters, adulterers, and all publike tranſgreſſours of Gods Commandments within ſhort time brought, the publike Orders of the Church, yet, by the mercie of God preſerved, and the puniſhment executed againſt malefactours, can teſtifie unto the world. For as touching the adminiſtration of the Sacraments uſed in our Churches, we are bold to affirme, That there is no Realme this day upon the face of the earth, that hath them in greater puritie; yea, we can ſpeak the Trueth, whomſoever we offend, there is none (no Realme I meane) that hath them in the like purity,

A true acknowledgment of mans weakneſſe, to the glory of God; and as it was then, ſo hath it been in this laſt Reformation.

Anno

As it was then, ſo it is now, by Gods mercies to that Nation.

for all others, how ſincere that ever the Doctrine be that by ſome is taught, retain in their Churches, and in the Miniſters thereof, ſome footſteps of Antichriſt, and dregs of Papiſtry: But we (all praiſe to God alone) have nothing within our Churches that ever flowed from that man of Sin. And this we acknowledge to be the ſtrength given to us of God, becauſe we eſteemed not our ſelves wiſe in our owne eyes; but underſtanding our own wiſedome to be but meer fooliſhneſſe before our God, laid it aſide, and followed onely that which we found approved by himſelfe.

The firſt Petition of the Proteſtants of Scotland.

In this point could never our enemies cauſe us to faint; for our firſt Petition was, *That the Reverend face of the firſt, Primitive and Apoſtolike Church ſhould be reduced again to the eyes and knowledge of men.* And in that point (we ſay) our God hath ſtrengthned us, till that the Work was finiſhed, as the world may ſee. And as concerning the ſuppreſſing of vice, yea, and of the aboliſhing of all ſuch things as might nouriſh Impiety within the Realm, the Acts and Statutes of the principall Towns reformed, will yet teſtifie: For what Adulterer, what Fornicator, what known Maſſe-monger or peſtilent Papiſt durſt have been ſeen in publike, within any Reformed Town within this Realme, before that the Queen arrived? And this Victory to his Word, and terrour to all filthy livers, did God work by ſuch as yet live, and remaine witneſſes (whether they will or not) of the aforeſaid works of God.

Let this be noted for example.

We ſay our God ſuffered none of theſe, whom he firſt called to the Battell to periſh or to fall, the while that he made them Victors of their enemies: For even as God ſuffered none of thoſe whom he called from *Egypt*, to periſh in the Red Sea, how fearfull that ever the danger appeared; ſo ſuffered he none of us to be approved, nor yet to be taken from this life, till that now the *Pharaohs*, then one, was drowned, and we ſet at freedom, without all danger of our enemies; to let both us and our Poſterity underſtand, That ſuch as follow the conducting of God, cannot periſh, albeit they walked in the very ſhadow of death. But from whence (alas) cometh this miſerable diſperſion of Gods people within this Realme this day, in *May* 1561? And what is the cauſe that now the juſt is compelled to keep ſilence, good men are baniſhed, Murtherers, and ſuch as are knowne unworthy of common Society) if Juſtice were put in execution) bear the whole Regiment and ſway within this Realme?

The cauſe of the trouble within *Scotland*, flowed from the Courtiers who ſeemed to profeſſe the Evangell.

We anſwer, Becauſe that ſuddenly the moſt part of us declined from the purity of Gods Word, and began to follow the world, and ſo againe ſhake hands with the devill, and with Idolatry, as in the fourth Book we will heare.

For while that Papiſts were ſo confounded, that none within the Realme durſt more avow the hearing or ſaying of Maſſe, then the theeves of *Tiddiſdale* durſt avow their ſtouth or ſtealing, in the preſence of any upright Judge: Noware Proteſtants found who are not aſhamed at Tables, and other open places, to aske, *Why may not theſe men have their Maſſe, and the forme of their Religion? What can that hurt us, or our Religion?* And from theſe two, *Why* and *What*, at laſt ſprang

pr ang out this Affirmative, *The Queens Maſſe and her Prieſts will we maintain; This hand and this Rapier ſhall fight in their defence, &c.* Anno

The Inconveniences were ſhown both by Tongue and Pen; but the advertiſers were judged to be men of unequall Spirits; Their Credit was defaced at the hands of ſuch, as before were not aſhamed to have uſed their Counſell in matters of greater importance, to have refuſed the Maſſe.

But then my Lord, my Maſter may not be thus uſed; he hath that Honour to be the Queens Brother; And therefore we will that all men ſhall underſtand, That he muſt tender her as his Siſter: And whoſoever will counſell him to diſpleaſe her, or the leaſt that pertains unto her, ſhall not finde him their friend; yea, they are worthy to be hanged, that would ſo counſell him, &c. Theſe and the like reaſons took ſuch deep root in fleſh and blood, and was (as yet alas they are) preferred to God, and to his Meſſengers, rebuking vice and vanity, that from thence hath all our miſery proceeded. He means the Lord *James*, Earle *Murray*.

For as before, ſo even yet, although the Miniſters be ſet to beg, the Guard and the men of Warre muſt be ſerved; Though the blood of the Miniſters muſt be ſpilt, yet it is the Queens Servants that did it. Although Maſſe be multiplied in all Quarters of the Realme, Who can ſtop the Queens Subjects to live of the Queens Religion? Although Innocent men be Impriſoned, it is the Queens pleaſure. So ſhe is offended at ſuch men, although under pretence of Juſtice, Innocents be murthered: The Lords ſhall weep, but the Queenes minde muſt be ſatisfied. Nobles of the Realme, Barons and Councellors are baniſhed, their Eſcheats diſpoſedof, and their lives moſt unjuſtly purſued. The Queen hath loſt her truſty Servant *David*, he was deare unto her; and therefore for her Honour ſake, ſhe muſt ſhow rigour to revenge his death. And yet farther, albeit that ſome knew that ſhe hath plainly purpoſed to wrack and undo the Religion within this Realme; That to that Romane Antichriſt ſhe hath made her promiſe; And that from him ſhe hath taken money to uphold his pomp within this Realme, yet will they let the people underſtand, That the Queen will eſtabliſh Religion, and provide all things orderly, if ſhe were once delivered. The corruption that entred the Queens Court. The Theologie of the Court, and their reaſons. Wicked Counſellors fathers all th' miſchiefs upon miſled Princes, and cauſeth them to take all things upon them

If ſuch dealing, which is too common amongſt Proteſtants, be not to preſer fleſh and blood, to God, to his Truth, to Religion, and to the oppreſſed Liberty of the Realme, let the world judge. The plagues have been, and in ſome places are preſent, that were before threatned; the reſt approaches: And yet who from the heart cryeth, *I haue offended, Now thou Lord knowes, in thee onely is the truſt of the oppreſſed, for vain is the help of man.* But now to returne we to our Hiſtory. This was written when the ſecond rank of the Lords was baniſhed, *Anno* 1570. after *Dauid*'s ſlaughter.

The 19 day of *Auguſt*, 1561. betwixt ſeven and eight hours before noon, arrived *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, then widow, with two Gallies out of *France*: In her company (beſides her Gentlewomen called the *Maries*) were her Uncles, the Duke *Aumale* the grand Prior; the Marqueſſe *d'Albuff*. There accompanied her alſo, *d'Anville* ſon to the Conſtable of The Queens Arrival from *France* 1561.

Anno *France*, with other Gentlemen of inferiour Condition, beſides ſervants and Officers. The very face of the Heaven, at the time of her Arrivall, did manifeſtly ſpeak what comfort was brought into this Countrey with her (to wit) Sorrow, Dolour, Darkneſſe, and all Impiety; For in the memory of man, that day of the yeer was never ſeen a more dolorous face of the Heaven, then was at her Arrivall, which two dayes after did ſo continue: For beſides the Surface Wet and Corruption of the Ayre, the Miſt was ſo thick and dark, that ſcarce might any man eſpie another the length of two payre of Butts: the Sun was not ſeen to ſhine two dayes before, nor two dayes after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but alas the moſt part were blinde.

Triſte & lugubre Cœlum.

At the ſound of the Cannons, which the Galleyes ſhot, the multitude being advertiſed, happy was he or ſhe that firſt muſt have the preſence of the Queen; the Proteſtants were not the ſloweſt: And therein they were not to be blamed. Becauſe the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe* was not thorowly put in order (for her coming was more ſudden then many looked for) ſhe remained in *Leith*, till towards the evening, and then repaired thither. In the way betwixt *Leith* and the Abbey, met her the Rebells the Crafts-men, of whom we ſpake before; to wit, Thoſe that had violated the Acts of the Magiſtrates, and had beſieged the *Proveiſt*. But becauſe ſhe was ſufficiently inſtructed that all they did was done in ſpight of their Religion, they were eaſily pardoned.

The Queens firſt grace in deſpight of Religion.

Fires of joy were ſet forth at night, and a Company of moſt honeſt men with Inſtruments of Muſick, and with Muſitians, gave their Salutations at her Chamber Window; The M lody (as ſhe alleadged) liked her well; and ſhe willed the ſame to be continued ſome nights after with great diligence. The Lords repaired to her from all Quarters: and ſo was nothing underſtood but mirth and quietneſſe, till the next Sunday, which was the 24 of *Auguſt*: When that preparations began to be made for that Idoll of the Maſſe to be ſaid in the Chappell: Which perceived, the hearts of all the godly began to be emboldened; and men began openly to ſpeak, *Shall that Idoll be ſuffered again to take place within this Realme? It ſhall not.* The Lord *Lindſay* (then but Maſter) with the Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, and others, plainly cryed in the Cloſe or Yard, *The Idolatrous Prieſts ſhould die the death, according to Gods Law.* One that carried in the Candle was evill affrayed; but then began fleſh and blood fully to ſhew it ſelf. There durſt no Papiſt, neither yet any that came out of *France*, whiſper: But the Lord *James*, the man whom all the godly did moſt reverence, took upon him to keep the Chappell door: his beſt excuſe was, That he would ſtop all Scotiſh-men to enter in to the Maſſe; But it was and is ſufficiently known, That the doore was kept that none ſhould have entry to trouble the Prieſt; who after the Maſſe was ended, was committed to the protection of the Lord *John* of *Coldingham*, and Lord *Robert* of *Halyrud-houſe*; who then were both Proteſtants, and had Communicate at the Table of the Lord: Betwixt them two was the Prieſt conveyed to his Chamber. And ſo the godly departed with grief of heart, and after noon repaired to the Abbey in great companies, and gave plain ſignification, That they

The Queens firſt Maſſe.

Lord *James*, notwithſtanding his former zeal to the Truth, complying with Court, favoureth Idolatry.

godly reaſon.

could

could not abide that the Land, which God by his power had purged from Idolatry, ſhould in their eyes be polluted again: Which underſtood, there began complaint upon complaint. The old *Duntebors*, and others that had long ſerved in the Court, and hoped to have no remiſſion of ſins, but by vertue of the Maſſe, cryed, They would away to *France* without delay, They could not live without the Maſſe: the ſame affirmed the Queens Uncles. And would to God that they all, together with the Maſſe, had taken goodnight at the Realme for ever: for ſo had *Scotland* been rid of an unprofitable burthen of devouring ſtrangers, and of the malediction of God, that hath ſtricken, and yet will ſtrike for Idolatry. Anno

The end is not yet ſeen.

The Councell aſſembled, diſputation was had of the next remedy: Politicke heads were ſent unto the Gentlemen, with theſe and the like perſwaſions: *Why, alas, Will you chaſe our Soveraigne from us? She will incontinently returne to her Galleyes, and what then ſhall all Realmes ſay of us? May we not ſuffer her a little while? I doubt not but ſhe will leave it: If we were not aſſured that ſhe might be won, we ſhould be alſo as great enemies to her Maſſe, as ye can be. Her Uncles will depart, and then ſhall we rule all at our pleaſure: Would not we be alſo ſorry to hurt the Religion, as any of you would be?* With theſe and the like perſwaſions (we ſay) was the fervency of the Brethren quenched. And an Act was framed, the Tenour whereof followeth.

The perſwaſions of the Courtiers.

Apud *Edinburgh*, 25 *Auguſtii*, 1561.

FOraſmuch as the Queens Majeſtie hath underſtood the great inconveniences through the diviſion preſently ſtanding in this Realme, for the difference in matters of Religion, which her Majeſtie is moſt deſirous to ſee pacified by any good order, To the Honour of God, and Tranquility of her Realm, and means to take the ſame, by Advice of her States, ſo ſoon as conveniently may be, to their ſerious Conſideration. And leſt that her Majeſties godly Reſolutions therein may be greatly hindered, in caſe any Tumult and Sedition be raiſed amongſt the Lieges, if any Alteration or Innovation be Preſſed or Attempted before that good Order may be Eſtabliſhed; Wherefore, for the eſchewing of the ſaid Inconveniences, her Majeſtie Ordains Letters to be Directed, to Charge all and ſundry her Lieges, by open Proclamation at the Market-Croſſe of Edinburgh, *and other Places needfull, That they, and every one of them, contain themſelves in all Quietneſſe, keep Peace and Civill Society amongſt themſelves in the mean time, while the States of the Realm may be Aſſembled, and then her Majeſtie have taken a finall Order by their Advice, and publike Conſent;*

Anno *which her Majeſtie hopes ſhall be to the Contentment of all, the Law bidding, That none of them ſhould take in hand privately or openly, any Alteration or Innovation of the ſtate of Religion, or attempt any thing againſt the ſame, which her Majeſtie found Publikely and Univerſally ſtanding at her Majeſties Arrivall in this her Realme, under Pain of Death. With Certification, That if any Subject of the Realme ſhall come in the contrary Thereof, he ſhall be eſteemed and holden a Seditious Perſon, and Raiſer of Tumult, and the ſame Pain ſhall be executed upon him with all Rigour, To the Example of others. And her Majeſtie, with the Advice of the Lords of the Secret Councell, Commands and Charges all her Liges, That none of them take in hand to Moleſt or Trouble any of her Majeſties Domeſticke Servants, or Perſons whatſoever come forth of France in her Company at this time, in Word, Deed, or Countenance, for any Cauſe whatſoever, either within her Palace, or without, or make any aſſault or invaſion upon any of them, under whatſoever Colour or Pretence, under the ſaid Pain of Death. Albeit that her Majeſtie be ſufficiently perſwaded, That her Good and Loving Subjects would do the ſame for the Reverence they bear to her Perſon and Acts, notwithſtanding no ſuch Commandment were publiſhed.*

This Act and Proclamation Penned, and put in Forme by ſuch as before profeſſed Chriſt Jeſus (for in the Councell then had Papiſts neither power nor voyce) It was publikely Proclaimed at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh* upon Munday the day aforeſaid. No man reclaimed, nor made repugnance to it, except the Earle of *Arrane* onely; who in open audience of the Herald, proteſted, *That he diſaſſented that any Protection or Defence ſhould be made to the Queens Domeſticks, or to any that came from* France, *to offend Gods Majeſtie, and to violate the Laws of the Realme, more then any other Subjects: For Gods Law had pronounced death to the Idolater; and the Lawes of the Realme had appointed puniſhment for ſayers and hearers of the Maſſe; which, ſaid he, I here proteſt, be Univerſally obſerved; and that none be exempted, untill ſuch time as a Law alſo publikely made, and alſo conſonant to the Law of God, have diſannulled the former.* Hereupon he took Documents and Acts, as the Tenour of this his Proteſtation witneſſeth.

The Lord *Arrans* ſtout and godly Proteſtation againſt the Queens Maſſe.

IN ſo far as by this Proclamation it is made underſtood to the Church of God, and Members thereof, That the Queen is minded that the true Religion and Worſhip of God already eſtabliſhed, proceed forward, that it may daily encreaſe: Unto the Parliament, that order may be then for extirpation of all Idolatry out of this Realme. We render moſt hearty thanks to the Lord our God for her Majeſties good minde, earneſtly praying that it may be encreaſed in her Majeſty, To the Honour and Glory of his Name, and Weal of his Church within this Realme.

And

Anno

And as touching the moleſtation of her Highneſſe Servants, we ſuppoſe that none dare be ſo bold as once to move their finger at them, in doing of their lawfull buſineſſe: And as for us, we have learned at our Maſter Chriſts Shoole, *To keep Peace with all men.* And therefore for our part we will promiſe that obedience unto her Majeſtie (as is our dutie) That none of her ſervants ſhall be troubled, moleſted, or once touched, by the Church, or any member thereof, in doing their lawfull buſineſſe. But ſince that God hath ſaid, *That the Idolater ſhall die the death*; We Proteſt ſolemnely, in the preſence of God, and in the eares of all the people that heares this Proclamation, and eſpecially in the preſence of you, Lion Herauld, and the reſt of your Colleagues, maker of this Proclamation, That if any of her ſervants ſhall commit Idolatry, eſpecially ſay Maſſe, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof (which we are loath ſhould be in her Highneſſe company) in that caſe, That this Proclamation is not extended to them in that behalf, nor be not a ſafe-guard nor girth to them in that behalfe, no more then if they commit ſlaughter or murther, ſeeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the ſight of God, then is the other. But that it may be lawfull to inflict upon them the paines contained in Gods Word againſt Idolaters, where ever they may be apprehended, without favour. And this our Proteſtation we deſire you to notifie unto her, and give her the Copie hereof, leſt her Highneſſe ſhould ſuſpect an uproare if we ſhould all come and preſent the ſame.

Good reſolution, if followed.

At Edinburgh, *the day and yeere aforeſaid.*

This boldneſſe did ſomewhat exaſperate the Queene, and ſuch as favoured her in that point. As the Lords (then called of the Congregation) repaired to the Towne, at the firſt coming they ſhew themſelves wonderfully offended, That the Maſſe was permitted: So that every man as he came, accuſed them that were before him, but after they had remained a certaine ſpace, they were as quiet, as were the former? Which thing perceived, a zealous and godly man, *Robert Campbell* of *Kingzieclench*, ſaid unto the Lord *Uchiltrie*; (My Lord) now you are come, and almoſt the laſt of all the reſt; and I perceive by your anger, that the fire edge is not off you yet: but I feare, that after that the Holy-water of the Court be ſprinkled upon you, that you ſhall become as temperate as the reſt: For I have been heere now five dayes, and at the firſt I heard every man ſay, Let us hang the Prieſt: But after that they had beene twice or thrice in the Abbey, all that fervencie paſt. I think there be ſome inchantment, whereby men are bewitched. And in very deed ſo it came to paſſe: For the Queenes faire words upon the one part, ever ſtill crying, *Conſcience, Conſcience, It is a ſore thing to conſtraine the Conſcience*: And the ſubtill perſwaſions of her ſuppoſts (we meane, even of thoſe who were judged moſt fervent amongſt us) upon the other part; blinded all men, and put them in opinion, She will be content to heare the Preaching; and ſo no doubt but ſhe may be wonne. And this of all, it was concluded, To ſuffer her for a time.

Robert Campbell to the Lord Uchiltrie.

The Queens practiſe at the firſt.

The

Anno

The next Sunday, *John Knox* inveighing againſt Idolatry, ſhewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon Realmes and Nations for the ſame; and added, That one Maſſe (there were no more ſuffered at firſt) was more fearfull unto him, then if ten thouſand armed enemies were landed in any part of the Realme, of purpoſe to ſuppreſſe the whole Religion; for (ſaid he) in our God there is ſtrength to reſiſt and confound multitudes, if we unfainedly depend upon him; whereof heretofore we have had experience: But when we joyn hands with Idolatry, it is no doubt but both Gods amiable preſence, and comfortable defence, will leave us; and what ſhall then become of us? Alas, I fear that experience will teach us, to the grief of many. At theſe words the guiders of the Court mocked, and plainly ſpake, That ſuch fear was no point of their faith; it was beſides his Text, and was a very untimely Admonition. But we heard the ſame *John Knox*, in the audience of theſe ſame men, recite the ſame words againe in the midſt of troubles; and in the audience of many, asked God mercy that he was not more vehement and upright in the ſuppreſſing of that Idoll in the beginning: For (ſaid he) albeit I ſpake that which offended ſome (which this day they ſee and feel to be true) yet did I not that which I might have done; for God hath not onely given unto me knowledge and tongue to make the impiety of that Idoll knowne unto the Realme, but he had given me credit with many who would have put in execution Gods Judgements, if I would onely have conſented thereto: But ſo carefull was I (ſaid he) of that common Tranquility, and ſo loth was I to have offended thoſe of whom I had conceived a good opinion, that in ſecret conference with deareſt and zealous men, I travelled rather to mitigate, yea to ſlacken that fervency that God had kindled in others, then to animate or encourage them to put their hands to the Lords Work; wherein I unfainedly acknowledged my ſelf to have done moſt wickedly, and from the bottome of my heart do aske of my God grace and pardone, for that I did not what in me lay, to have ſuppreſſed that Idoll in the beginning. Theſe and many other words did many heare him ſpeake in publike in the monethof *December*, 1565. when ſuch as at the Queenes Arrivall onely maintained the Maſſe, were exiled the Realme, ſummoned upon Treaſon, and decreit of forfeiture intended againſt them. But to returne from whence we have digreſſed.

The judgment of *John Knox* upon the ſuffering of the Maſſe.

The Courtier making.

Note diligently how wife and godly men are ſo miſtaken of, as to play after games: And this M. *Knox* doth acknowledge here.

Whether it was by counſell of others, or of the Queens owne deſire, we know not, but the Queen ſpake with *John Knox*, and had long reaſoned with him, none being preſent, except the Lord *James*, two Gentlemen ſtood in the one end of the room. The ſum of their reaſoning was this: The Queen accuſed him, That he had raiſed a part of her ſubjects againſt her Mother and her ſelf; That he had written a Book againſt her juſt Authority; (ſhe meant the Treatiſe againſt the Regiment of Women) which ſhe had and would cauſe the moſt learned in *Europe* to write againſt it; That he was the cauſe of great ſedition, and great ſlaughter in *England*; And that it was ſaid to her, That all that he did was by Necromancy. To the which the ſaid *John* anſwered; Madame, it may pleaſe your Majeſtie patiently to hear my ſimple anſwers: And firſt (ſaid he)

The firſt reaſoning betwixt the Queen and *John Knox*.

Note how that Princes are informed againſt Gods ſervants.

my ſimple Anſwers: And firſt, (ſaid he) if to teach the Word of God in ſincerity, if to rebuke Idolatry, and to will a people to worſhip God, according to his Word, be to raiſe Subjects againſt their Princes, then cannot I bee excuſed; for it hath pleaſed God of his mercy, to make me one (amongſt many) to diſcloſe unto this Realme the vanitie of the Papiſticall Religion, and the deceit, pride, and tyranny of that *Romane* Antichriſt: But Madame, if the true knowledge of God and his right worſhipping be the chief cauſe which muſt move men to obey their juſt Princeſſe from their heart, (as it is moſt certain that they are) wherein can I be reprehended? I thinke, and am ſurely perſwaded, that your Majeſtie has had, and preſently hath as unfained obedience of ſuch as profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus within this Realm, as ever your Father or Progenitours had of thoſe that were called Biſhops: And touching that Booke that ſeemeth ſo highly to offend your Majeſtie, it is moſt certaine, that if I wrote it, I am content that all the learned of the world judge of it: I heare that an Engliſhman hath written againſt it, but I have not read him; if hee hath ſufficiently confuted my reaſons, and eſtabliſhed his contrary Propoſitions, with as evident teſtimonies, as I have done mine; I ſhall not bee obſtinate but ſhall confeſſe mine errour and ignorance. But to this houre I have thought, and yet thinkes my ſelfe alone more able to ſuſtaine the things affirmed in that my Work, than any ten in Europe ſhall be able to confute it.

Anno

Let this be noted diligently.

Let the Prince note this.

You thinke (ſaid ſhee) that I have no juſt Authoritie: Pleaſe your Majeſtie, (ſaid he) that learned men in all ages have had their judgements free, and moſt commonly diſagreeing from the Common judgement of the world; Such alſo have they publiſhed, both with Pen and tongue, notwithſtanding they themſelves have lined in the common Societie with others, and have borne patiently with the errour and imperfections which they could not amend. *Plato* the Philoſopher wrote his Booke of the Common wealth, in the which hee condemnes many things that were maintained in the world, and required many things to have beene reformed: And yet notwithſtanding he lived under ſuch Politicks, as then were univerſally received without farther troubling any State: Even ſo Madame am I content to do, in uprightneſſe of heart, and with a teſtimony of good Conſcience, I have communicate my judgement to the world; if the Realme findes no inconveniencies in the Regiment of a woman, that which they approve, ſhall I not further diſallow, then within my owne breſt, but ſhall be all well content, and ſhall live under your Majeſtie, as *Paul* was to live under the *Roman* Emperour: And my hope is, that ſo long as ye defile not your hands with the Blood of the Saints of God, that neither I nor that Booke ſhall either hurt you or your Authoritie; for in very deed Madame, that Booke was written moſt eſpecially againſt that wicked *Mary* of *England*.

Let this wiſe reply be noted.

But (ſaid ſhee) you ſpeake of women in generall; moſt true it is Madame, (ſaid the other;) and yet plainly appeareth to me, that wiſedome ſhould perſwade your Majeſtie never to raiſe trouble

Anno for that which this day hath not troubled your Majeſtie, neither in perſon, nor in anxietie. For of late yeeres many things which before were holden Stable have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainely impugned. But yet, Madame, I am aſſured, That neither Proteſtant nor Papiſt, ſhall be able to prove, That any ſuch Queſtion was at any time moved, in publike or in private. Now, Madame, ſaid he, if I had intended to trouble your State, becauſe you are a woman; I might have choſen a time more convenient for that purpoſe then I can do now, when your own preſence is within the Realme.

But now, Madame, ſhortly to anſwer to the other two accuſations, I heartily praiſe my God, through Jeſus Chriſt, that Satan, the enemy of mankinde, and the wicked of the World, have no other crimes to lay to my charge, then ſuch as the very World it ſelfe knoweth to be moſt falſe and vaine. For in *England* I was reſident onely the ſpace of five yeeres. The places were *Barwick*, where I abode two yeeres; So long in *New-caſtle*; And a yeere in *London*. Now, Madame, if in any of theſe places, during the time that I was there, any man ſhall be able to prove, That there was either Battell, Sedition, or Mutinie, I ſhall confeſſe, That I my ſelfe was the Malefactour, and ſhedder of the blood. I am not aſhamed further to affirme, That God ſo bleſſed my weake labours then in *Barwick* (wherein then commonly uſed to be ſlaughter, by reaſon of quarrells that uſed to ariſe amongſt Souldiers) there was alſo great quietneſſe, all the time that I remained there, as there is this day in *Edinburgh*.

Note this undertaking.

And where they ſlander me of Magick, Necromancie, or of any other Art forbidden of God, I have witneſſe (beſides mine owne conſcience) all the Congregations that ever heard me, what I ſpeak, both againſt ſuch acts, and againſt thoſe that uſe ſuch impietie: But ſeeing the wicked of the world ſaid, That my Maſter the Lord Jeſus was poſſeſſed with *Beelzebub*, I muſt patiently beare; Albeit that I, wretched ſinner, be unjuſtly accuſed, of thoſe that never delighted in the Veritie.

The Queens ſecond Objection.

But yet (ſaid ſhe) you have taught the people to receive another Religion then their Princes can allow: And how can that Doctrine be of God? Seeing that God commandeth Subjects to obey their Princes.

Anſwer.

Madame (ſaid he) as right Religion tooke neither Originall nor Antiquity, from worldly Princes, but from the eternall God alone: So are not Subjects bound to frame their Religion according to the appetite of their Princes; For oft it is that Princes are the moſt ignorant of all others, in Gods true Religion, as we may reade in the Hiſtories, as well before the death of CHRIST JESUS, as after: If all the ſeed of *Abraham* ſhould have beene of the Religion of *Pharaoh*, to whom they had beene a long time Subjects, I pray you (Madame) what Religion ſhould there have been in the world? Or if all men in the dayes of the Apoſtles, ſhould have beene of the Religion of the Romane Emperours, What Religion ſhould have been

been upon the face of the earth? *Daniel* and his fellows were ſubjects to *Nebuchad-nezzar*, and unto *Darius*, and yet (Madame) they would not be of their Religion, neither of the one, nor of the other; For the three Children ſaid, *We make it knowne to thee, O King, That we will not worſhip thy Gods.* And *Daniel* did pray publikely unto his God, againſt the expreſſe Commandment of the King: And ſo, Madame, ye may perceive that Subjects are not bound to the Religion of their Princes, albeit they are commanded to give them obedience. Yea, (quoth ſhe) none of theſe men raiſed their Sword againſt their Princes. Yet Madame (quoth he) ye cannot deny but they reſiſted: For thoſe that obey not the Commandments given, in ſome ſort reſiſt. But yet (ſaid ſhe) they reſiſted not by the Sword. God (ſaid ſhe) Madame) had not given them the power and the meanes. Thinke you (ſaid ſhe) That Subjects, having power, may reſiſt their Princes? If Princes do exceed their Bounds (quoth he) Madame, and doe againſt that wherefore they ſhould be obeyed, there is no doubt but they may be reſiſted, even by Power: For there is neither greater Honour, nor greater Obedience to be given to Kings and Princes, then God hath commadned to be given to Father and Mother: But ſo it is, That the Father may be ſtricken with a Phrenzie, in the which he would ſlay his owne Children; Now, Madame, if the children ariſe, joyn themſelves together, apprehend the Father, take the Sword or other Weapon from him, and finally, binde his hands, and keepe him in Priſon till that his Phrenſie be over-paſt, Thinke ye (Madame) that the children do any wrong? Or thinke ye, Madame, that God will be offended with them that have ſtayed their Father from committing wickedneſſe. It is even ſo (ſaid he) Madame, with Princes that would murther the children of God, that are ſubject unto them. Their blinde zeale is nothing but a very mad phrenzie; and therefore to take the ſword from them, to binde their hands, and to caſt them into priſon, till that they be brought to a more ſober minde, is no diſobedience againſt Princes, but juſt obedience, becauſe that it agreeth with the Word of God.

Anno

Note this comparison.

Blinde zeal, what it is.

When this was written there was no appearance of *Maries* impriſonment.

At theſe words the Queene ſtood, as it were amazed, more then a quarter of an houre; her countenance altered, ſo that the Lord *James* began to entreat her, and to demand, What hath offended you, Madame? At length ſhe ſaid, Well, then I perceive that my Subjects ſhall not onely obey you, and not me; And ſhall do what they liſt, and not what I command, and ſo muſt I be ſubject unto them, and not they to me. God forbid (anſwered he) that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or yet to ſet Subjects at liberty, to do whatſoever pleaſe them; but my travell is, That both Princes and Subjects obey GOD. And thinke not (ſaid he) Madame, that wrong was done unto you, when you are willed to be ſubject unto GOD, for

Anno

it is he that ſubjects the people under Princes, and cauſes obedience to be given unto them; yea, God craves of Kings, That they be, as it were, Foſter-Fathers to the Church, and commands Queens to be Nouriſhers unto his People. And this ſubjection (Madame) unto God, and to his troubled Church, is the greateſt dignity that fleſh can get upon the face of the earth, for it ſhall carry them to everlaſting glory.

The Queens Church.

Yea (quoth ſhe) but ye are not the Church that I will nouriſh; I will defend the Church of *Rome*, for I think it is the true Church of God.

Your will (quoth he) Madame, is no reaſon, neither doth your thought make that Romane Harlot to be the Immaculate Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt. And wonder not, Madame, that I call *Rome* an Harlot; for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinde of Spirituall Fornication, as well in Doctrine, as in Manners: yea, Madam, I offer my ſelfe further to prove, That the Church of the Jewes, who crucified Jeſus Chriſt, when that they manifeſtly denied the Sonne of God, was not ſo farre degenerated from the Ordinances and Statutes which God gave by *Moſes* and *Aaron* unto his People, as the Church of *Rome* is declined, and more then five hundred yeers hath declined from that Purity of Religion which the Apoſtles taught and planted. My conſcience (ſaid ſhe) is not ſo. Conſcience, Madame (ſaid he) requires knowledge; and I fear that of right knowledge you have but little. But (ſaid ſhe) I have both heard and read. So, Madame (ſaid he) did the Jewes that crucified Chriſt Jeſus, reade both the Law and the Prophets, and heard the ſame interpreted, after their manner. Have ye heard (ſaid he) any teach, but ſuch as the Pope and his Cardinalls have allowed? And you may be aſſured, That ſuch will ſpeak nothing to offend their owne ſtate. Ye interpret the Scriptures (ſaid ſhe) in one manner, and they in another; Whom ſhall I believe, and who ſhall be Judge? Believe (ſaid he) God, that plainly ſpeaketh in his Word: And further then the Word teacheth you, ye ſhall neither believe the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in it ſelf; And if there appear any obſcurity in one place, the holy Ghoſt, which is never contrarious to himſelf, explains the ſame more clearly in other places: So that there can remaine no doubt, but unto ſuch as obſtinately will remaine ignorant. And now, Madame, (ſaid he) to take one of the chief Points which this day is in controverſie betwixt the Papiſts and us, for example. The Papiſts alleadge, and boldly have affirmed, That the Maſſe is the Ordinance of God, and the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. We deny both the one and the other, and affirme, That the Maſſe, as it is now uſed, is nothing but the Invention of man; and therefore it is an Abomination before God, and no Sacrifice that ever God commanded. Now (Madame) who ſhall judge betwixt us, two thus contending? It is not reaſon that either of the perſons be further believed, then they are able to prove by inſuſpect witneſſing: Let them lay downe the Book of God, and by the plain words prove their affirmatives, and we ſhall give unto them the play granted. But ſo long as they are bold to affirme, and yet do prove nothing, we muſt ſay, That albeit all the world

Strong Imagination, called conſcience.

Queſtion.

world believe them, yet believe they not God', but do receive the lyes of men for the Truth of God. What our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus did, we know by his Evangeliſts: What the Prieſts do at the Maſſe, the world ſeeth. Now doth not the Word of God plainly aſſure us, That Chriſt Jeſus neither ſaid, nor yet commanded Maſſe to be ſaid at his laſt Supper, ſeeing that no ſuch thing as the Maſſe is made mention of within the whole Scriptures. You are over-hard for me (ſaid the Queen) but if they were here whom I have heard, they would anſwer you. Madame, (ſaid the other) would to God that the learnedeſt Papiſt in *Europe*, and he that you would beſt believe were preſent with your Majeſtie to ſuſtain the argument; and that ye would abide patiently to hear the matter reaſoned to the end; for then I doubt not, Madame, but that you ſhould hear the vanity of the Papiſticall Religion, and what ſmall ground it hath within the Word of God. Well (ſaid ſhe) ye may perchance get that ſooner then you believe. Aſſuredly (ſaid the other) if ever I get that in my ſelf, I get it ſooner then I believe; for the ignorant Papiſt cannot patiently reaſon, and the learned and crafty Papiſt will never come in your audience (Madame) to have the ground of their Religion ſearched out; for they know they are not able to maintain any argument, except by fire and ſword, and their own Laws be judges. So ſay you (quoth the Queen) and I believe it hath been to this day. (Quoth he) for how oft have the Papiſts in this and in other Realmes, been required to come to conference, and yet could it never be obtained, unleſſe themſelves were admitted for Judges: and therefore I muſt yet ſay again, That they dare never diſpute, but where themſelves are both judges and party. And when you ſhall let me ſee the contrary, I ſhall grant my ſelf to be deceived in that Point. And with this the Queen was called unto dinner; for it was afternoon. At departing, *John Knox* ſaid unto her, I pray God, Madame, that you may be alſo bleſſed within the Common-wealth of *Scotland* (if it be the pleaſure of God) as ever *Deborah* was in the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*. Of this long conference, whereof we onely touch a part, were divers opinions: The Papiſts grudged, and feared that which they needed not; the godly thinking at leaſt, That ſhe would have heard the preaching, rejoyceed; but they were utterly deceived, for ſhe continued in her Maſſing, and deſpiſed, and quickly mocked all exhortation.

Anno

Note this.

John Knox his owne judgement, being by ſome of his familiars demanded what he thought of the Queen, ſaid, If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart againſt God and his Truth, my judgement faileth me: and this I ſay with a grieved heart, for the good I wiſh unto her, and by her, to the Church and State.

John Knox his judgement of the Queen at the firſt, and ever ſince.

When the whole Nobility were convened, the Lords of Privie Councell were choſen, where were appointed the Duke, the Earles of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, *Atholl*, *Mortoun*, *Glencarne*, *Merſhell*, *Bothwell*; Lords *Arskeme*, and Lord *James*, after Earle *Murray*; and theſe were appointed as certain to wait upon the Court by courſe: But that Order continued not long; Duke *d'Anville* returned with the Galleyes to *France*. The Queen entred in her Progreſſe, and in the Moneth of *September* travelled from *Edinburgh*, *Linlithgow*, *Sterlin*, S. *Johnſton*, *Dundie*, S. *Andrees*; all theſe

The Queens firſt Progreſſe.

Anno parts ſhe polluted with the Idolatrous Maſſe: Fire followed the Court very commonly in that Journey, the Towns propined the Queen liberally, thereof were the French enriched.

About the beginning of *October* they returned to *Edinburgh*; and at the day appointed the Q. was received in the Caſtle: whereat preparations were made for her entry into the Town, in Farces, in Masking, and other Prodigalities: fain would our fools have counterfeited *France*: Whatſoever might ſet forth her glory, that ſhe heard, and gladly beheld. The Keyes were delivered unto her by a pretty Boy, deſcending, as it were from a Cloud: The Verſes of her own Praiſe ſhe heard, and ſmiled; But when the Bible was preſented, and the Praiſe thereof declared, ſhe began to frowne; for ſhame ſhe could not refuſe it, but ſhe did no better, for ſhe gave it to the moſt peſtilent Papiſt within the Realme, to wit, To *Arthur Arskeme*. *Edinburgh* ſince that day have reaped as they ſowed: They gave her ſome taſte of their Prodigality: And becauſe the Liquor was ſweet, ſhe hath licked oft of that Buſt or Box, oftner then twice ſince. All men know what we mean; The Queen cannot lack, and the Subjects have.

Note the diſpoſition of a miſled ſoul.

Balfours doctrine.

In *Edinburgh* it hath been an ancient and laudable Cuſtome, That the Proveſts, Bayliffs, and Councell, after their Election, which uſed to be at *Michaelmas*, cauſed publikely proclaim the Statutes and Ordinances of the Town; And therefore *Archbald Douglas* Proveſt, *Ed. Hope*, *Adam Fullartoun*, *&c.* Bayliffs, cauſed proclaim according to the former Statutes of the Town, That no Adulterer nor Fornicator, no noted Drunkard, no Maſſemonger, no obſtinate Papiſt that corrupted the people, ſuch as Prieſts, Friers, and others of that ſort, ſhould be found within 41 hours thereafter, under the Pains contained in the Statutes: Which blowne in the Queens ears, there began pride and malicioufneſſe to ſhew it ſelfe; for without further cogitation of the cauſe, was the Proveſt and Bayliffes charged to Ward in the Caſtle, and immediately was Commandment given, That other Proveſts and Bayliffs ſhould be elected.

Note this diligently.

Some gainſtood for a while: The new Election alleadged, That the Proveſt and Bayliffs whom they had choſen, and to whom they had given their Oath, had committed no offence; therefore that juſtly they might be deprived. But while Charge was doubled upon Charge, and no man found to oppoſe himſelf to impiety, the miſled Queens Letter and wicked will is obeyed, as juſt Law. And ſo was M. *Thomas Makalan* choſen Proveſt for the other. The man, no doubt, was both diſcreet, and ſufficient for that Charge; but the depoſition of the other was againſt all Law. God be mercifull to ſome of our owne, for they were not all blameleſſe, that the Queens unreaſonable will was ſo far obeyed.

A contrary Proclamation was publikely made, That the Town ſhould be patent to all the Queens Lieges: And ſo Murtherers, Adulterers, Theeves, Whores, Drunkards, Idolaters, and all Malefactors, got protection under the Queens wings, under colour that they were of her Religion: And ſo got the devill freedome againe, where that before he durſt not have been ſeen in day light upon the common ſtreets. *Lord deliver us from this Bondage of ſin.*

Yet in the Parliament holden 1563. there is an expreſſe Act for puniſhing of Adultery by death. It is the Act 74.

The

Anno

The Devil finding his raines looſe, ran forward in his courſe, and the Queen (evil men abuſing her name and authority) took upon her greater boldneſſe, then ſhe, and *Balaams* bleating Prieſts durſt have attempted before; for upon *All-Hallow* day they bended up their Maſſe with all miſchievous ſolemnitie. The Miniſters thereat offended, in plaine and publike place, declared the inconvenience that thereupon would enſue. The Nobility were ſufficiently admoniſhed of their duties; but affection cauſed men to call that in doubt, wherein oft before they ſeemed moſt reſolute; to wit, *Where that the Subjects might have hand to ſuppreſſe the Idolatry of their Prince?* And upon this Queſtion conveaned in the houſe of Maſter *James Mackgill*, the Lord *James*, Earle of *Morton*, the Earle of *Marſhall*, Secretary *Lethington*, the Juſtice *Clarke*, and the foreſaid Maſter *James* Clarke of the Regiſter; who all reaſoned for the part of the Queen, affirming, *That the Subjects might not take her Maſſe lawfully from her:* In the contrary judgement were the principall Miniſters, Maſter *John Row*, Maſter *George Hay*, Maſter *Robert Hamilton*, and *John Knox*. The reaſons of both parties we will omit, becauſe they will be explained after, where the ſaid Queſtion and others, *Concerning the Obedience due to Princes*, were long reaſoned in open aſſembly: The concluſion of that firſt reaſoning was; *That the Queſtion ſhould be formed*; *Letters directed to* Geneva *for the reſolution of that Church*; Wherein *John Knox* offered his labour. But Secretary *Lethington*, alleadging, That there ſtood much in the information, ſaid, That he ſhould write: But that was onely to drive time, as the trueth declared it ſelfe. The Queenes partie urged, *That the Queen ſhould have her Religion free in her own Chappell, to do, ſhe and her houſhold, what they liſt.* The Miniſters affirmed, and Voted the contrary; adding, *That her liberty ſhould be their thraldome, ere it be long.* But neither could reaſon nor threatning move the affections of ſuch as were creeping in Credit, and ſo did the Votes of the Lords prevaile againſt the Miniſters.

The devil getting entry to his little finger will ſcrew in his whole arm.

Note this.

For the puniſhment of Theft and Reafe, which had encreaſed upon the border: and in the South from the Queenes arrivall, was the Lord *James* made Lieutenant, ſome ſuſpected that ſuch honour and charge proceeded from the ſame heart and counſell that *Saul* made *David* Captain againſt the Philiſtines; but God aſſiſted and bowed the hearts of men, both to feare and obey him; yea, the Lord *Bothwell* himſelfe at that time aſſiſted him, but he had remiſſion for *Liddiſdall*, except that execution was there made in *Edinburgh*, for *her twenty eight of one clan, and other*, were hanged at that Juſtice Court, bribes, budds, or ſollicitation, ſaved not the guilty, if he might be apprehended. And therefore God proſpered him in that his integrity that ſame time the Lord *James* ſpake with the Lord *Gray* of *England* at *Kelſoe*, for good rule to be kept on both the borders, and agreed in all things.

Before his returning, the Queene upon a night tooke a fright in her bed, as if horſemen had been in the Cloſe, and as if the Palace had been encloſed about; whether it proceeded of her own womanly fantaſie, or if men put her in feare, for diſpleaſure of the Earle of *Arrane*: And for other purpoſes, as for the electing of the Guard, we know not; but the feare was ſo great, that the Towne was called to the Watch; Lord *Robert*

The Queenes firſt fray in *Hallyrud-houſe*.

of

Anno of *Hallyrud-houſe*, and *John* of *Coldingham* kept the Watch by courſe; Skouts were ſet forth, and Sentinels, upon pain of death, were commanded to keep their Stations. And yet they feared where there was no fear, neither yet could ever any appearance or ſuſpition of ſuch things be tried. Shortly after the returning of the Lord *James*, there came from the Queen of *England*, Sir *Peter Mewtes*, with Commiſſion to require the Ratification of the Peace made at *Leith*. Her anſwer was, even ſuch as we have heard before; That ſhe behoved to adviſe, and then ſhe ſhould anſwer. In preſence of her Councell ſhe kept her ſelfe grave; for under the mourning weed and apparell ſhe could diſſemble in full perfection: but how ſoon that ever the French people had her alone, they told her, That ſince ſhe came to *Scotland*, ſhe ſaw nothing there but gravity, which repugned altogether to her breeding, for ſhe was brought up in joviality, ſo tearmed ſhe her Dancing, and other things thereto belonging.

The generall Aſſembly of the Church approached, holden in December, after the Queens arrivall, in the which began the rulers of the Court to draw themſelves apart from the Societie of their brethren, and began to ſtrive and grudge, That any thing ſhould be conſulted upon, without their advices, Maſter *John Wood*, who before had ſhewed himſelfe very fervent in the Cauſe of God, and forward in giving of his councell in all doubtfull matters, refuſed to aſſiſt the Aſſembly again, whereof many did wonder; The Courtiers drew unto them ſome of the Lords, and would not conveane with their Brethren, as before they were accuſtomed, but kept themſelves in the Abbey; The principall Commiſſioners of the Church, the Superintendents, and ſome Miniſters, paſt unto them, where they were aſſembled in the Abbots Lodging within *Hallyrud-houſe*, both the parties began to open their griefes; The Lords complained, That the Miniſters drew the Gentlemen into ſecret, and held Councell without their knowledge: The Miniſters denied, That they had done any thing in ſecret, otherwiſe then the common Order commanded them; And accuſed the Lords (the flatterers of the Queen we meane) that they kept not the Convention with their Brethren; conſidering, That they knew the Order, and that the ſame was appointed by their own advice, as the Book of Diſcipline ſubſcribed with the moſt part of their own hands would witneſſe; ſome began to deny, That ever they knew ſuch a thing as the Book of Diſcipline: And called alſo in doubt, Whether it was expedient, that ſuch Aſſemblies ſhould be or not: for gladly would the Queen and her ſecret Councell have had all Aſſemblies of the godly diſcharged; The reaſoning was ſharpe and quicke on either ſide: The Queens faction alleadged, That it was ſuſpicious to Princes, that Subjects ſhould aſſemble themſelves, and keep Conventions without their knowledge. It was anſwered, That without knowledge of the Princes, the Church did nothing, for the Princes perfectly underſtood, That within this Realme was a Reformed Church; and that they had their Orders and appointed times of Convention. And ſo without knowledge of the Princes, they did nothing: Yea (ſaid *Lethington*) the Queen knew, and knoweth well enough; But the Queſtion is, Whether that the Queen alloweth ſuch Conventions: It was anſwered, If the Libertie of the Church ſhould ſtand upon the Queens

Diviſon betwcen the Lords and the Miniſters.

The Queen fain would have had all Aſſemblies diſcharged.

Queens allowance or diſallowance, we are aſſured, not onely to lacke Aſ- Anno
ſemblies, but alſo to lacke the publike Preaching of the Evangell, that affirmative was mocked, and the contrary affirmed, *Well* (ſaid the other) *time will try the truth*; But to my former words, this I will adde; *Take from us the freedomes of aſſemblies, and take from us the Evangell; for without aſſemblies, how ſhall good order and unity in Doctrine be kept?* It is not to be ſuppoſed, That all Miniſters ſhall be ſo perfect, but that they ſhall need admonition, as well concerning Manners as Doctrine: As it may be, that ſome be ſo ſtiffe-necked, that they will not admit the admonition of the ſimple; As alſo, it may be that fault may be found with Miniſters without juſt offence committed: And if order be not taken both with the Complainer, and with the perſons complained upon: It cannot be avoided but that many grievous offences ſhall ariſe; For remedy whereof, of neceſſity it is, That generall Aſſemblies muſt be. In the which, the judgements and gravitie of many may occurre, to correct or repreſſe the follies or errours of a few. Hereunto conſented the moſt part, as well of the Nobility as of the Barrons, and willed the reaſoners for the Queen to be ſent to her Majeſtie, if that ſhe ſtood in ſuſpition of any thing that was to be handled in their aſſemblies, that it would pleaſe her Majeſtie to ſend ſuch as he would appoint, to hear whatſoever was propounded or reaſoned. Note this diligently.

Hereafter was the Book of Diſcipline propoſed, and deſired to have been ratified by the Queens Majeſtie, but it was ſtopped, and the Queſtion demanded, How many of thoſe that ſubſcribed to that Book would be ſubject unto it? It was anſwered, All the godly: Will the Duke, ſaid *Lethington*? If he will not, anſwered the Lord *Uchiltrie*, I would that he were ſcraped out, not onely of that Book, but alſo out of our number and company; for what purpoſe ſhall labour be taken to put the Church in order, and to what end ſhall men ſubſcribe, and then never mean to keep a word of that which they promiſe? *Lethington* anſwered, Many ſubſcribe there *in fide Parentum*, as Children are baptized. One, to wit *Iohn Knox*, anſwered, Albeit ye think that ſcoffe proper, yet as it is moſt untrue, ſo it is moſt improper: That Book was read in publike audience; and by the ſpace of divers dayes, the hearers thereof were reſolved, as all that here ſit know well enough, and you your ſelves cannot deny; So that no man was required to ſubſcribe that which he underſtood not: Stand content, ſaid one, that Booke will not be obtained: Let God (ſaid the other) require the lack and want which this poor Common-wealth ſhall have of the things therein contained, from the hands of ſuch as ſtop the ſame. Note this diligently. Note this paſſage.

Thomas Borrows perceiving that the Book of diſcipline was refuſed, preſented unto the Councill certain Articles, requiring Idolatry to be ſuppreſſed, their Churches to be planted with true Miniſters, and ſome certain propoſitions to be made for them, according to equitie and Conſcience, for unto that time the moſt part of the Miniſters, had lived upon the benevolence of men; for many had into their owne hands the profits that the Biſhops, and others of that Sect had before abuſed, and ſo ſome part was beſtowed upon the Miniſters.

Anno But when the Biſhops began to gripe again to that, which moſt unjuſtly they called their own: for the Earle of *Arrane* was diſcharged of Saint *Andrews* and *Dumfermling*, wherewith before by vertue of a Factory and Commiſſion, he had intromitted and medled: And ſo were many others. Therefore the Barons required, That order might be taken for the Miniſters, or elſe they would no more cauſe Rents to be paid unto any, that formerly belonged to the Church-men, nor ſuffer any thing to be collected for the uſe of any whoſoever, after the Queenes arrivall, then that they did before; for they verily ſuppoſed, that the Queens Majeſtie would keep promiſe made to them, which was, Not to alter their Religion, which could not remain without Miniſters; and Miniſters could not live without proviſion: And therefore they heartily deſired the Councell to provide ſome convenient order in that behalf. This ſomewhat moved the Queens flatterers, for the Rod of impiety was not then ſtrengthened in her and their hands. And ſo began they to practiſe how they might pleaſe the Queen, and yet ſeem ſomewhat to ſatisfie the faithfull; And ſo deviſed they, That the Church-men ſhould have intromiſſion and medling with the two parts of their Benefices; and that the third part ſhould be gathered by ſuch men as thereto ſhould be appointed for ſuch uſes; As in theſe ſubſequent Acts are more fully expreſſed.

Apud Edinburgh viceſimo Decemb. Anno 1561.

THe which day; Foraſmuch as the Queens Majeſtie, by the advice of the Lords of her ſecret Councell, foreſeeing the imminent troubles, which apparantly threaten to ariſe amongſt the Lieges of this Realme for matters of Religion, to ſtay the ſame, and ſhun all incommodities that might thereupon enſue, having intercommuned and ſpoken with a part of the Clergie, or State Eccleſiaſticall, with whom then, reaſoning being had, It was thought good and expedient by her Highneſſe, That a generall Aſſembly ſhould be appointed, the 15 day of December inſtant, whereto the reſt of the States might have appeared: and by the advice of Lawyers, one reaſonable overture be made, and order taken for ſtaying of the approaching trouble, and quieting of all the Countrey; which Aſſembly, being by her Majeſtie appointed, and ſundry dayes of Counſell kept, and the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall State oft-times required, That the ſaid Order might be taken, and overture made for ſtaying of the trouble, and quieting of the Countrey. Laſt of all, in preſence of the Queens Majeſty, and Lords of the Councell aforeſaid, and others of the Nobility of this Realm, compeired, *John* Arch-biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, *Patrick* Biſhop of *Murray*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*: And for themſelves reſpectively offered unto the Queens Majeſtie, to be content with the two parts of the Rents of their Benefices; and the third part to be imployed as her Majeſtie thought expedient. And becauſe the certaintie thereof was not knowne, not yet what ſummes of Money would ſuſtaine the Miniſtery, and Miniſters of Gods Word within this Realme, neither yet how much was neceſſary to ſupport the Queenes Majeſty

Majeſty above her own Rents, for the common affairs of the Countrey, Therefore it is Ordained, Concluded, and Determined by the Queens Majeſty, and the Lords of the Councell aforeſaid, and others of the Nobility preſent, That if the fourth part of the whole Benefices within this Realm, may be ſufficient to ſuſtain the Miniſters thorowout this whole Realme, and ſupport the Queens Majeſty to maintain and ſet forwards the common affairs of the Countrey failing thereof, the third part of the ſaid Profits, and more, if it be found ſufficient for the effect aforeſaid, to be taken up yeerly in time coming, that a generall order may be taken therewith, and ſo much thereof to be employed to the Queens Majeſties uſe, for entertaining and ſetting forward of the common affairs of the Countrey; and ſo much thereof to the Miniſters, and ſuſtentation of the Miniſtry, as may reaſonably ſuſtain the ſame, at the ſight and diſcretion of the Queens Majeſty, and Councell aforeſaid, and the excreſcens and ſuperplus to be aſſigned to the old Poſſeſſors. And to the effect that the Rents and yeerly Profits of the whole Benefices within this Realme may be cleerly known to the Queeens Majeſty and Councell aforeſaid, It is Statuted and Ordained, That the whole Rentals of the Benefices of this Realm be produced before her Majeſty and Lords aforeſaid, at the time under-written: that is to ſay, The Rentalls of the Benefices on this ſide of the Water, before the 24 of *January* next coming: And thoſe beyond the water, the 10 of *February* next thereafter; and ordains Letters to be directed to the Sheriffs in that part, to paſſe charge, and requite all and ſundry Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Commendators, Abbots, Priors, on this ſideof the Water, perſonally to be apprehended, and failing thereof, at their dwelling places, or at the Pariſh Churches where they ſhould remain, Cathedrall Churches or Abbeyes: And all Archdeacons, Deans, Chanters, ſub-Chanters, Proveſts, Parſons and Vicars, and other Beneficed men whatſoever, their Chamberlains and Factors, perſonally, or at their dwelling places, or at the Pariſh Churches where they ſhould remain, To exhibite and produce before the Queens Majeſty and Lords aforeſaid, before the ſaid 24 day of *January* next coming, the juſt and true Rentals of the values and rents of their Benefices, to the effect aforeſaid: And to chare the Prelats, and the other Beneficed men on the other ſide of the Water in manner aforeſaid, to exhibite and produce the juſt and true Rentals of their Benefices before the Queens Majeſty and Lords aforeſaid, the ſaid 10 of *February*, to the effect aforeſaid; with certification to them, That if any fails to appeare, the Queens Majeſties and Councels wills are, That they ſhould be proceeded againſt here, as the matter requires: And likewiſe to charge the whole Superintendents, Miniſters, Elders and Deacons of the principall Towns and Shires of this Realm, to give in before the Queens Majeſty and Lords of the Councell aforeſaid, before the ſaid 24 of *January* next coming, a formall and ſufficient Roll and Memoriall, what may be ſufficient and reaſonable to ſuſtain Miniſtry, and whole Miniſters of this Realme, that her Majeſty, and Lords of the Councell aforeſaid, may rightly and diligently weigh and conſider what neceſſary ſupport is required to be taken yeerly of the

Anno

Anno fruits of the ſaid Benefices (by her Majeſties own yearly Rent) to entertain and ſet forward the common affairs of this Realme, againſt the ſaid 24 day of *January* next coming, that it may be proceeded in the ſaid matter, all parties ſatisfied, and the whole Countrey, and Lieges thereof ſet in quietneſſe.

Apud *Linlithgow*, 24 *Januarii, &c.*

FOraſmuch as the Queens Majeſty, with the advice of the Lords of her Secret Councell, directed her Letters, commanding all and ſundry Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, &c. and all other Beneficed men, their Factors, Farmors, Takeſmen, to appear before her Highneſſe and Lords aforeſaid at *Edinburgh*, or where it ſhould happen them to be for the time, ſo many as dwells upon this ſide of the water, before the 24 day of *January* inſtant; and them that dwells beyond the water, the 10 of *February* next coming, that the juſt value of their Benefices might be knowne; ſo that hereafter her Highneſſe may take order for the Suſtentation of the Miniſtry of the Church, and the publike buſineſſe of the Realme. And becauſe the Queens Majeſty is preſently buſied with other affairs, and may not her ſelf attend upon the receipt of the ſaid Rent, therefore her Highneſſe hath given and granted, and by theſe Preſents gives and grants full power and Commiſſion to Maſter *James Mackgill* of *Rankellor* nether, Clerk of the Regiſter, Sir *John Ballenden* of *Archnecll*, Knight, Juſtice Clerk to the Treaſurer, Secretary of State, Advocate of the Crowne, and Laird of *Pittarrow*, to call before them within the City of *Edinburgh*, all and ſundry Prelates, and Beneficed men, which are charged by vertue of the ſaid Letters, now preſently being in *Edinburgh*, or ſhall happen hereafter to repair thereto, their Factors or Farmers, and there enquire of them the Rentalls of their Benefices, and receive the ſame from them to the effect aforeſaid. And likewiſe that the ſaid Commiſſioners cauſe warne all Superintendents, Over-ſeers, Miniſters, Elders and Deacons, to give unto them the names of all the Miniſters of this Realme, that the juſt Calculation being made and conſidered by the ſaid Commiſſioners of the value of the ſaid Benefices, they may report the ſame unto the Queens Majeſty, that her Highneſſe may take order herein, according to the juſt Tenour of the firſt Ordinance made thereupon.

Apud *Edinburgh*, 12 *February*, 1561.

FOraſmuch as by Statute and Ordinance made by the Queens Majeſty, and Lords of the Secret Councell, and her Highneſſe Letters directed thereupon, all and ſundry Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, &c. and other Beneficed men, were charged to produce the Rentalls of their Benefices before her Majeſty and Lords aforeſaid, in manner following (that is to ſay) The ſaid Beneficed men dwelling on this ſide of the Water, before the four and twentieth of *January* laſt paſt: And on the other ſide of the Water, before the tenth of *February* inſtant;

to

to the effect that order might be taken therin to conform to the Ordinance; With certification to them, that if they fayled, the Queens Majeſtie, and Counſell aforeſaid, would take order therein, as the ſame Ordinance bears. Notwithſtanding of the which the Queens Majeſtie, and Counſell, and others appointed, for receiving of the ſaid Rentalls, have continually ſince the ſaid 24 of *January* aforeſaid, waited upon the receiving of them; yet a very ſmall number of them have produced their Rentalls, thereby not onely contemning her Majeſties Ordinance and Proclamation aforeſaid, but alſo her ſelfe and her Authoritie, as they were Princes and not Subjects, expreſſe againſt Equitie, Reaſon, and Juſtice; For remedy whereof the Queene Majeſtie ordains, with advice of the Lords of her ſecret Councill, That Factors, Chamerlains or Stewards bee appointed to intromett, gather, upliſt and receive, to our Soveraign Ladies uſe, all and ſundry mailles, tythes or tiends, farmes, rents, provents, emoluments, fruits, profits, and due tyes of whatſoever benefices, whereof the Rentalls are not produced conforme to the ſaid Ordinance. And if any Retalls already produced bears not the juſt value, but is Fraudulently made, to intromet and uptake as much of the profits and fruits of the ſaid benefices, as are omitted forth of the ſaid Rentalls, and the In-givers of the Rentalls, and Profeſſors of the Benefices thereof, ſhall never have action to claime, crave or receive from the Tenants and Occupiers further then is contained in the ſame Rentals, already produced by them; and the Tenants and Poſſeſſors ſhall be holden to pay no more than is contained in the ſame Rentalls, already produced, as aforeſaid: And the ſaid Chamerlains and Factors to be appointed by the Queenes Majeſtie, ſhall have ſufficient power to intromitt and uptake the fruits and profits aforeſaid, in ſuch fulneſſe as if ſpeciall Letters of Factory and Chamerlancie were granted to them thereupon; and ordains the Lords of the Seſſion to direct forth Letters at the ſaid Factors and Chamerlaines inſtancies either of horning or poynding, as ſhall be thought expedient, for cauſing of them to bee anſwered of fruits of the ſaid Benefices to be forth-commanded to the Queenes Majeſties behalf and uſe, while further order be taken therein. Anno

Apud Edinburge, 15. *February* 1561.

FOr as much as the Queenes Majeſtie by the advice of the Lords of her ſecret Councell, and others, divers of the Nobility had of before the two and twentieth day of *December* laſt paſt, ordained, that if the fourth part of the fruits, and Rents of all the Benefices within this Realme were not ſufficient for the Supporting of her Majeſties preſent wants, and the particular Charges under-written, neceſſary to be borne for the weale of the Countrey, than the third of the ſaid fruits more or leſſe ſhould be taken up to the effects aforeſaid; and ordained Letters to be directed, charging all and ſundry Beneficed men on this ſide of the Water, to produce their Rentalls before the foure and twentieth day of *January* laſt paſt. And the tenth of

Anno *February* inſtant, were prefixed by the ſaid Letters, for the bringing in all Rentalls of the Benefices beyond the water; with certification That who produced not the ſaid Rentalls at the dayes aforeſaid reſpectively, the Queens Majeſty and her Councell would provide remedy: according to the which Certification, her Highneſſe, with advice of her Councell aforeſaid, hath Ordained, That they who have not produced their Rentalls whole and full, intromiſſion ſhall be had of their fruits, by them whom her Majeſty ſhall direct thereto: And who have not given their juſt Rentalls, whatſoever part omitted forth of their ſaid Rentall, ſhall be intromitted in like manner. And further, having conſulted rightly, and diligently adviſed upon the common affairs, and neceſſities concerning the Queens Majeſty, and charges to be borne for the Common-weale of the Realme, and ſuſtentation and maintenance of the Preachers and Readers, conformto the ſaid Ordinance made thereupon of before, hath Ordained and Declared the whole third part of all Benefices, of the which Rentalls areproduced, to be taken up by the perſon or perſons to be nominated by her Majeſty, and to begin upon this laſt Crop of the yeer of God 1561. the ſame to be employed to the effect aforeſaid: Together with the whole Profits of the Benefices whereof the Rentalls are not produced; And alſo, all that is omitted out of the Rentalls produced: And that order be directed by the Queens Majeſty to the Lords of the Seſſion, That the old Poſſeſſors may be anſwered of the remnant fruits of the ſaid Benefices; providing, That the third part aforeſaid, be full and whole taken up by the perſons to be deputed to the taking thereof; And this Order to continue and ſtand, while further order be taken by the Queens Majeſty, with the advice of the States. Moreover, her Highneſſe, with the advice of the Councell aforeſaid, hath Statuted and Ordained, That Annuells, Marles, and Duties within free Burroughs, or other Townes of this Realme, as well pertaining to Chaplanries, Prebendaries, as to Friers, together with the Rents of the Friers Lands, where-ever they be, ſetting and diſpoſing thereupon, be intermedled with, and taken by ſuch as her Majeſty ſhall depute thereto, for employing of the ſame by her Highneſſe to Hoſpitalls, Schools, and other godly uſes, as ſhall ſeeme beſt to her Highneſſe, with advice of her Councell. And knowing that nothing is more commodious for the foreſaid Hoſpitality, then the places of Friers that are yet undemoliſhed; and alſo to the entertainment of Schools, Colledges, and other uſes aforeſaid, ordains the Proveſts and Bayliffs of *Aberdeine, Elgmen, Murray, Inneresk, Glaſgow*, and other Burroughs of this Realme, where the ſame are not demoliſhed, to entertain and uphold the ſaid Friers places ſtanding in the ſaid Townes, upon the Common goods thereof, and to uſe the ſame to the Common weale and ſervice of the ſaid Townes, untill the Queenes Majeſty be further adviſed, and take finall order in ſuch things, notwithſtanding of any Gift, Title, or Entryes, given to whatſoever perſons of the ſaid places, with their Yards and Orchards, and other Pertinents, by our Soveraign Lady of before.

The

The Lords of ſecret Councell that were preſent at the Voting and making of the aforeſaid Acts, were *James* Duke of *Chattellarault*, *George* Earle of *Huntley*, *Archibald* Earle of *Argyle*, *William* Earle *Merſhall*, *John* Earle *Atholl*, *William* Earle of *Montroſſe*, *James* Earle *Morton*, *Alexander* Earle of *Glencarne*, *James* Commendator of Saint *Andrews*, *John* Lord *Erskin*, The Treaſurer, The Juſtice Clerke, The Steward and Controller. Anno

For the firſt Acts, the Earle of *Huntley* ſaid jeſtingly, *Good morrow, my Lords of the two parts.* The whole Rentals being gathered, the ſum of the third, according to their own calculation, was found to extend to, &c. The Miniſters even in the beginning of publike Sermons oppoſed themſelves to ſuch corruption, for they foreſaw the purpoſes of the Devill, and clearly underſtood the Butt whereat the Queene and her flatterers Shot. And ſo in the chaire of *Edinburgh* *John Knox* ſaid, *Well, if the end of this Order, pretended to be taken for ſuſtentation of the Miniſters, be happy, my judgement failes me; for I am aſſured, That the Spirit of God is not the Authour of it, for firſt I ſee two parts freely given to the Devill, and the third muſt be divided between God and the Devill.* *John Knox his judgement of the thirds.*

Well, ſaid he, beare witneſſe to me, that this day I ſaid it, Ere it be long the Devill ſhall have three parts of the third; and judge you then, what Gods portion will be. This was an unſavory ſaying in the eares of many; Some were not aſhamed to affirme, *That the Miniſters being ſuſtained, the Queen will not get at the yeers end, to buy her a paire of new ſhoes.* And this was Secretary *Lethington.*

There were appointed to modifie the Miniſters ſtipends, The Earle of *Argyle*, *Murray*, and *Morton*, *Lethington*, Juſtice *Clarke*, and Clerke of the Regiſter. The Laird of *Pittaro*, was appointed to pay the Miniſters Stipends, according to their Modification: Who would have thought that when *Joſeph* ruled *Egypt*, that his brethren ſhould have travelled for Victuals, and have returned with empty Sacks unto their families; men would rather have thought that *Pharaohs* Poſe, Treaſure, and Gilnells ſhould rather have been diminiſhed then that the houſhold of *Jacob* ſhould ſtand in danger to ſtarve for hunger. Let this be noted.

But ſo buſie and circumſpect were the Modificators (becauſe it was a new Office the terme muſt alſo be new) that the Miniſters ſhould not be over-wanton; That a hundred *Marks was ſufficient to a ſingle man, being a common Miniſter: Three hundred Marks was the higheſt that was appointed to any, except the Superintendents, and a few others; ſhortly, Whether it was the ingratitude of their own hearts, or the care that they had to enrich the Queene, we know not: But the poore Miniſters, Readers and Exhorters, cryed out to the heaven (as their complaints in all aſſemblies do witneſſe) That neither were they able to live upon the Stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of that ſmall thing that was appointed, ſo faine would the Controllers have played the good Vallet, and have ſatisfied the Queen, or elſe their own profit: *The good Laird of* Pittaro *was an earneſt Profeſſour of Chriſt, but the great Devill receive the Controller*, for he and his Collectours are become greedy factors. To put an end to this unpleaſing matter; When the brethren complained of

* That is, five old pieces.

A proverb upon *Pittaro*, Controller.

Anno of their poverty; it was diſdainfully anſwered of ſome, There are many Lairds that have not ſo much to ſpend, when men did reaſon, that the Vocation of Miniſters craved of them, books, quietneſſe, ſtudy, and travell to edifie the Church of Chriſt Jeſus, when many Lairds were waiting upon their worldly buſineſſe; and therefore that the ſtipends of Miniſters, who had no other induſtry, but to live upon that which was appointed, ought not to be mollified according to the living of other common men, who might and did daily augment their Rents by ſome other induſtry. When ſuch reaſons were laid before them, they got none other anſwer, but, The Queen can ſpare no greater Sums; Oft was it cryed out in their ears, *O happy ſervants of the Devill, and miſerable ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, if after this life there were nor Hell nor Heaven:* For to the ſervants of the Devill, theſe dumbe Dogs, and horrid Biſhops; To one of thoſe idle bellies, I ſay, ten thouſand was not enough, but to the ſervants of Chriſt, that painfully preach his Evangell, a hundreth will ſuffice; how can that be ſuſtained?

One day in reaſoning of this matter, the Secretary burſt out in a piece of his collor, and ſaid, The Miniſters have thus much payed unto them by year, who ever yet ſaid to the Queen, Grand mercies for it? was there ever a Miniſter that gave thanks to God for her Majeſties liberalitie towards them? One ſingled, and anſwered, Aſſuredly, I think, that ſuch as receive any thing *gratis* of the Queen, are unthankfull if they acknowledge it not, both in heart and minde: But whether the Miniſters be of that rank, or not, I greatly doubt; *gratis* I am ſure they receive nothing, and whether they receive any at all from the Queen, wiſe men may reaſon; I am aſſured, that neither third nor two parts ever appertained to any of her Predeceſſors within this Realm theſe thouſand years laſt paſt, neither yet hath the Queens Flatterers better title to that which ſhe uſurpes, be it in-giving to others, or taken it to her ſelf, then the ſouldiers who crucified Jeſus Chriſt had to divide his Garments amongſt them. And if the truth may be ſpoken, ſhe hath not ſo good Title as they had, for ſuch ſpoile ought to be the reward of ſuch men. And in that point the Souldiers were more gentle than the Queenes Flatterers, for they parted not the Garments of our Saviour, till that he himſelf was hung upon the Croſſe; but her Flatterers do part the ſpoil whileſt that poor Chriſt is yet preaching amongſt you. But the wiſedome of our God taketh tryall of us by this meanes, knowing well enough what the Court faction have purpoſed to do: Let the Papiſts, who have the two parts, ſome that have their thirds free, and ſome that have gotten Abbeys, and few Lands, thanke the Queen, and King, *Placebo Domine*, the poore Preachers will not yet flatter, for feeding of their bellies. Theſe words were judged proud and intollerable, and ingendred no ſmall diſpleaſure to the Speaker.

The right that Princes have to the Patrimony of the Church.

Note. This we put in memory, that the poſterity to come may know that God once made his truth to triumph, but becauſe ſome of our ſelves delighted more in darkneſſe, than in light, God hath reſtrained our freedom, and put the whole body in bondage, yea, the greateſt Flatterers have not eſcaped ſo free as they ſuppoſed, yea, the latter plagues appear yet to be worſe than the firſt. Be mercifull unto us, (O Lord) and deal with us not according

ing to our deſervings, but look thou to the equitie of the cauſe which thou hath put in our hands, and ſuffer not iniquitie to oppreſſe thy Trueth, for thy own names ſake, O Lord. Anno

In this mean while, to wit, in *February*, 1561. was Lord *James*, firſt made Earl of *Murray*, and then marryed one *Agnes Keith*, daughter to the Earl Marſhall. The marriage was publike in the Church of *Edinburgh*; at the bleſſing of the marriage they both got one admonition to behave themſelves moderately in all things: For ſaid the Preacher to him, The Church of God hath received comfort by you, and by your labours unto this day. In the which, if hereafter you ſhall be found fainter then you have been formerly, it will be ſaid, That your Wife hath changed your nature. The greatneſſe of the Bankquet, and the vanitie uſed thereat, offended many Godly; There began the Masking, which from yeer to yeer, hath continued ſince. Maſter *Randolph*, Agent for the Queen of *England* was then, and ſometime after in no ſmall eſteem with our Queen: For his Miſtris ſake, ſhe did drink to him in a Cup of Gold, which he poſſeſſed with great joy, more for the favour of the giver, then of the gift, and value thereof, and yet it was honourable. The things that then were in handling betwixt the two Queens, whereof *Lethington*, Secretary *Cecill*, and Maſter *Randolph*, were Miniſters, were of great weight, as we will after heare. The marriage of the Earl of *Murray*.

This Winter the Earl of *Bothwell*, the Marquis *D'albuff*, and Lord *John* of *Coldingham* committed ryot in *Edinburgh*, and diſordered the whole Town, brake *Cuthbert Ramſeyes* Gates and Doors, ſearched his Houſe for his Daughter in law, *Aliſon Craige*. And this was done in deſpight of the Earl of *Arrane*, who was ſuſpected to have been in love with the ſaid *Aliſon*, the horrours of this fact, and the veritie of it highly commoved all godly hearts. The Aſſembly, and alſo the Nobilitie, for the moſt part were in the Town; and ſo they concluded to crave juſtice, and ſo they did, as by this ſubſequent ſupplication doth appear.

To the Queens Majeſtie, Her ſecret Councell, Her Highneſſe faithfull and obedient Subjects, The profeſſors of Chriſt Jeſus, his holy Evangell, wiſh the Spirit of righteous judgement.

THe fear of God conceived of his holy Word; the naturall and unfained love we bear unto your Majeſtie; the duetie which we owe to the quietneſſe of our Country; and the terrible threatnings which our God pronounceth againſt every Realm, and Citie; in the which horrible Crimes are openly committed, and then by the Committers obſtinately defended, compells us, a great part of our Subjects, humbly to crave of your Majeſties, upright and true judgement againſt ſuch perſons as have done, what in them lye, to kindle Gods wrath againſt this whole Realm. The impiety by them committed, is ſo haynous, and ſo horrible, That as it is a fact moſt vile and rare to be heard of within this Realm, and principally within the Bowels of this Citie; So ſhould we thinke our ſelves guiltie of the ſame, if negli-

Anno gently, or yet for worldy fear we put it over with ſilence; and therfore your Majeſtie may not think that we crave any thing, while that we crave open Malefactors condignly to be puniſhed; But that God hath commanded us to crave, and alſo hath commanded your Majeſtie to give to every one of your Subjects; for by this Lynk hath God knit together the Prince and people, that as he commands honour, fear and obedience to be given to the powers eſtabliſhed by him; ſo doth he in expreſſe words command and declare what the Prince oweth unto the Subjects, to wit, That as he is the Miniſter of God, bearing the ſword for vengeance to be taken on evill doers, and for the denfence of peaceable and quiet men; ſo ought he to draw the ſword without partialitie, ſo oft as in Gods Name he is required thereto. Seeing ſo it is (Madame) that this crime ſo recently committed, and that in the eyes of the whole Realm now publikely aſſembled, is ſo hainous; for who heretofore hath heard within the bowels of *Edinburgh*, Gates and Doors under ſilence of night broken, Houſes ripped or ſearched, and that with hoſtillity, ſeeking a woman, as appeareth to oppreſſe her. Seeing (we ſay) that this crime is ſo hainous, that all godly men fear not onely Gods diſpeaſure to fall upon you and your whole Realm, but alſo that ſuch licentiouſneſſe breed contempt, and in the end ſedition, if remedie in time be not provided, which in our judgement is poſſible, if ſevere puniſhment be not executed for the crime committed. Therefore we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſtie, that all affection ſet aſide, you declare your ſelf ſo upright in this caſe, that ye may give evident demonſtration to all your Subjects, that the fear of God, joyned with the love of common tranquility, hath principall ſeat in your Majeſties Heart. This, further Madame, in conſcience we ſpeak, That as your Majeſty in Gods Name doth crave of us obedience, which to render in all things lawfull we are moſt willing, ſo in the ſame name doe we the whole Profeſſors of Chriſts Evangell within this your Majeſties Realme, crave of you and of your Councell ſharp puniſhment of this crime. And for performance thereof, that without delay the moſt principall Actors of this haynous crime, and the perſwaders of this publike Villany, may be called before the Chief Juſtice of this Realm, to ſuffer an Aſſiſe, and to be puniſhed according to the Laws of the ſame; and your Majeſties Anſwer moſt humbly we beſeech.

Note this diligently.

Note this diligently.

Theſe Supplications was preſented by divers Gentlemen, the Flatterers of the Court at firſt ſtormed, and asked who durſt avow it? To whom the Maſter, after Lord *Lyndeſay*, anſwered, A thouſand Gentlemen within *Edinburgh*: others were aſhamed to oppoſe themſelves thereto in publike; but they ſuborned the Queen to give a gentle anſwer, untill ſuch time as the Convention was diſſolved; and ſo ſhe did: and then after in fair words, ſhee alleaged, That her Uncle was a Stranger, and that he had a young Company with him; but ſhe ſhould put ſuch order unto him, and unto all others, that hereafter they ſhould have no occaſion to complain: And ſo deluded ſhe the juſt Petition of her Subjects: And no wonder, for how ſhall ſhe puniſh *in Scotland* that vice, which in *France* ſhe did ſee ſo free without puniſhment, and which Kings and Cardinalls

Anno

Cardinalls commonly uſe, as the Mask and Dancing of *Orleans* can witneſſe; wherein virgins and mens wives were made common to King *Harry*, *Charles* the Cardinall, and to their Courtiers and Pages, as common women in *Bordells* are unto their Companions. The manner was thus: At the entry of King *Henry* of *France* in the Town of *Orleans*, the Matrons, Virgins, and mens wives were commanded to preſent themſelves in the Kings Palace to dance: And they obeyed; for commonly the French Nation *is not very hard to be entreated to vanity*. After Fidling and Flinging, and when the Cardinall of *Loraine* had eſpied his prey, he ſaid to the King, *Sire le premiere eſt a vous, & fault que je ſoy le ſecond*: that is, *Sir, the firſt choyce is yours, and I muſt be the ſecond*. And ſo the King got the preeminence, that he had his firſt Election. But becauſe Cardinalls are companions to Kings, the Cardinall had the next. And thereafter the Torches were put out, and every man commanded to provide for himſelf the beſt he might. What cry there was of husbands for their wives, and wives for their husbands, of ancient matrons for their daughters, of virgins for their friends, for ſome honeſt men to defend their pudicity, *Orleance* will remember more Kings dayes then one. This horrible villany, a fruit of the Cardinalls good Catholike Religion, we ſhortly touch, to let the world underſtand, what ſubjects may look for of ſuch Magiſtrates; for ſuch Paſtime to them is Jollity. It had been good for our Queene, that ſhe had been brought up in better company, both for her credit, and for the courſe of her life: And it may be, that her excellent naturall enduements had been better employed for her reputation and happineſſe, then they were to her great misfortune, and to the grief of thoſe that wiſhed her truely well. But puniſhment of that enormity, and fearfull attempt, we could get none. Yea, more and more they preſumed to do violence, and frequented nightly Masking, and began to bear the matter very heavily. At length the Dukes friends began to aſſemble in the night time on the calſay or ſtreet. The Abbot of *Kylwinning*, who then was joyned to the Church, and ſo, as we underſtand, yet abideth, was principall man at the beginning. To him repaired many faithfull, and amongſt others, came *Andrew Stewart*, Lord *Uchiltrie*, a man rather borne to make peace, then to brag upon the calſey, he demanded the quarrell: And being informed of the former enormity, ſaid, *Nay, ſuch impiety ſhall not be ſuffered, ſo long as God ſhall aſſiſt us: The Victory that God hath in his owne mercy given us, we will by his grace maintaine*. And ſo he commanded his ſon *Andrew Stewart*, then Maſter, and his ſervants, to put themſelves in order, and to bring forth their ſpears and long weapons; and ſo did others. The word came to the Earle *Bothwell* and his ſon, that the *Hamiltons* were upon the ſtreet: vows was made, that the *Hamiltons* ſhould be driven, not onely out of the Town, but alſo out of the Countrey. Lord *John* of *Coldingham* married the E. *Bothwels* ſiſter (a ſufficient woman for ſuch a man) Alliance drew Lord *Robert*, and ſo they joyned with the E. *Bothwell*. But the ſtoutnes of the Marq. *le Beuf* (*d' Albuff* they call him, is moſt to be commended; for in his Chalmer in the Abbey, he ſtart to an Halbert, and ten men were ſcarce able to hold him that night, and the danger was betwixt the Croſſe and Tron; and ſo he was a long quarter of a mile from the ſhot & ſklenting of Bolts. The M. of *Maxw.* (after L. *Herreis* gave declaratio

The Mask of *Orleance*.

The *Hamiltons* againſt *Bothwel* and the Marqueſſe.

Anno to the Earle *Bothwell*, That if he ſtirred forth of his Lodging, he, and all that aſſiſt him, ſhould reſiſt him in the face. Whoſe words did ſomewhat beat down that blaſt. The Earles of *Murray* and *Huntley* being in the Abbey, where the Marqueſſe was, came with their company ſent from the Queen, to ſtay that tumult; as they did, for *Bothwell* and his were commanded under pain of Treaſon, to keep their lodgings.

It was whiſpered by many, That the Earle of *Murray's* diſpleaſure was as much ſought, as any hatred that the *Hamiltons* did bear againſt the Earle of *Bothwell*, or yet he againſt them. And in very deed, either had the Duke very falſe ſervants, or elſe by *Huntley* and the *Hamiltons* the Earle of *Murray's* death was oftener conſpired then once; the ſuſpition whereof burſt forth ſo far, that upon a day the ſaid Earle being upon horſe to have come to the Sermon, was charged by one of the Dukes own ſervants, to turn and abide with the Queen. The fame whereof ſpread over all: What ground it had, we cannot ſay; but ſhortly after, the Duke, and ſome of the Lords, remained at *Glaſgow*; their concluſion was not known. The Earle of *Arrane* came to *Edinburgh*, where the Earle *Bothwell* lay. The Queen and the Court were departed to *Fyfe*, and remained ſometimes in S. *Andrees*, and ſometimes in *Falkland*.

The Earle *Bothwell*, by means of *James Barron* Burgeſſe, and then Merchant of *Edinburgh*, deſired to ſpeak with *John Knox* ſecretly; which the ſaid *John* gladly granted, and ſpake with him upon a night, firſt in the ſaid *James* his lodging, and after in his own Study: The ſum of all their conference and communication was; The ſaid Lord lamented his inordinate life; and eſpecially, That he was provoked by the enticements of the Queen Regent, to do that which he ſore repented, as well againſt the Laird of *Ormeſtoun*, whoſe blood was ſpilt, albeit not by his faults: But his chief grief was, That he had misbehaved himſelf toward the Earle of *Arrane*, whoſe favour he was moſt willing to redeem, if poſſible it were that ſo he might: For (ſaid he) if I might have my Lord *Arranes* favour, I would aye wait upon the Court with a Page and a few ſervants, to ſpare my expence; where now I am compelled to keep for my own ſafety a number of wicked and unprofitable men, to the utter deſtruction of my ſtate that is left. To which the ſaid *John* anſwered, My Lord, would to God that in me were Counſell and Judgement, that might comfort and relieve you; for albeit that to this hour it hath not happened to me to ſpeak with your Lordſhip face to face, yet have I born a good minde to your houſe; and have been ſorry at my heart of the trouble that I have heard you to be involved in; for (my Lord) my great Grandfather, Grandfather, and Father, have ſerved your Lordſhips Predeceſſors, and ſome of them have died under their ſtanders; and this is a part of the Obligation of our Scotiſh kindeneſſe: but this is not the chiefe; But as God hath made me his publike Meſſenger of glad Tydings, ſo it is my earneſt deſire that all men may embrace it, which perfectly they cannot, ſo long as there remaineth in them rankor, malice, or envie: I am ſorry that you have given occaſion unto men to be offended with you: But more ſorrowfull, That you have offended the Majeſty of God; wherefore he often puniſheth the other ſins of man: And therefore my counſell

The Earle of *Bothwels* communication with *John Knox* 1562.

Note the complement.

counſell is, That you begin at God, with whom if you enter into perfect reconciliation, I doubt not but he ſhall bow the hearts of men to forget all offences. And as for me, if you will continue in godlineſſe, your Lordſhip ſhall command me as boldly, as any that ſerves your Lordſhip. The ſaid Lord deſired him that he would trie the Earle of *Arrans* minde, If he would be content to accept him in his favour: Which he promiſed to do. And ſo earneſtly he travelled in the matter; and it was once brought to ſuch an end, as all the faithfull praiſed God for ſuch agreement: The greateſt ſtay ſtood upon the ſatisfaction of the Laird of *Ormeſtoune*, (who beſide his former hurt, as is before declared, was even at that time of the coming, purſued by the ſaid Earle *Bothwell*, and his ſon Maſter *Alexander Cockburne* was taken by him, and carried by him to *Berwicke*, but courteouſly enough ſent back again. The new trouble ſo greatly diſpleaſed *John Knox*, that he almoſt gave over further travelling for amity: But yet upon excuſe of the ſaid Earle, and upon declaration of his minde, he re-entred into labour, and ſo brought it to paſſe, that the Laird of *Ormeſtoun* referred his ſatisfaction in all things to the Judgement of the Earles of *Arrane* and *Murray*, to whom the ſaid Earle ſubmitted himſelfe in that Head: And thereupon delivered his hand writing; and ſo was conveyed by vertue of his friends, to the Lodging of the Church of *Field*, where the Earle of *Arrane* was with his friends, and the ſaid *Iohn Knox* with him, to beare witneſſe and teſtification of the end of the Agreement. As the Earle of *Bothwell* entred the Chamber, and would have done thoſe Honours that friends had appointed, Maſter *Gabriel Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Laird of *Richardton*, were the chief friends that communed, the ſaid Earle of *Arrane* gently paſt unto him, embraced him, and ſaid, If the hearts be upright, few Ceremonies will ſerve, and content me. The ſaid *Iohn Knox*, in audience of them both, and of their friends, ſaid, Now, my Lords, God hath brought you together by the labour of ſimple men, in reſpect of ſuch as would have travelled therein: I know my labours are already taken in evill part; but becauſe I have the teſtimony of a good conſcience before God, That whatſoever I have done, it is in his fear, for the profit of you both, for the hurt of none, and for the tranquility of this Realm: Seeing therefore that my conſcience beareth witneſſe to me what I have ſought, and do continually ſeek, I the more patiently bear the miſreports, and wrongfull judgements of men. And now I leave you in Peace, and deſire you who are the friends, to ſtudy that Amity may encreaſe, all former hatred forget. The friends on either party embraced other; and the two Earles departed to a window, and talked by themſelves a reaſonable ſpace. And thereafter the Earle of *Bothwell* departed for that night, and upon the next day in the morning returned with ſome of his honeſt friends, and came to the Sermon with the ſaid Earle, whereat many rejoyced. But God had another work to work, then the eyes of men could eſpie. The Thurſday next they dined together; and thereafter the ſaid Earle *Bothwell*, and Maſter *Gabriel Hamilton*, rode to the Duke, who then was in *Ennell*: what communication was betwixt them,

Anno

Note diligently.

Reconciliation betwixt the Earle of *Arrane*, and Earle of *Bothwell*.

Anno them, it is not certainly knowne; but by the report which the ſaid Earle of *Arrane* made to the Queen, and unto the Earle of *Murray*, by his writings; for upon the third day after their Reconciliation, the Sermon being ended, the ſaid Earle of *Arrane* came to the houſe of the ſaid *John Knox*, and brought with him Maſter *Richard Strange*, and *Alexander Guthrie*, to whom he opened the grief of his minde before that *Iohn Knox* was called; for he was buſie, as commonly he uſed to be after his Sermon, in directing of writings: Which ended, the ſaid Earle called the three together, and ſaid, I am reaſonably betrayed, and with theſe words began to weep. *Iohn Knox* demanded, My Lord, Who hath betrayed you? One *Iudas* or other (ſaid he) I know it is but my life that is ſought; I regard it not. The other ſaid, My Lord, I underſtand no ſuch dark manner of ſpeech; if I ſhall give you any anſwer, you muſt ſpeak more plainly. Well (ſaid he) I take you three to witneſſe, That I open this unto you, and I write it unto the Queen: An act of Treaſon is laid to my Charge. The Earle *Bothwell* hath ſhowne to me in Counceil, That he ſhall take the Queen and put her in my hands, in the Caſtle of *Dumbartane*; And that he ſhall ſlay the Earle of *Murray*, *Lethinton*, and others that now miſguide her, and ſo ſhall he and I rule all. But I know this is deviſed to accuſe me of Treaſon; for I know he will informe the Queen of it: But I take you to witneſſe, That I open it here unto you: And I will paſſe incontinent, and write to the Queens Majeſty, and unto my Brother the Earle of *Murray*. *Iohn Knox* demanded, Did you conſent (my Lord) to any part of that Treaſon? He anſwered, No. Then (ſaid he) in my judgement his words, although they were ſpoken, can never be Treaſon to you; for the performance of the Fact depends upon your will, whereunto ye ſay ye have diſaſſented; and ſo ſhall that purpoſe vaniſh and die of it ſelfe, unleſſe that you waken it; For it is not to be ſuppoſed, That he will accuſe you of that, which he himſelfe hath deviſed, and whereunto you would not conſent. Oh (ſaid he) you underſtand not what craft is uſed againſt me: It is Treaſon to conceale Treaſon. My Lord (ſaid he) Treaſon muſt import conſent and determination, which I hear on neither of your parts: And therefore (my Lord) in my judgement, it will be more ſure, and more Honourable unto you, to depend upon your your Innocency, and to abide the unjuſt accuſation of any other (if any follow thereof) as I thinke there ſhall not) then to accuſe, eſpecially after ſo late reconciliation. I know (ſaid he) That he will offer the Combate unto me, but that would not be ſuffered in *France*: But I will do that which I have purpoſed. And ſo he departed, and took with him to his Lodging the ſaid Maſter *Alexander Guthrie*, and Maſter *Richard Strange*, from whence was written and endited a Letter to the Queens Majeſtie, according to the former purpoſe: which Letter was directed with all diligence unto her Majeſty, who then was in *Falkland*. The Earle himſelfe rode after to *Kinneill* to his Father the Duke; but how he was uſed, we have but the common bruit. But from thence he wrote a Letter with his owne hand in

Note diligently.

Cyphers

Cyphers to the Earle of *Murry*, complaining of his rigorous handling and entertainment by his owne father and friends. And aſſured further, That he feared his life, in caſe he got not ſudden reſcue. But thereupon he remained not, but broke the Chamber wherein he was put, and with great pain paſſed to *Sterling*, and from thence was conveyed to the Haly-yards, where he was kept till that the Earle of *Murray* came unto him, and conveyed him to the Queen, then being in *Falkland*, who then was ſufficiently inſtructed in the whole matter; and upon ſuſpition conceived, had cauſed to apprehend Maſter *Gawan Hamilton* and the Earle *Bothwell* aforeſaid, who knowing nothing of the former advertiſements, came to *Falkland*, which augmented the former ſuſpition. But yet the Letters of *John Knox* made all things to be uſed more circumſpectly, for he did plainly forewarne the Earle of *Murray*, that he eſpyed the Earle of *Arran* to be ſtricken with phrenſie, and therefore willed not over great credit to be given unto his words and inventions. And as he advertiſed, ſo it came to paſſe forthwith in few dayes, his ſickneſſe increaſed, he talked of wondrous ſignes that he ſaw in heaven; he alleaged that he was bewitched, he would have been in the Queens Bed, and affirmed that he was her husband; and finally, in all things he behaved himſelf ſo fooliſhly, that his phrenſie could not be hid. Anno

And yet were the Earl *Bothwell* and Maſter *Gawan* Abbot of *Kilming* kept in the Caſtle of Saint *Andrews*, and convent before the Councill with the Earl *Arran*, who ever ſtood firm, that the Earl of *Bothwell* propoſed to him ſuch things as he advertiſed the Queens Majeſtie of; but ſtiffely denyed that his father, the ſaid Abbot, or his friends knew any thing therof, either yet that they intended any violence againſt him; but alleaged that he was inchanted, ſo to think and write. Whereat the Queen, highly offended, committed him to priſon, with the other two, firſt in the Caſtle of Saint *Andrews*; and thereafter cauſed them to be conveyed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; *James Stewart* of *Cardonhall*, called Captain *James*, was evill bruited for the rigorous entertainment that he ſhewed to the ſaid Earle in his ſickneſſe, being appointed Keeper unto him.

To conſult upon theſe occaſions the whole Counſell was aſſembled at Saint *Andewes*, the eighteenth of *April* 1562. years; in which it was concluded, that in conſideration of the former ſuſpition, the Duke ſhould render to the Queen the Caſtle of *Dunbartan* the cuſtody thereof was granted unto him by appointment, till that lawfull ſucceſſion ſhould be ſeene of the Queens body: But Will prevailed againſt Reaſon and promiſe, and ſo was the Caſtle delivered to Captain *Anſtruther*, as having power from the Queen and Councill to receive it.

Things ordered in *Fyfe*, the Queen returned to *Edinburgh*, and then began mirth to grow hot, for her friends began to triumph in *France*: The certainty hereof came to the ears of *John Knox*, for there were ſome that then told him from time to time the ſtate of things, and amongſt others he was aſſured, That the Queen had been merry, exceſſively dancing till after midnight, becauſe that ſhe had received Letters, that pacification was begun again in *France*, and that her Uncles were beginning to ſtirre their taile, and to trouble the whole Realme of *France*, upon occaſion of

Anno Pſal. 2. of this Text, *And now underſtand O ye Kings, and be learned ye that judge the Earth*; he began to taxe the ignorance, the vanity and deſpite of Princes, againſt all vertue, and againſt all thoſe in whom hatred of vice and love of vertue appeared; the report hereof made unto the Queen, the ſaid *John Knox* was ſent for, Maſter *Alexander Cokburne*, who before had been his Schollar, and was very familiar with him, was the meſſenger who gave him ſome knowledge, both of the report, and of the reporters. The Queen was in her Bed-Chamber, and with her (beſides the Ladies and common ſervants) were the Lord *James*, the Earle *Morton*, Secretary *Lethington*, and ſome of the Guard that had made the report; he was accuſed as one that had irreverently ſpoken of the Queene, and that travelled to bring her into hatred and contempt of the people; and that he had exceeded the bounds of his Text; and upon theſe three heads made the Queene a long Oration; whereto the ſaid *John* anſwered as followeth, Madame, this is oftentimes the juſt recompence which God gives the ſtubborn of the world; that becauſe they will not hear God ſpeaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the falſe report of others, to their great diſpleaſure. I doubt not, but that it came to the Ears of *Herod*, that our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt called him a *Fox*, but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God to murther an Innocent, as he had lately done before, cauſing to behead *John* the Baptiſt to reward the dancing of an Harlots daughter: Madame, if the reporters of my words had been honeſt men, they would have reported my words and the circumſtances of the ſame; but becauſe they would have credit in Court, and wanting vertue worthy thereof, they muſt have ſomewhat to pleaſe your Majeſtie, if it were but flatteries and lies: But ſuch pleaſure (if any your Majeſtie take in ſuch perſons) will returne to your everlaſting diſpleaſure; for (Madame) if your own Ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any ſpark of the Spirit of God, yea, of honeſtie and wiſedome, you would not juſtly have been offended with any thing that I ſpake. And becauſe you have heard their report, pleaſe your Majeſty to hear my ſelf rehearſe the ſame ſo near as memory will ſerve, (it was even upon the next day after that the Sermon was made;) My Text (ſaid he) Madame, was this, *And now, O Kings, underſtand, be learned ye Judges of the Earth:* After (Madame ſaid he) that I had declared the dignity of Kings and Rulers, the honour wherein God hath placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being Gods Lieutenants, I demanded this queſtion; But oh (alas) what account ſhall the moſt part of Princes make before that Supreme Judge, whoſe Throne and Authoritie ſo manifeſtly and ſhamefully they abuſe, the complaint of *Solomon* is this day moſt true, to wit, *That violence, and oppreſſion do occupie the Throne of God here in this Earth*; for whileſt that murtherers, blood-thirſty men, oppreſſors and Malefactors dare be bold to preſent themſelves before Kings and Princes, and that the poor Saints of God are baniſhed and exiled, what ſhall we ſay, but that the Devill hath taken poſſeſſion in the Throne of God, which ought to be fearfull to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent, oppreſſed: and how can it otherwiſe be, for Princes will not underſtand, they will not be learned, as God commands

The ſecond communing of *John Knox* with the Queen.

Note diligently

Note.

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commands them; but Gods Law they deſpiſe, his Statutes and Holy Ordinances they will not underſtand, for in fidling and flinging they are more exerciſed than in reading or hearing Gods moſt bleſſed Word; and Fidlers and Flatterers (which commonly corrupt the Youth) are more precious in their eyes then men of wiſedome and gravitie, who by wholeſome admonitions may beat down in them ſome part of that vanity and pride wherein we all are born, but in Princes take deep root and ſtrength by evill education. And of dancing (Madame) I ſaid, That albeit in Scriptures I found no praiſe of it, and in prophane Writers, that it is termed the geſture rather of thoſe that are Mad, and in phrenſie, then of ſober men; yet do I not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoyded; the former, That the principall Vocation of thoſe that uſe that exerciſe, be not neglected for the pleaſure of Dancing. Secondly, That they dance not as the Philiſtins their Fathers, for the pleaſure that they take in the diſpleaſure of Gods people; for if they do theſe, or either of them, they ſhall receive the reward of Dancers, and that will be to drink in Hell, unleſſe they ſpeedily repent; ſo ſhall God turne their mirth into ſudden ſorrow: For God will not alwayes afflict his people, neither will he alwayes wink at the Tyranny of Tyrants. If any (Madame, ſaid he) will ſay that I ſpake more, let him publikely accuſe me, for I think I have not onely touched the ſumme, but the very words as I ſpake them. Many that ſtood by did bear witneſſe with him, that he had recited the very words that publikely he ſpake.

Anno

Note diligently

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The Queen looked about to ſome of the Reporters, and ſaid, Your words are ſharpe enough as you have ſpoken them, but yet they were told me in another manner; I know (ſaid ſhe) that my Uncles and you are not of one Religion, and therefore I cannot blame you to have no good opinion of them; but if you hear any thing of my ſelf that miſlikes you, come to my ſelf and tell me, and I ſhall hear you. Madame (quoth he) I am aſſured, that your Uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jeſus Chriſt, and for maintenance of their own pompe and worldly glory, that they ſpare not to ſpill the blood of many Innocents; and therefore I am aſſured, that theſe enterpriſes ſhall have no better ſucceſſe than others have had, that before them have done as they doe now. But as to your own perſon, (Madame) I would be glad to doe all that I could to your Majeſties contentment, providing that I exceed not the bounds of my Vocation: I am called (Madame) to a publike function within the Church of God, and appointed by God to rebuke the vices and ſins of all; I am not appointed to come to every man in particular to ſhew him his offence, for that labour were infinite; if your Majeſtie pleaſeth to frequent the publike Sermons, then I doubt not but that you ſhall fully underſtand both what I like and miſlike, as well in your Majeſty, as in all others: Or if your Majeſty will aſſigne unto me a certaine day and houre when it will pleaſe you to hear the form and ſubſtance of Doctrine, which is propoſed in publike to the Churches of this Realm, I will moſt gladly wait upon your Majeſties pleaſure, time and place; but to come to wait upon your chamber door, or elſwhere, and then to have no further liberty but to whiſper my minde in your Majeſties eare, or to tell you what others think

Let Princes note this.

Let Court-Chaplains and unthrifts of the time, note this.

Anno think and ſpeak of you, neither will my conſcience, nor the vocation where-to God hath called me, ſuffer it; for albeit at your Majeſties commandment I am here now, yet I cannot tell what other men will judge of me, that at this time of the day I am abſent from my book, and waiting at the Court. You will not alwayes (ſaid ſhe) be at your Booke, and ſo turned her back; And the ſaid *Iohn* departed, with a reaſonable merry countenance; whereat ſome Papiſts offended, ſaid, He is not afraid; which heard by him, he anſwered, Why ſhould the pleaſant face of a Lady afray me: I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above meaſure; and ſo left he the Queen, and the Court for that time.

In this mean time the negotiation was great betwixt the Queen of *England* and our Soveraigne, Letters, Curriours and Poſts ran frequent, great bruit there was of the interviewe and meeting at *Yorke*, and ſome preparation was made therefore in both the Realmes; but that failed upon the part of *England*, and that by occaſion of the troubles moved in *France*, (as was alleaged;) which cauſed the Queene of *England*, and the Councill attend upon the South parts of *England*, for avoyding of Inconveniences.

This Summer there came an Embaſſadour from the King of *Sweden*, requiring marriage of our Soveraigne to his Maſter the King; His entertainment was Honourable; but his Petitions liked not our Queene one whit, for as yet ſhe could not reſolve to be Wife to the King of *Sweden*, having been lately Queen of *France*: And yet ſhe refuſed not one much inferiour to a Soveraigne King. The Earle of *Lennox* and his Wife were committed to the Tower of *London*, for traffiquing with Papiſts; the young Laird of *Barre* was a ſtickler in that buſineſſe, and was apprehended with ſome Letters, which was the cauſe of his and their trouble.

The Earle of *Lennox*, and his Lady imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, for traffiquing with Papiſts.

The Earle of *Murray* made a private journey to *Hawicke* upon the Fayre day thereof, and apprehended fifty Theeves, of which number were ſeventeen drowned, others were executed in *Iedburgh*, the principall were brought to *Edinburgh*, and there ſuffered, according to their merits upon the *Burrow* Mure.

The Queene was no whit content of the proſperitie and good ſucceſſe that God gave to the Earle of *Murray* in all his enterpriſes, for ſhe hated his upright dealing, and the Image of God that evidently did appear in him; but at that time ſhe could not well have been ſerved without him.

The aſſembly of the Church at Midſommer the four and twentieth day of *Iune*, 1562. approached, in the which were many notable heads handled concerning good Order to be kept in the Church, and for the Papiſts, and for the Idolatry of the Queen which troubleth the former good order; Some Miniſters, ſuch as Maſter *Iohn Sharpe*, had left their charges, and entered into other Vocations, more profitable for the belly, againſt whom were Acts made, although this day they have not put them in execution. The tenour of the Supplication, read in open audience, and approved by the whole Aſſembly, to be preſented to the Queens Majeſty, was this:

Sharp left preaching, and took him to the Law.

To

To the Queens Majeſty, and her moſt honorable Privy Councell.

Anno

The Superintendents and Miniſters of the Evangell of Chriſt Jeſus within this Realme, together with the Commiſsioners of the whole Churches, deſire Grace and Peace, from the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of righteous Judgement.

HAving in minde that the fearfull ſentence pronounced againſt the Watch-men that ſee the Sword of Gods puniſhment approach, and do not in plain words forewarn the people, yea, the Princes and Rulers, that they repent, we cannot but ſignifie unto your Highneſſe, and to your Councell, That the ſtate of this Realme is ſuch for this preſent, that unleſſe redreſſe and remedy be ſhortly provided, Gods hands cannot long ſpare in his anger, to ſtrike the Head and the Tayle; the inobedient Prince, and ſinfull People: For as God is unchangeable and true, ſo muſt he puniſh, in theſe our dayes the grievous ſins which before, we reade, he hath puniſhed in all Ages, after that he hath long called for repentance, and none is ſhowne. And that your Majeſty and Councell may underſtand what are the things we deſire to be reformed, we will begin at that which we know aſſuredly to be the Fountain and Spring of all other evils that now abound in this Realme: To wit:

Note.

That Idoll and baſe ſervice of God, the Maſſe, the fountain, we call, of all Impiety, not onely becauſe many take boldneſſe to ſin, by reaſon of that opinion which they have conceived of that Idoll, to wit, That by vertue of it they get remiſſion of their ſins; But alſo becauſe that under this colour of the Maſſe, are Whores, Adulterers, Drunkards, Blaſphemers of God, of his holy Sacraments, and ſuch other manifeſt Malefactors, maintained and defended: For let any Maſſe-ſayer, or earneſt maintainer thereof be deprehended in any of the fore-named crimes, no execution can be had; for all is done in hatred of his Religion: And ſo are wicked men permitted to live wickedly, cloked and defended by that wicked Idoll. But ſuppoſing that the Maſſe was occaſion of no ſuch evils, yet in it ſelf it is ſo odious in Gods preſence, that we cannot ceaſe with all inſtance to deſire the removing of the ſame, as well from your ſelfe, as from all others within this Realm; Taking Heaven and earth, yea, your own Conſciences to record, That the obſtinate maintenance of that Idol, ſhall in the end be to you, deſtruction of ſoul and body, if you do not repent.

This cauſeth the Queens Religion to have many favorers.

If your Majeſty demand, Why that now we are more earneſt, then we have been heretofore? We anſwer (our former ſilence no wayes excuſed) Becauſe we finde our ſelves fruſtrate of our hope and expectation; which was, That in proceſſe of time your Majeſties heart ſhould have been mollified, ſo farre, as ye would have heard the publike Doctrine taught within this Realme; by the which, our further hope was, That Gods holy Spirit ſhould ſo have moved your heart, that you would have ſuffered your Religion (which before God is nothing but abomination and vanity) to be tryed by the true Touch-ſtone, the written Word

Anno of God; And that your Majeſty finding it to have no ground nor foundation in the ſame, ſhould have given that glory unto God: that you would have preferred his Truth to your own preconceived vain opinion, of what antiquity that ever it hath been, whereof we in part now
Note. diſcharged, can no longer keep ſilence, unleſſe we would make our ſelves criminall before God of your blood, periſhing in your own iniquity; for we plainly admoniſh you of the danger to come.

The ſecond thing that we require, is, Puniſhment of horrible vices, ſuch as are Adultery, Fornication, open Whoredome, Blaſphemy, Contempt of God, of his Word and Sacraments; Which in this Realme do even ſo abound, that ſin is reputed to be no ſin. And therefore, as we ſee the preſent ſignes of Gods wrath now manifeſtly appear, ſo do we forewarn, that he will ſtrike ere it be long, if his Law without puniſhment be permitted thus manifeſtly to be contemned. If any object, That puniſhment cannot be commanded to be executed without a Parliament; we
Note. anſwer, That the Eternall God in his Parliament, hath pronounced death to be the puniſhment of Adultery, and for Blaſpheming: whoſe Act if we put not in execution (ſeeing that Kings are but his Lievtenants, having no power to give life, where he commands death) as that he will repute you, and all others that foſter vice, patrons of Impiety, ſo will he not fail to puniſh you, for neglecting the execution of his judgements.

Our third requeſt concerning the poor, who be of three ſorts: The poor labourers of the ground, the poor deſolate Beggers, Orphans,
Note diligently. Widows and Strangers, and the poor Miniſters of Chriſt Jeſus his holy Evangel; which are ſo cruelly uſed by this laſt pretended Order taken for ſuſtentation of Miniſters, that their latter miſery farre ſurmounteth the former; for now the poore labourers of the ground are ſo oppreſſed by the cruelty of thoſe that pay their hire, that they for the moſt part encroach upon the poore, in whatſoever they pay unto the Queen, or to any other. As for the very indigent and poor, to whom
Note. God commands a ſuſtentation to be provided of the Tenths, they are ſo deſpiſed, that it is a wonder that Sun giveth heat and light to the earth, where Gods Name is ſo frequently called upon, and no mercy (according to his Commandment) ſhowne to his Creatures. And alſo for the Miniſters, their Livings are ſo appointed, that the moſt part ſhall live but a Beggers life: And all cometh of that impiety, that the idle bellies of Chriſts enemies, muſt be fed in their former delicacy. We dare not conceal from your Majeſtie, and honours our conſcience, which is this, That neither by the Law of God, neither yet by any juſt Law of man, is due unto them, who now moſt cruelly do exact of the poor and rich, the two parts of their Benefices, as they call them. And therefore we moſt humbly require, That ſome other Order may be taken with them, that they be not ſet up againe to empire above the people of God; for we fear that ſuch uſurpation of their former ſtate, will be neither in the end pleaſant to themſelves, nor profitable to them that would place them in that Tyranny. If any think that a competent Living is to be aſſigned to them, we repugne not, provided that

that the Labourers of the ground be not oppreſſed, the poor be not utterly neglected, and the Miniſters of the Word ſo hardly uſed, as now they are. And finally, That thoſe idle bellies, who by Law can crave nothing, ſhall confeſſe, that they receive their ſuſtentation and maintenance, not of debt, but of benevolence. Our humble requeſt is therefore, That in every Pariſh ſome part of the Tythes may be aſſigned to the ſuſtentation and maintenance of the poor within the ſame: And likewiſe that ſome publike relief may be provided for the poor within Burroughs, that Collectors may be appointed to gather; And that ſtrict Accounts may be taken, as well for their Recepts, as of the diſburſements. The further conſideration to be had of our Miniſters, we in ſome part remit to your wiſedoms, and to their particular complaints. Anno

Our fourth Petition is for the Mauſe-Yards and Gleebs juſtly appertaining to the Miniſters, without the which it is impoſſible unto them quietly to ſerve their Charges; and therefore we deſire that order be taken without delay.

Our fifth concerns the diſobedience of certain wicked perſons, who not onely trouble, and have troubled Miniſters in their Functions, but alſo diſobey the Superintendents in their Viſitation: wherefore we humbly crave remedy; which we doubt, not ſo much for the feare that we and our Miniſters have of the Papiſts, but for the love that we bear to the common tranquility. For this we cannot hide from your Majeſty and Councell, That if the Papiſts thinke to triumph where they may, and to do what they liſt, where there is not a party able to reſiſt them: that ſome will thinke, That the godly muſt begin where they left, who heretofore have borne all things patiently, in hope that the Lawes ſhould have bridled the wicked; whereof if they be fruſtrate (albeit that nothing is more odious to them then Tumults, and domeſtick Diſcord) yet will men attempt the uttermoſt, before that in their owne eyes they behold the houſe of God demoliſhed, which with travell and danger God hath within this Realm erected by them. Note this for our times.

Sixthly, we deſire, That ſuch as receive releaſe of their Thirds, be compelled to ſuſtain the Miniſters within their Bounds, or elſe we forewarne your Majeſty and Councell, that we feare, That the people ſhall retain the whole in their hands, untill ſuch time as their Miniſters be ſufficiently provided.

Seventhly, we deſire the Churches to be repayred, according to an Act ſet forth by the Lords of the Secret Councell, before your Majeſties Arrivall into this Countrey: That Judges be appointed to heare the cauſes of Divorcement; for the Church can no longer ſuſtain the burden, eſpecially, becauſe there is no puniſhment for the offenders: That ſayers and hearers of Maſſes, prophaners of the Sacraments; ſuch as have entred into Benefices by the Popes Bulls, and ſuch other tranſgreſſors of the Law made at your Majeſties Arrivall within this Realme, may be ſeverely puniſhed; for elſe men will think there is no truth meant in making of ſuch Laws.

Anno Eighthly, We moſt humbly deſire of your Majeſty and your honourable Councell, a reſolute anſwer to every one of theſe Heads afore-written, that the ſame being known, we may ſomewhat ſatisfie ſuch as be grievouſly offended at manifeſt iniquity now maintained at, oppreſſion, under pretext of Law, done againſt the poore, and at the rebellious diſobedience of many wicked perſons, againſt Gods Word, and holy Ordinance.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo rule your hearts, and direct your Majeſty and Councels judgements by the judgement and illumination of his holy Spirit, that you may anſwer ſo, as your offences may be abſolved in the preſence of that righteous Judge, the Lord Jeſus; and then we doubt not but your ſelves ſhall finde felicity, and this poor Realme, that hath long been oppreſſed by wicked men, ſhall enjoy tranquility and reſt, with the true knowledge of God.

Theſe things read in publike Aſſembly as aforeſaid, were approved of all: And ſome wiſhed that more ſharpneſſe had been uſed, becauſe that the time ſo repuired. But the Minions of the Court, and Secretary *Lethington* above others, could not abide ſuch hard ſpoken words; for whoever ſhall write (ſaid he) to a Prince, That God would ſtrike the head and the tayle; That if Papiſts do what they liſt, men would begin where they left: But above all others, that was moſt offenſive That the Queen was accuſed, as that ſhe would raiſe up Papiſts and Papiſtry again; To put that in the people heads, was no leſſe then Treaſon: yea, Oathes was made, That ſhe never meaned ſuch thing. To whom it was anſwered, That the Prophet *Iſaiah* uſed ſuch manner of ſpeaking; And it was no doubt but that he was acquainted in the Court, for it was ſuppoſed that he was of the Kings Stock: but howſoever it was, his words make manifeſt that he ſpake to the Court, and to the Courtiers, to Judges, Ladies, Princes and Prieſts; and yet, ſaith he, *The Lord ſhall cut away the head and the tayle, &c.* And ſo ſaid the firſt writer, I finde that ſuch phraſe was once uſed before us: And if this offend you, that we ſay, Men muſt begin where they left, in caſe the Papiſts do as they do, we would deſire you to teach us, not ſo much how we ſhall ſpeak, but rather what we ſhall do, when our Miniſters are ſtricken, our Superintendents diſobeyed, and a plain Rebellion decreed againſt all good Orders. Complain, ſaid *Lethington*. To whom? ſaid the other. To the Queen, ſaid he. How long ſhall we do ſo? quoth the other. Till that you get remedy, ſaid the Juſtice Clerke: Give me their names, and I ſhall give you Letters. If the Sheep, ſaid one, ſhall complain to the Wolfe, That the Wolfs whelps have devoured their Lambs, the Complainer may ſtand in danger, but the offender we fear, ſhall have leave to hunt after his prey. Such Compariſons (ſaid *Lethington*) are very unſavoury; for I am aſſured, That the Queen will not erect nor maintaine Papiſtry. Let your aſſurance (ſaid the other) ſerve your ſelfe, but it cannot aſſure us; for her manifeſt pra-

Note this for our times.

An anſwer to Lethington.

Note this diligently.

proceedings ſpeaketh the contrary. After ſuch cautious reaſoning on both ſides, the pluralitie concluded, That the ſupplication as it was conceived, ſhould be preſented, unleſſe that the Secretary would make one more fit to the preſent neceſſitie; he promiſed to keep the ſubſtance of ours, but he would uſe other termes, and aske things in a more gentle manner. The firſt Writer anſwered, That he ſerved the Churches at their commandment, and was content, That in his diteſment, men ſhould uſe the libertie that beſt pleaſed them; providing, That he were not compelled to ſubſcribe to the flattery of ſuch, as more regarded the perſons of men, then the ſimple truth of God: And ſo was this former ſupplication given to be reformed, as *Lethingtons* wiſedome thought beſt. And in very deed, he framed it ſo, That when it was delivered by the Superintendents of *Lothain* and *Fyfe*. And when the Queen had read ſomewhat of it, ſhe ſaid, Here are many faire words, I cannot tell what the hearts are; And ſo for our painted Oratory we were termed by the next name, Flatterers and diſſemblers; but for that Seſſion, the Church received no other anſwer. Anno

Short after the Convention of the Church, chanced that unhappy perſuite which *John Gordon*, Laird of *Finlater*, made upon the Lord *Ogilvie*, who was evill hurt, and was for a long time mitilate; The occaſion was for certain Lands, and Rights, which old *Finlater* had reſigned to the Lord, which he was purſuing by Law, and was in appearance to obtain his purpoſe; whereat, the ſaid *John*, and his ſervants were offended, and therefore made the ſaid purſuite, upon a Saterday, at night, betwixt nine and ten. The friends of the ſaid Lord, were either not with him, or elſe not willing to fight that night, for they took ſtroakes, but gave few that left markes. *John Gordoun and Ogilvie.*

The ſaid *John* was taken and put in the *Tolbuith*, where he remained certain dayes, and then broke the Priſon: Some judged, at his Fathers commandment; for he was making preparation for the Queens coming to the North, as we will after heare.

The enterview and meeting of the two Queens delayed till the next yeer. Our Soveraign took purpoſe to viſite the North, and departed from *Sterlin* in the moneth of *Auguſt*; whether there was any paction and confederacy betwixt the Papiſts of the South, and the Earle of *Huntly* and his Papiſts in the North (or to ſpeak more plainly) betwixt the Queen her Self, and *Huntly*: We cannot certainly affirme, But the ſuſpitions were wondrous vehement, that there was no good will borne to the Earle of *Murray*, nor yet to ſuch as depended upon him, at that time. The Hiſtory we ſhall faithfully declare, and ſo leave the judgement free to the Readers.

That *John Gordon* broke the Priſon, we have already heard, who immediately repaired to his Father *George*, Earle of *Huntly*; and underſtanding the Queens coming, made great proviſion in *Strabogie*, and in other parts, as it were to receive the Queen. At *Aberdeine*, the Queen and Court, remained certaine dayes to deliberate upon the Affaires of the Countrey, where ſome began to ſmell, that the Earle of *Huntly* was privately gathering men, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

Whileſt

Anno

Bothwell brake the ward or priſon.

Whileſt things was ſo working in the North, the Earle of *Bothwell* broke his priſon, and came forth of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* the eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt*; ſome ſay he broke the Stancheours of the Window; others whiſpered, that he got eaſie paſſage by the gates: one thing is certain, to wit, The Queen was little offended at his eſcaping. There paſſed with him a ſervant of the Captains, named *James Porterfield*. The ſaid Earle ſhewed himſelf not very much afraid, for his common reſidence was in *Louthain*. The Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* and Abbot of *Croſrainell* kept ſecret convention that ſame time in *Paiſlay*, to whom reſorted divers Papiſts; yea, the ſaid Biſhop ſpake to the Duke, unto whom alſo came the Lord *Gordon* from the Earle of *Huntly*, requiring him to ſtirre his hands in the South, as he ſhould do in the North, and ſo it ſhould not be *Knox* crying and preaching that ſhould ſtay that purpoſe: The Biſhop, be he never ſo cloſe, could not altogether hide his minde, but at his own Table ſaid, The Queen is gone into the North, belike to ſeek diſobedience, ſhe may perchance finde the thing ſhe ſeeks. It was conſtantly affirmed, That the Earle *Bothwell* and the ſaid Lord *Gordon* ſpake together, but of their purpoſe we heard no mention.

Note another wavering of the *Hamiltons*.

That ſame year, and in that ſame inſtant time, were appointed Commiſſioners by the Generall Aſſembly, to *Carrick* and *Cunningham*; Maſter *George Hay*, who with great profit preached the ſpace of a moneth in all the Churches of *Carrick*. To *Kyle* and to the parts of *Galloway* was appointed *John Knox*, who beſides the doctrine of the Evangell, ſhewne to the common people, forewarned ſome of the Nobilitie and Barrows, of the dangers that he feared, and that were appearing ſhortly to follow; and exhorted them to put themſelves in ſuch order, as that they might be able to ſerve the authoritie, and yet not to ſuffer the enemies of Gods truth to have the upper hand: Whereupon a great part of the *Barons* and Gentlemen of *Kyle*, *Cunningham* and *Carrick*, profeſſing the true doctrine of the Evangell, aſſembled at *Ayre*; and after the exhortation made, and conference had, ſubſcribed this Bond, the Tenour whereof followeth:

A new Covenant, 1562.

WE whoſe Names are under-written, do promiſe in the preſence of God, and in the preſence of his Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that we and every one of us, ſhall and will maintain the preaching of his holy Evangell, now of his mercy offered and granted unto this Realm; and alſo will maintaine the Miniſters of the ſame againſt all perſons, power and authoritie that will oppoſe themſelves to the Doctrine propoſed, and by us received: And further, with the ſame ſolemnitie, we proteſt and promiſe, that every one of us ſhall aſſiſt another, yea, and the whole Body of the Proteſtants within this Realme, in all lawfull and juſt occaſions, againſt all perſons; So that whoſoever ſhall hurt, moleſt or trouble any of our bodies, ſhall be reputed enemies to the whole, except that the offender will be content to ſubmit himſelf to the Government of the Church now eſtabliſhed amongſt us: and this

Note.

We

we do, as we deſire to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jeſus, and accepted worthy of credit and honeſty in the preſence of the godly. At the Burgh of Aire the fourth day of September, in the year of God, 1552. *Subſcribed by all theſe with their hands, as followeth:* Anno

The Earle Glencairne, *Lord* Boyde, *Lord* Uchiltrie *and* Failfurd, Mathew Cambell *of* Lowdoune *Knight*, Allaine *Lord* Cathcart, Caprington *elder and younger*, Cuninghameheid, Rowallan, Waterſton, Craigie, Leſnoreis, Achinharvy, Middleton, *Maſter* Michael Wallace *Proveſt of* Ayr, *with fourty more of the boneſteſt Burgeſſes of that Towne. The Maſter of* Boyd, Grairgirth, Barr, Carnell, Dreghorne, Heſted, Skeldon, Wolſton, Carſland, Fergnſhill, Polquhairne, Stair, Barkskyning, Kinganelech, *with a hundred more Gentlemen of worth*; Iohn Dumbar *of* Blantyre, Carleton *and his brother*, Halrig Cers, Kirckmichael, Dalyaroich, Croſclayes, Horſclench, Carbiſton, Kelwood, Tarmganoich, &c.

THeſe things done at *Ayr*, the ſaid *John* paſſed to *Nithſdaill*, and *Galloway*, where, in conference with the Maſter of *Maxwell*, a man of great judgement and experience; he communicated with him ſuch things as he feared, who by his motion wrote to the Earle of *Bothwell* to behave himſelf as it became a faithfull Subject, and to keep good quietneſſe in the places committed to his charge, and that his crime of breaking the Ward would be the more eaſily pardoned. *John Knox* wrote unto the Duke, and earneſt-exhorted him neither to give ear to the Biſhop his Baſtard brother, nor yet to the perſwaſions of the Earle of *Huntly*; for if he did, he aſſured him, that he and his houſe ſhould come to a ſudden ruine. By which meanes was the South parts kept in reaſonable quietneſſe during the time that the troubles were a brewing in the North; and yet the Biſhop and the Abbot of *Coſraynell* did what in them lay to have raiſed ſome trouble; for, beſides the fearfull bruits that they ſpearced abroad, ſometime that the Queen was taken, ſometimes that the Earle of *Murray* and all his were ſlain, and ſometimes that the Queen had given her ſelf to the Earle of *Huntly*; beſides ſuch bruits the Biſhop to break the Countrey of *Kyle*, where quietneſſe then was greateſt, raiſed the *Crawfords*, againſt the *Reides*, for the payment of the Biſhops Paſchfynes; but that was pacified by the labor of indifferent men, who favoured peace. The Abbot of *Coſrainell* required diſputation of *John Knox* for maintenance of the *Maſſe*, which was granted unto him; and the diſpute held in *Mayboll* three dayes: The Abbot had the advantage that he required, to wit, he took in hand to prove, That *Melchiſedec* offered Bread and Wine unto God; which was the ground that the *Maſſe* was built upon

Anno to be a Sacrifice, &c. But in the work of three dayes there could no proofe be produced for *Melchizedecks* Oblation; as in the diſputation, (which was afterwards Printed) clearly may appeare. The Papiſts looked for a revolt, and therefore they would have ſome brag of reaſoning; the Abbot further preſented himſelf to the Pulpit, but the voyce of Maſter *George Hay* ſo affrayed him, that after once he was wearied of that exerciſe.

After that the Queene was ſomewhat ſatisfied of hunting, and other paſtimes, ſhe came to *Aberdein*, where the Earle of *Huntly* met her, and his Ladies, with no ſmall Train, who remained in Court, and was ſuppoſed to have the greateſt credite, departed with the Queen to *Buchan*, met her againe at *Rothemay*, looking that ſhee ſhould have paſſed with him to *Strabogy*; but in the journey certain word came to her, that *John Gordon* had broken promiſe in not re-entring in ward; for his Father the Earle had promiſed, that he ſhould enter againe within the Caſtle of *Sterlin*, and there abide the Queens pleaſure; but whether with his Fathers knowledge and conſent, or without the ſame, we know not; but he refuſed to enter: which ſo offended the Queen, that ſhe would not go to *Strabogy*, but paſſed thorow *Straithla* to *Innerveſſe*, where the Caſtle thereof was denyed unto her; the Captaine was commanded to keep it, and looked for relief; for ſo had *John Gordon* promiſed; but being thereof fruſtrate, the Caſtle was rendred, and the Captain called; *Gordon* was executed upon the place, the reſt were condemned, and the hands of ſome bound, but eſcaped.

This was the beginning of further trouble, for the Earle of *Huntly* thereat offended, began to aſſemble his Folkes, and ſpared not to ſpeak that he would be revenged; But alwayes his Wife bare a faire countenance to the Queen; and it is verily ſuppoſed, that no other harme then the Queen her ſelf could eaſily have ſtood content with, was meaned unto her own perſon. But the whole matter lay upon the Earle of *Murray*, Secretary *Lethington* and the Laird of *Pittaro*; yet the Queene began to be afraid, and by Proclamation, cauſed to warn *Sterling* Shire, *Fyfe*, *Anguis*, *Mernes*, and *Stratherne*, charging all ſubſtantiall men to be in *Aberdein* the fifth day of *October*, there to remaine the ſpace of twenty dayes; In her return from *Innerneſſe* ſhe required the Caſtle of *Finlater*, which was likewiſe denyed, and ſo was *Anchndowne*; which more angred the Queen. The Earle of *Huntly* was charged to cauſe deliver the ſaid houſe, under the pain of Treaſon; to ſhew ſome obedience, he cauſed the Keyes of both to be preſented by his ſervant Maſter *Thomas Keir*; But before had the Queen ſent young Captaine *Stewart*, ſon to *James*, (who to this day hath neither been ſtout, happy, nor true) with ſixſcore to lye about the places of *Finlater*. They lodged in *Culan*, not farre diſtant from the ſaid place. But upon a night *John Gordon* came with a company of Horſemen, took the Captain, ſlew certain of the Souldiers, and diſarmed the reſt.

This fact done (as the Queen alleaged) under truſt, ſo inflamed her, that all hope of reconciliation was paſt; and ſo the Earl of *Huntly* was charged under the pain of putting him to the Horn, to preſent himſelfe, and the ſaid *John* before the Queen and Councill within ſix dayes; which charge he diſobeyed,

diſobeyed, and ſo was denounced Rebell: Whether it was Law or not, we diſpute little thereof; but it was a preparative to others, that after were ſerved with the like meaſure: he was ſought at his Place of *Stragobie*, but eſcaped. The evil encreaſed, for the Earle aſſembled his fellowes out of all parts of the North: He marched forwards towards *Aberdiene*, and upon the two and twentieth of *October*, 1562. came to the Lough of *Skeine*.

Anno

So was the Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, and *Glencarne*, with all their Company after ſerved

His Army was judged to be ſeven or eight hundred men. The Queens Army, both in number and man-hood, far ſurmounting his, and yet he took no fear; for he was aſſured of the moſt part of them which were with the Queen; as the iſſue did witneſſe: Within the Town they ſtood in great fear, and therefore it was concluded, That they would aſſayle the uttermoſt upon the fields. The *Forbeſſes*, *Hayes*, and *Leſleyes* took the Vantguard, and promiſed to fight with the ſaid Earle, without anyother help. They paſſed forth of the Towne before ten hours in the morning; they put themſelves in aray, but they approached not the enemy, till that the Earle of *Murray* and his Company were come to the fields, and that was after two after noon; for he was appointed with his Company, onely to have beholded the Battell: but all things turned otherwiſe then the moſt part of men ſuppoſed.

The day of *Correthie* field. *Octob.* 22. 1562

The Earle of *Huntleis* prayer.

The Earle of *Huntley* was the night before determined to have retired himſelfe and his Company: But that morning he could not be wakened, before it was ten hours; and when he was upon his feet, his ſpirits failed him, by reaſon of his corpulency, ſo that rightly, a long time he could do nothing: Some of his friends fearing the danger, left him. When that he looked upon both the Companies, he ſaid, This great Company that approacheth neereſt to us, will do us no harme, they are our friends: I onely feare that ſmall Company that ſtands on the hill ſide, they are our enemies: But we are enough for them, if God be with us. And when he had thus ſpoken, he fell upon his knees, and made his Prayer in this form:

O Lord, I have been a blood-thirſtie man, and by my means hath much innocent blood been ſpilt: But wilt thou give me Victory this day, and I ſhall ſerve thee all the dayes of my life.

Note and obſerve, good Reader, he confeſſeth that he hath beene a blood-thirſty man; and that he had been the cauſe of the ſhedding of much innocent blood; but yet would he have had Victory: And what was that elſe, but to have had power to have ſhedded more, and then would he have ſatisfied God for altogether; wherein isexpreſſed the nature of hypocrites, which never fear nor love God further then preſent danger or profit perſwadeth. But to our Hiſtory.

Note.

Correthieburne, or *Farabank*.

The *Leſleyes*, *Hayes*, and *Forbiſſes*, eſpying the Earle of *Murray* and his to have lighted upon their feet, and made forward againſt the Earle of *Huntley* and his, who ſtood in *Correthieburne* (ſome call it *Farabanke*) But ere they approached nigh, by the ſpace of the ſhot of an Arrow, they caſt from them their Spears and long Weapons, and fled directly in the face of the Earle of *Murray* and his Company: The

Anno danger eſpied, the Laird of *Pittarrow* (a man both ſtout, and of a ready wit) with the Maſter, after Lord *Lyndſey*, and Tutor of *Pitcur*, ſaid, *Let us caſt down Spears to the foremoſt, and let them not come in amongſt us; for there is no doubt but this flying is but Treachery:* And ſo they did, ſo that they that fled of *Huntley* ſeeing the Vaunt-guard flie, ſaid unto his Company, *Our friends are honeſt men, they have kept promiſe; Let us now encounter the reſt.* And ſo he and his, as ſure of Victory, marched forward. The Secretary in few words, made a vehement Oration; and they willed every man to call upon his God, to remember his duty, and not to fear the multitude: And in the end concluded thus: *O Lord, thou that ruleſt the heaven and the earth, look upon thy ſervants, whoſe blood this day is moſt unjuſtly ſought, and to mans judgement, are ſold and betrayed, our refuge is now unto thee, and our hope is in thee: Judge thou, O Lord, betwixt us and the Earle of* Huntlie, *and the reſt of our enemies: If ever we have juſtly ſought his or their deſtruction and blood, let us fall on the ſword. And, O Lord, if thou knoweſt our innocency, maintain thou and preſerve us, for thy great mercies ſake.*

Secretary Lethingtons Oration.

Shortly after the ſpeaking of theſe and the like words, the former Rank rejoyced; for *Huntlies* Company made great haſte: They were repulſed by the Maſter of *Lyndſay*; and the Companies of *Fyfe* and *Angus*, ſome of them that had fled, returned, and followed the Earle of *Murray*, but gave no ſtroke, till that *Huntlies* Company gave back. In the Front there was ſlain eighteen or four and twenty men; and in the flying there fell 100. There were taken 100. and the reſt were ſpared: The Earl himſelfe was taken alive; his two ſons, *John* aforeſaid, and *Adam Gordon*, were taken with him. The Earle, immediately after his taking, departed this life, without any wound, or yet appearance of any ſtroke, whereof death might have enſued: And ſo, becauſe it was late, he was caſt overthwart or upon a payre of Creilles, and ſo was carried to *Aberdeine*, and was laid in the Tolbuith thereof, that that which his wives Witches had given, might be fulfilled; who all affirmed (as the moſt part ſay) That ſame night he ſhould be in the Towne of *Aberdeine*, without any wound upon his body. When his Lady got knowledge thereof, ſhe blamed her principall Witch, called *Iannett*; but ſhe ſtoutly defended her ſelfe (as the devill can do) and affirmed, That ſhe gave a true anſwer, albeit ſhe ſpake not all the truth; for ſhe knew that he ſhould be there dead, but that could not profit my Lady. She was angry and ſorry for a ſeaſon: But the devill, the Maſſe, and Witches, have all great credit with her this day, the twelfth of *Iune*, 1566. as they had ſeven yeers agoe.

The Earle of *Murray* ſent a Meſſage unto the Queen, of the marvellous Victory; and humbly prayed her to ſhew that obedience to God, as publikely to convene with them, to give thanks unto God for his notable deliverance. She glomed and frowned both at the Meſſage, and at the Requeſt, and ſcarcely would give a good word, or blythe and merry countenance to any that ſhe knew earneſt favourers of the Earle of *Murray*, whoſe proſperity was, and yet is a very venome to her boldned heart: For many dayes ſhe bare no better countenance; whereby it might have been eaſily eſpied, That ſhe rejoyced not greatly of the ſucceſſe of that

that matter; And albeit ſhe cauſed to execute *Iohn Gordon*, and divers others, yet it was the deſtruction of others that ſhe ſought. Anno

Upon the morrow after the diſcomfiture, the Lady *Forbeſſe*, a woman both wiſe, and fearing God, came, amongſt many others, to viſite the Corps of the ſaid Earle; and ſeeing him lie upon the cold ſtones, having onely upon him a Doublet of Canvas, a payre of Scotch gray Hoſe, and him covered with an Arras work. She ſaid, *What ſtability ſhall we judge to be in this world? There lieth he that yeſterday in the morning was eſteemed the wiſeſt, the richeſt, and man of greateſt power that was within Scotland.* And in very deed ſhe lyed not; for in mans opinion, under a Prince, there was not ſuch a one theſe three hundred yeers in this Realme produced: But felicity and worldly wiſedom ſo blinded him, that in the end he periſhed in them, as ſhall all thoſe that deſpight God, and truſt in themſelves. The Lady Forbeſſe her words. Let others that yet live mark this.

Iohn Gordon, at his death, confeſſed many horrible things, deviſed by his father, by his brother, and by himſelf. There were Letters found in the Earles pocket, that diſcloſed the Treaſon of the Earle of *Sutherland*, and of divers others. Maſter *Thomas Keir*, who before was the whole Councellor of the ſaid Earle, diſcloſed whatſoever he underſtood might hurt the *Gordons* and their friends, and ſo Treaſon plainly diſcloſed; which was, That the Earle of *Murray* ſhould have been murthered in *Stragobie*; the Queen ſhould have been taken, and kept at the devotion of the ſaid Earle of *Huntley*. Theſe things, we ſay, revealed, the Queen left the North, and came to *Dundie*, Saint *Iohnſton*, *Sterlin*, and then to *Edinburgh*: The Earle of *Huntleys* body was carryed about in a Boat, and laid without Buriall in the Abbey of *Halyrud-houſe*, till the day of his Forefaltor, as after ſhall be declared. The Duke apprehended the Lord *Gordon* his ſon in Law, becauſe that the Queen had ſtraitly commanded him ſo to do, if that he repaired within his bounds. Before that he delivered him, the Earle of *Murray* laboured at the Queens hands for the ſafety of his life, which hardly was granted; and ſo was he delivered within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the eight and twentieth day of *November*. 1562. where he remained till the eighth day of *February*; when he was put to an Aſſiſe, accuſed and convinced of Treaſon; but was reſtored againe; firſt, to the Caſtle aforeſaid, and thereafter was tranſported to *Dumbar*, where he remained priſoner till the moneth of *Auguſt*, in the yeer of God 1565. as we will after hear.

In the mean time the troubles were hot in *France*, and the intelligence and outward familiarity betwixt the two Queens was great; *Lethington* was directed with large Commiſſion, both to the Queene of *England*, and to the *Guiſians*.

The Marriage of our Queen was in all mens mouthes; ſome would have the Infant of *Spaine*, ſome the Emperours Brother, ſome Duke *Denemours*, and ſome truely gueſſed at the Lord *Darley*. Mens judgement of the Queens Marriage.

What *Lethingtons* Credit was, we know not; but ſhortly after there began much to be talked of the Earle of *Lenox*, and of his ſon

Anno the Lord *Darley*. It was ſaid that *Lethington* ſpake to the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*; And that *Robert Melvill* received a horſe to the Secretaries uſe from the Earle of *Lenox*, or from his wife. Howſoever it was, Maſter *Fouller* ſervant to the ſaid Earle, came with Letters to the Queene, by which, Licenſe was permitted to the Earle of *Lenox* to come to *Scotland*, to travell in his lawfull buſineſſe. That ſame day the Queens Licenſe was granted, the Secretary ſaid, This day I have taken upon me the deadly hatred of all the *Hamiltons* within *Scotland*, and have done unto them no leſſe diſpleaſure, then if I had cut their throats. The Earle *Bothwell*, who before had broken Ward, fearing apprehenſion or taking, prepared to paſſe to *France*; but by ſtorm of Weather was driven into *England*, where he was ſtayed, and was offered to have been rendred by the Queen of *England*: But our Queens anſwer was, That he was no Rebell, and therefore ſhe requeſted that he ſhould have liberty to paſſe whither he pleaſed. And thereto *Lethington* helped not a litt'e, for he travelled to have friends in every faction of the Court, And ſo obtained the ſaid Earle Lincenſe to paſſe to *France*.

The Winter after the death of the Earle of *Huntley*, the Court remained for the moſt part at *Edinburgh*. The Preachers were wondrous vehement in reprehenſion of all manner of Vice, which then began to abound; and eſpecially Avarice, Oppreſſion of the poore, Exceſſe, Ryotous Cheer, Banquetting, immoderate Dancing, and Whoredome, that thereof enſues. Whereat the Courtiers began to ſtorme and to pick quarrells againſt the Preachers, alleadging that all their Preaching was turned to Rayling; whereunto one of them gave anſwer as followeth: It comes to our eares that we are called Raylers, whereof albeit we wonder, yet we are not aſhamed, ſeeing that the moſt worthy ſervants of God that before us have travelled in this Vocation, have ſo been ſtiled: But unto you do I ſay, That the ſame God, who from the beginning hath puniſhed the Contempt of his Word, and hath poured forth his Vengeance upon ſuch proud mockers, ſhall not ſpare you; yea, he ſhall not ſpare you before the eyes of this ſame wicked Generation, for the pleaſure whereof ye deſpiſe all wholeſome Admonitions: Have you not ſeen greater then any of you ſitting where preſently ye ſit, pick his nayles, and pull down his Bonnet over his eyes, when Idolatry, Witchcraft, Murther, Oppreſſion, and ſuch Vices, were rebuked: Was not this his common talke? When theſe Knaves have rayled their fill, then will they hold their peace: Have ye not heard it affirmed to his owne face, That God ſhould revenge that his Blaſphemie, even in the eyes of ſuch as were witneſſe to his iniquity.

Note this. The Preachers railed upon the Courtiers.

The Preachers Admonition after the Earle of *Huntlies* death.

Meaning of *Huntly*.

Then was the Earle of *Huntley* accuſed by you, as the maintainer of Idolatry, and onely hinderer of all good Orders; him hath God puniſhed, even according to the threatnings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed his Judgements: But what amendment can be eſpied in you? Idolatry was never in greater quiet, Vertue and vertuous men were never in more contempt; Vice was never

never more bold, nor punishment lesse feared. And yet who guides the Queene and Court; who but the Professants. O horrible slanderers of God, and of his holy Evangell; Better it were unto you, plainely to renounce Christ Jesus, then thus to expose his blessed Evangell to Mockage: if God punisheth not you, That this same age shall see and behold your punishment, the spirit of righteous judgement guides me not. Anno

The end declared their words to be true.

This vehemency provoked the hatred, not onely of the Courtiers, but also of divers others against the Speaker, which was *John Knox*; for such as be in credit, never lack flatterers. *Their Brethren of the Court were irreverendly handled.* What was that, but to raise the hearts of the people against them; They did what they could. Such speaking would cause them to do lesse. And this was the fruit that the Preachers gathered of their just reprehensions; The generall Assembly of the Church held on the 25 of *December*, 1562. approached. In the which, great complaints were made; That Churches lacked Ministers; That Ministers lacked their Stipends; That wicked men were permitted to be Schoole-Masters; and so to infect the youth amongst them, whom one Master *Robert Cunning* Schoole-master in *Aberbrothoke*, was complained upon by the Laird of *Dun*, and sentence pronounced against him. It was further complained, That Idolatry was erected in divers parts of the Realm: For redresse hereof, some thought best, That a new supplication should be presented to the Queen; others demanded, what answer was received of the former. The superintendent of *Lowthian* confessed the delivery of it; but (said he) I received no answer. It was answered for the part of the Queene, (for her suppossts were ever there) that it was well known to the whole Realm, what troubles had occurred since the last Assembly; and therefore, That they should not wonder, albeit that the Queen had not answered, but betwixt that and the Parliament, which was appointed to be in *May*, they doubted not but such order should be taken, as all men should have occasion to stand content. This satisfied for that time the whole Assembly. And this was the practice of the Queene, and of her Councell, with faire words to drive time, as before we have said.

The defence of the Courtiers.

The Queens practise.

The Assembly notwithstanding proceeded forward in establishing of such orders, as whereby vice might be punished, and vertue might be maintained, And because there was a great slander risen upon *Paul Meffane* of whom mention is made in the second Booke of the Historie, Commissions and charge was given unto *John Knox*, Minister of *Edinburgh*, and unto certain of the Elders of the Church of *Edinburgh*, to passe to the Town of *Jedwart*, where the slander was raised, and to be found there, the third of *January* next, was the tryall to be taken of the slander raised, and to hear the Articles and complaint of the said *Paul*: and after the tryall, to report the truth to the Session of the Church of *Edinburgh*; To whom with the assistance of the superintendent of *Lowthian* Commission was given to discerne therein. The tryall and examination of that crime was difficile, the slander was universall in that Towne and Country; the servant woman of the said *Paul*, had betwixt that and *Christmas* left his House, she had borne a child, no father to it could she finde,

The tryall of *Paul Meffanes* fact.

Anno finde, but alleaged her ſelf to have been ſuppreſſed late in an Evening; the ſaid *Paul* conſtantly affirmed himſelf innocent, and would have given his publike purgation; but becauſe his Accuſators had taken on them to prove ther accuſation that was denyed, many witneſſes were produced, of whom ſome depoſed ſo clearly, that the Commiſſioners ſuſpected, that they had been ſuborned, and therefore they required to have inſpection of the places, where ſome ſaid they ſaw, and ſome ſaid they heard them in the very act of iniquitie. The ſight and conſideration of the place augmented greatly the ſuſpition; but one thing was moſt ſuſpitious of all other, for the Wife of the ſad *Paul* (an ancient Matron) was abſent from him the ſpace of eight or nine weeks in *Dundie*; which time (or at leaſt a great part thereof) they ſuſpected, and he lay nightly in one houſe without other company then a Childe of ſeven or eight yeers of age. The Judges, notwithſtanding theſe ſuſpitions, having a good opinion of the honeſtie and godlineſſe of the man, travelled what they could (conſcience not hurt) to purge him of the ſlander: But God, who would not that ſuch a Villanie ſhould be cloaked and concealed within his Kirk, otherwayes had decreed, for he brought the brother of the guilty woman to the Towne, having no minde of ſuch matters, who being produced by the Accuſators, as one that was privy to the fact, and knew the veritie of all circumſtances; this witneſſe, we ſay, (which could not be ſuſpected) being produced, made the matter ſo plain and clear, that all ſuſpition was removed; for he it was that conveyde the woman away, he it was that cauſed the Childe to bebaptiſed, alleaging it to be his own; he it was that carried frequent meſſage betwixt them, and from *Paul* carryed money and clothes divers times: How ſoon that ever the ſaid *Paul* ſaw that man produced, as Witneſſe, he withdrew himſelfe, and left the Town, by that means plainly taking upon him the Crime; And ſo the Commiſſioners with full information, returned to *Dundie*, and notified the ſame unto the Kirke, who cauſed publikely to ſummon the ſaid *Paul* to hear the ſentence pronounced; who not appearing in the end, for his odious Crime and contumacy, was publikely excommunicated, and was deprived of all functions within the Kirke of *Scotland*, and ſo left the Realme. For two cauſes we inſert this horrible fact, and the order kept in puniſhing of the ſame; the former to forewarn ſuch as travell in that Vocation, that according to the admonition of the Apoſtle, *Such as ſtand, take heed leſt they fall.* No man in the beginning of the Evangell, was judged more fervent and more upright; and yet we have heard how far Sathan has prevailed againſt him; God grant that we may hear of his repentance; neither yet ſhould this fall do any thing to prejudice the Authoritie of the Doctrine which he taught, for the Doctrine of God hath its authority of no creature, but hath the aſſurance of God himſelfe, how weak or imperfect ſoever the Inſtruments be by whom it pleaſeth God to publiſh the ſame. The treaſon of *Judas*, the Adultery of *David*, and abnegation of *Peter* did derogate nothing from the glory of Chriſts Evangell, nor yet the Doctrine which before they had taught; but declared the one to be a Reprobate, and the other to be Inſtruments in whom mercy muſt ſurmount judgement. The other cauſe is, that the World may ſee what difference there is betwixt the uprightneſſe of the Kirke of God, and the

the corruption that reignes in the Synagogue of Sathan, the Papiſticall rabble; for how many of that ſort hath been, and ſtill remaine openly knowne Whoremongers, Adulterers, Violators of Virgines, yea, and committers of ſuch abominations as we will not name; and yet are they called and permitted to be Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Cardinalls and Popes themſelves: For what ſinnes can unable the ſworne ſervants of *Symonie*, and of their Father the Devill? For bragg what they liſt of Chriſt, of *Peter*, and of *Paul*, their lives and converſation bear witneſſe to whom they belong. But we return to our Hiſtory of things done in Court. Anno

Amongſt the Menizoons of the Court, there was one named Monſieur *Chattelet*, a Frenchman, that at that time paſſed all others in credit with the Queene: In dancing of the *purpoſe*, ſo terme they that dance, in the which man and woman talketh ſecretly, wiſe men would judge ſuch faſhions not agreeable to the gravity of honeſt women. In this dance the Queen chooſe *Chattelet*, and *Chattelet* took the Queen, for he had the beſt dreſſe. All this winter *Chattelet* was ſo familiar with the Queen, that the Nobilitie being by this means ſtopped to have ſo free acceſſe as they thought fit and due unto them, were highly offended; at length *Chattelet* having conveyed himſelfe privately under the Queens Bed, but being eſpied, was commanded away: The Bruit ariſing, the Queene called the Earle of *Murray*, and burſting in a womanly affection, charged him, that as he loved her, he ſhould ſlay *Chatelet*, and let him never ſpeak word. The other at the firſt made promiſe ſo to doe; but after calling to minde the judgement of GOD pronounced againſt the ſhedders of innocent blood, and alſo that none ſhould die without the teſtimonie of two or three witneſſes, returned, and fell upon his knees before the Queen, and ſaid, Madame, I beſeech your Majeſtie cauſe not me to take the blood of this man upon me; Your Majeſtie hath uſed him ſo familiarlie before, that you have offended all your Nobilitie; and now if he ſhall be ſecretly ſlain at your owne commandment, what ſhall the world judge of it? I ſhall bring him to the preſence of Juſtice, and let him ſuffer by Law according to his deſerving. Oh, ſaid the Queene, you ſhall not let him ſpeake. I ſhall doe (ſaid he) Madame, what in me lyeth, to give your Majeſtie content. Poor *Chattelet* was brought back from *Kingorne* to Saint *Andrews*, examined, put to an Aſſize, and ſo beheaded the two and twentieth day of *February*, *Anno Dom.* 1562. He begged licenſe to write to *France* the cauſe of his death; which ſaid he, in his Tongue was *Pour eſtre trouve en lieu trop ſuſpect*; that is, *Becauſe I was found in a place too much ſuſpected.* At the place of Execution, when he ſaw that there was no remedie, but death, he made a godly confeſſion, and granted, that his declining from the truth of God, and following of vanitie and impietie, was juſtly repayed unto him: But in the end he concluded, looking unto the Heavens, with theſe words, *O cruelle Dame!* What that complaint imported I leave it to conjecture; and ſo received *Chattelet* the reward of his dancing, for he loſt his Head, that his Tongue ſhould not utter

Chattelet and the Queen.

The Queens deſire concerning *Chattelet*.

Anno

the ſecrets of our Queen; deliver us, O Lord from the rage of ſo inordinate a Court.

The puniſhment of God for maintaining and erecting of the *Maſſe*, death and famine.

The year of God, 1563. there was a univerſall death in all *Scotland*, but in the North, where (the Harveſt before) the Queene had been, there was a great Famine, of which may died in that Countrey. the dearth was great over all, but the Famine in the Wheat, the Beare or Barley, the Meale, the Oates, Beefe, Mutton, &c, were exceeding dear and ſcant; yea, all things appertaining to the ſuſtentation of man, in triple, and more exceeded, their accuſtomed prices. And ſo did God according to the threatning of the Law puniſh the Idolatry of our wicked Rulers, and our ingratitude that ſuffered them to defile the Land with that abomination again, that God ſo potently had purged by the power of his Word; for the riotous Feaſting and exceſſive Banquetting uſed in City and Countrey, whereſoever that the prophane Court repaired, provoked God to ſtrike the Staffe of Bread, and to give his maledictions upon the fruits of the earth. But alas, who looked, or yet looks to the true cauſe of our Calamitie?

Lethington was abſent (as before we have heard) in the Queens affairs; the Papiſts at that *Paſch. Ann.* 1563. in divers parts of the Realm, had erected that Idoll the *Maſſe*, amongſt whom the Biſh. of S. *Andrews*, the Prior of *Quihithorn*, with divers others of that faction would avow it. Beſides the firſt Proclamation, there had Letters paſt in the contrary with certification of death to the contraveiner.

The Brethren univerſally offended, and eſpying that the Queene by Proclamation did but delude them, determined to put to their own hands, and to puniſh for example of others; and ſo ſome Prieſts in the Weſt-Land were apprehended; Intimation made unto others, as to the Abbot of *Coſragnell*, the Parſon of *Sangohar*, and ſuch, that they ſhould neither complaine to the Queene nor Counſell, but ſhould execute the puniſhment that God has appointed to Idolaters in his Law, by ſuch means as they might, where ever they ſhould be apprehended.

The Queen ſtormed at ſuch freedom of ſpeaking, but ſhe could not amend it, for the Spirit of God, of boldneſſe, and of wiſdome had not left the moſt part of ſuch as God had made Inſtruments in the beginning, they were of one minde to maintaine the truth, and to ſuppreſſe Idolatry, particularities had not divided them; and therefore could not the Devill working in the Court, and in Papiſts, do then what they would; and therefore the Court began to invent a new craft; The Queen adviſed, to ſend for *John Knox* to come to her where ſhe lay, at *Lochlevin*; She dealt with him earneſtly two houres before ſupper, that he would be the Inſtrument to perſwade the people, and principally the Gentlemen of the Weſt, not to put hand to puniſh any man for the uſing of themſelves in their religions as pleaſed them. The other perceiving her craft willed her Majeſtie to puniſh Malefactors according to the Laws, and he durſt promiſe quietneſſe upon the part of all them that profeſſed the Lord Jeſus within *Scotland*; But if her Majeſtie thought to delude the Laws, he ſaid, he feared ſome would let the Papiſts underſtand, that without puniſhment they ſhould no be ſuffered ſo manifeſtly to offend Gods Majeſtie. Will ye (quoth ſhe) allow that they ſhall take

John Knox ſent for by the Queen.

Reaſoning between *J. Knox* and the Queen

take my Sword in their hand. The Sword of Juſtice (quoth he) Madame, is Gods, and is given to Princes and Rulers for one end: which if they tranſgreſſe, ſparing the wicked, and oppreſſing the Innocents. They that in the fear of God execute Judgement where God hath commanded, offend not God, although Kings do it not; neither yet ſin they that bridle Kings to ſtrike innocent men in their rage: The examples are evident; for *Samuel* ſpared not to ſlay *Agag*, the fat and delicate King of *Amelek*, whom King *Saul* had ſaved: Neither ſpared *Elias*, *Jezabels* falſe Prophets, and *Baals* Prieſts, albeit that King *Achab* was preſent: *Phineas* was no Magiſtrate, and yet feared he not to ſtrike *Zimri* and *Cozbi*, in the very act of filthy Fornication. And ſo, Madame, your Majeſty may ſee that others then chief Magiſtrates may lawfully puniſh, and have puniſhed the vice and crimes that God commands to be puniſhed: For Power by Act of Parliament is given to all Judges within their own bounds, to ſearch the Maſſe-mongers, or hearers of the ſame, and to puniſh them according to the Law. And therefore it ſhall be profitable to your Majeſty to conſider what is the thing your Majeſties ſubjects look to receive of your Majeſty; and what it is you ought to do unto them by mutuall Contract. They are bound to obey you; and that not, but in God ye are bound to keep Laws unto them: Ye crave of them ſervice, They crave of you Protection and Defence againſt wicked doers. Now, Madame, if ye ſhall deny your Duty unto them, who eſpecially crave that ye puniſh Malefactors; Think ye to receive full Obedience of them? I fear, Madame, ye ſhall not. Herewith ſhe being ſomewhat offended, paſt to her Supper. The ſaid *John* left her, and informed the Earle of *Murray* of the whole reaſoning, and ſo departed, of finall purpoſe to have returned to *Edinburgh*, without any further communication with the Queen: But before the Sun riſing on the morne were two directed (*Wat Melvill* was the one) to him, commanding him not to depart, whilſt he hed ſpoken with the Queens Majeſty; which he did, and met her at the Hawking by Weſt *Kinros*. Whether it was the nights ſleepe, or a deep diſſimulation locked in her breſt, that made her to forget the former anger, wiſe men may doubt; But thereof ſhe never moved word, but began divers other purpoſes, ſuch as the offering of a Ring to her by the Lord *Ruthuen*, whom (ſaid ſhe) I cannot love (for I know him to uſe Enchantment; and yet he is one of my Privy Councell. Whom blameth your Majeſty (ſaid the other) thereof? *Lethington* (ſaid ſhe) was the whole cauſe. That man is abſent for this preſent (ſaid he) Madame, and therefore I will ſpeak nothing in that behalfe. I underſtand (ſaid the Queen) That ye are appointed to go to *Dumfreis*, for the Election of a Superintendent to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe Countreyes. Yes (ſaid he) thoſe Quarters have great need, and ſome of the Gentlemen ſo require. But I heare (ſaid ſhe) That the Biſhop of *Caithnes* would be Superintendent. He is one (ſaid the other) Madame, that is put in Election. If ye knew him (ſaid ſhe) as well as I do, ye would never promote him to that Office, nor yet to any other within your Kirk. What he hath been (ſaid he) Madame, I never knew, nor yet will I enquire; for in time of darkneſſe, What could we do

Anno

Note diligently.

Anno but grope and go wrong, even as darkneſſe carryed us; but if he feare not GOD now, he deceives many more then me: And yet ſaid he, Madame, I am aſſured, GOD will not ſuffer his CHURCH to be ſo farre deceived, As that an unworthy man ſhall be Elected, where free Election is, and the Spirit of GOD is earneſtly called upon, to decide betwixt the two: Well ſaid ſhe, do as ye will, But that man is a dangerous man, and therein was not the Queen deceived; For he had corrupted the moſt part of the Gentlemen, not onely to nominate him, but alſo to Elect him, which perceived by the ſaid *John*, Commiſſioner, delayed the Election, and left it with the Maſter of *Maxwell*, Maſter *Robert Pont*, who was put in Election (with the foreſaid Biſhop) to the end that his Doctrine and Converſation might be the better tryed of theſe that had not known him before; and ſo was this Biſhop fruſtrate of his purpoſe for that preſent; and yet was he at that time the man that was moſt familiar with the ſaid *John* in his houſe, and at Table. But now to the former conference, When the Queen had long talked with *John Knox*, and he being oft willing to take his leave, ſhe ſaid, I have one of the greateſt matters that have touched me ſince I came in this Realm, to open unto you, and I muſt have your help into it. And ſhe began to make a long diſcourſe of her Siſter, the Lady *Argile*, how that ſhe was not ſo circumſpect in all things, as ſhe wiſhed her to be; and yet ſaid ſhe, my Lord, her husband whom I love, uſeth her not in many things ſo honeſtly, and ſo godlily, as I thinke ye your ſelf would require: Madam ſaid he, I have been troubled with that matter before, and once I put an end to it (and that was before your Majeſties arrivall) that both ſhe and her friends, ſeemed fully to ſtand content; and ſhe her ſelf promiſed before her friends, That ſhe would never complain to any Creature, till that I ſhould firſt underſtand the controverſie by her own mouth, or elſe by one aſſured Meſſenger: I now have heard nothing of her part; and therefore, I think there is nothing but concord: Well ſaid the Queen, it is worſe then ye beleeve; but do this much for my ſake, as once again to put them at Unitie; and if ſhe behave not her ſelf, ſo as ſhe ought to do, ſhe ſhall finde no favour of me; but in any wiſe ſaid ſhe, let my Lord know, That I have requeſted you in this matter; For I would be very ſorry to offend him in that, or in any other thing. And now ſaid ſhe, as touching our reaſoning yeſternight, I promiſe to do as ye required. I ſhall cauſe to ſummon all offenders, and yee ſhall know that I ſhall miniſter Juſtice. I am aſſured then ſaid he, That ye ſhall pleaſe God, and enjoy reſt and tranquilitie within your Realm, which to your Majeſty is more profitable, then all the Popes power can be. And thus they departed.

The Queens judgement of the Biſhop of *Caith.*

The Lady *Argile* was naturall Siſter to the Queen, as the Earle *Murray* was naturall Brother.

This Conference we have inſerted, to let the World ſee how deeply *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, can diſſemble; and how that ſhe could cauſe men to thinke, That ſhe bare no indignation for any controverſie in Religion, which that yet in her heart was nothing but venome, and deſtruction, as ſhortly after did appeare. *John Knox* departed, and prepared himſelf for his journey, appointed to *Dunfreis*. And from

from *Glaſgow*, according to the Queens Commandment, he wrote this Letter to the Earle of *Argyle*, the Tenour whereof follows. Anno

My Lord,

THe Lord *cometh, and ſhall not tarry.* After commendation of my ſervice unto your Lordſhip: If I had known of your Lordſhips ſudden departing, the laſt time it chanced me to ſee and ſpeak with you, I had opened unto you ſome of my grief: But ſuppoſing that your Lordſhip ſhould have remained ſtill with the Queen, I delayed at that time to utter any part of that which now my conſcience compelleth me to do. Your behaviour towards your wife is very offenſive unto many godly: Her complaint is grievous, That ye altogether withdraw your converſation from her: If ſo, ye have great need to look well to your own ſtate; for albeit that ye within your ſelf felt no more repugnancie then any fleſh this day on the earth, yet by promiſe made before God, are ye debtour unto her in all due benevolence. But if that ye burne on the one ſide, (albeit ye do no worſe) and ſhe in your default on the other, ye are not onely men ſworn before God, but alſo doth what in you lieth, to kindle againſt your ſelf his wrath and heavie diſpleaſure. The words are ſharp, and God is witneſſe in dolour of heart I write them: But becauſe they are true, and pronounced by God himſelf, I dare not but admoniſh you, perceiving you, as it were ſleeping in ſin. The proud ſtubbornneſſe whereof your Lordſhip oft complained, will nothing excuſe you before God; for if ye be not able to convince her of any fault, ye ought to bear with her imperfections, as that ye would ſhe ſhould bear with you likewiſe. In the bowells of Chriſt Jeſus, I exhort you, my Lord, to have reſpect of your own ſalvation, and not to abuſe the lenity and long-ſuffering of God; for that is a fearfull treaſure that ye heap up upon your own head, while that he calleth you to repentance, and ye obſtinately continue in your own impiety; for impiety it is, that ye abſtract your comfort and company from your lawfull wife. I write nothing in defence of her misbehaviour towards your Lordſhip in any ſort; but I ſay, If ye be not able to convince her of any fault committed ſince your laſt reconciliation, which was in my preſence, that ye can never be excuſed before God, of this rude and ſtrange uſage of your wife. And if by you ſuch impiety be committed as is bruted, then, before God, and unto your owne conſcience, I ſay, That every moment of that filthy pleaſure, ſhall turne to you, in a yeers diſpleaſure; yea, it ſhall be the occaſion and cauſe of everlaſting damnation, unleſſe ſpeedily ye repent: and repent ye cannot, except ye deſiſt from that impiety. Call to minde, my Lord, That the ſervant knowing his maſters will, and doing the contrary, ſhall be plagued with many plagues. Sin, my Lord, is ſweet in drinking; but in digeſting, more bitter then the gall. The Eternall move your heart earneſtly to conſider how fearfull a thing it is, ever to have God to be enemy. In the end, I pray your Lordſhip not to be abſent from *Edinburgh*, the 19 of this inſtant, for ſuch cauſes as I will not write. Thus much onely I warne your Lordſhip, that it will not be profitable for the common quietneſſe of this Realme, that the Papiſts brag,

Anno a id Juſtice be mocked that day. And thus I ceaſe further to trouble your Lordſhip, whom God aſſiſt.

In haſte from *Glaſgow*, the 7 of *May*, 1563.

Your Lordſhips to command in godlineſſe,
Sic ſubſcribitur, JOHN KNOX.

THis Letter was not well accepted of the ſaid Earle, and yet did he utter no part of his diſpleaſure in publike, but contrarily ſhewed himſelf moſt familiar with the ſaid *John Knox*: He kept the Diet, and ſate in Judgement himſelf, where the Biſhop, and the reſt of the Papiſts, were accuſed as after follows.

The Summons were directed againſt the Maſſe-mongers with expedition, and in the ſtraiteſt forme: The day was appointed, the 19 of *May*, a day onely before the Parliament of Popes Knights appeared. The Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, the Prior of *Quimborne*, the Parſon of *Sanquhair*, *William Hamilton* of *Camskeneth*, *John Gordon* of *Barskuch*, with divers others. The Proteſtants convened whole, to crave for Juſtice. The Queen asked counſell of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and of the old Laird of *Lethington* (for the younger was abſent, and ſo the Proteſtants had fewer friends) who affirmed, That ſhe muſt ſee her Laws kept, or elſe ſhe would get no obedience: and ſo was preparations made for their accuſations. The Biſhop, and his band of the exempted ſort, made nice to enter before the Earle of *Argyle*, who ſate in Judgement; but at laſt he was compelled to enter within the Barre. A merry man, who now ſleeps with the Lord, *Robert Hornell*, inſtead of the Biſhops Croſſe, bore before him a Steel Hammer: Whereat the Biſhop and his Band were not a little offended, becauſe the Biſhops priviledges were not then currant in *Scotland* (which day God grant our poſterity may ſee of longer continuance then we poſſeſſed it.) The Biſhop and his fellows, after much ado, and long drift of time, came in the Queens will, and were committed to Ward, ſome to one place, and ſome to another. The Lady *Arskine* got the Biſhops for her part. All this was done of a moſt deep craft, to abuſe the ſimplicity of the Proteſtants, that they ſhould not preſſe the Queen with any other thing concerning the matters of Religion.

The Clergie did pretend to be free from all Juriſdiction, ſave the Popes.

At that Parliament, which began within two dayes thereafter, ſhe obtained of the Proteſtants whatſoever ſhe deſired; for this was the reaſon of many, We ſee what the Queen hath done, the like of this was never heard within this Realme; we will bear with the Queen, we doubt not but all ſhall be well. Others were of contrary judgement, and foreſpake things, as after they came to paſſe; to wit, That nothing was meant but deceit; and that the Queen, how ſoon that ever the Parliament was paſt, ſhould ſet the Papiſts at freedome: And therefore willed the Nobility not to be abuſed. But becauſe many had their private buſineſſe to be handled at that Parliament, the common Cauſe was the leſſe regarded.

The judgment of ſome.

The

The Earle of *Huntley*, whoſe Corps had been unburied till the time it was brought to the Tolbuith; he was accuſed his Arms rent off; himſelf, the Earle of *Sutherland*, and eleven Barons, and Earles, bearing the ſurname of *Gordon*, were that day forfeited; the Lady *Huntley* craftily proteſted and asked the ſupport of a man of Law, or Counſellor. Anno *Huntly forfeited.*

Such ſtinking pride of women, as was ſeen at that Parliament, was never ſeen before in *Scotland*. Three ſundry dayes the Queen rode to the Tolbuith; The firſt day ſhe made a painted Oration, and there might have been heard amongſt her flatteries, *Vox Diane*, The voyce of a goddeſſe, for it could not be *Dei*, and not of a Woman: God ſave that ſweet face; Was there ever Orator ſpake ſo properly and ſo ſweetly, &c. *The pride of Women at that Parliament.*

All things miſliked the Preachers; They ſpake boldly againſt the ſuperfluities of their Cloathes, and againſt the reſt of their vanitie, which they affirmed ſhould provoke Gods vengeance, not onely againſt theſe fooliſh Women, but againſt the whole Realme; and eſpecially againſt thoſe that maintained them in that odious abuſing of things that might have been better beſtowed. Articles were preſented for orders to be taken for Apparrell, and for Reformation of other Enormities, but all was winked at.

The Earledome of *Murray*, needed confirmation, and many things were to be ratified that concerned the helpe of friends and ſervants; and therefore they might not urge the Queene, For if they ſo did, ſhe would hold no Parliament; and what then ſhould become of them that had medled with the ſlaughter of the Earle of *Huntley*, let that Parliament paſſe over; and when the Queene ſhall aske any thing of the Nobilitie, as ſhe muſt do before her marriage; then ſhall Religion be the firſt thing that ſhall be eſtabliſhed. It was anſwered, That the Poets and Painters erred not altogether, that fained and painted Occaſion with a bald Hind-head: For the firſt, when it is offered, being loſt, is hard to be recovered againe. The matter fell ſo hot betwixt the Earl of *Murray*, and ſome others of the Court, and *John Knox*, That familiarly after that time, they ſpake not together more then a yeer and a half; For the ſaid *John* by his Letter, gave a diſcharge to the ſaid Earle of all further intromiſſion or care with his affaires. He made unto him a diſcourſe of their firſt acquaintance, in what eſtate he was, when that firſt they ſpake together in *London*, how God had promoted him, and that above mans judgement, and in the end made this concluſion: But ſeeing that I perceive my ſelf fruſtrate of my expectation, which was, That ye ſhould ever have preferred God to your own affection, and the advancement of his Truth, to your owne commoditie, I commit you to your wit, and to the conducting of thoſe which can better pleaſe you. I praiſe my God, I leave you this day victor of your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in credite and authority with your Soveraigne. If ſo yee long to continue, none ſhall be more glad then I ſhall be. But that after this, ye decay, (as I feare ye ſhall) then call to minde, by what means God exalted you; which was neither by plying with impiety; neither yet by maintaining of peſtilent Papiſts. Note diligently. *And ſo was Religion and the Common-wealth, both neglected.* *Occaſion painted with a bald Hind-head.* *Variance betwixt the Earle of Murray and Iohn Knox.* *Iohn Knox diſcharge to the Earl of Murray.*

This

Anno

This Letter and diſcharge was ſo pleaſing to the Flatterers of the ſaid Earle, that they triumphed of it, and were glad to have gotten their occaſion; for ſome envyed, that ſo great familiaritie was betwixt them; and therefore from the time they got once that occaſion to ſeparate, they ceaſed not to caſt Oyle in the burning Flame, which ceaſed not to burne, till that God by water of affliction began to ſlacken it, as we ſhall after heare.

God knowes if our times be better.

But leaſt that they ſhould altogether have been ſeen to have forſaken God, (as in very deed, both God and his Word was vey farre from the hearts of the moſt part of the Courtiers of that Age, a few excepted) they began a new Schift, to wit, To ſpeak of the puniſhment of Adultery, of Witchcraft, and to ſeek the reſtitution of Gleibes or Manſes to the Miniſter of the Church, and of the reparation of the Churches; and thereby they thought to have pleaſed the Godly that were highly offended at their ſlackneſſe.

The Act of Oblivion paſſed, becauſe ſome of the Lords had entreſſe; but the Acts againſt adulterie, and for the Manſes and Gleibes, were ſo modified, that no Law, and ſuch a Law might ſtand *in eodem predicamento*; To ſpeak plain, no Law and ſuch Acts were both alike: The Acts are in Print, let wiſe men read, and then accuſe us, if without cauſe we complain.

In the progreſſe of this corruption, and before the Parliament diſſolved, *John Knox* in his Sermon before the moſt part of the Nobilitie, began to enter in a deep diſcourſe of Gods mercies which that Realme had felt, and of that ingratitude which he eſpied in the whole multitude which God had marvellouſly delivered from the bondage and tyrannie both of body and ſoule: And now my Lords, (ſaid he) I praiſe my God, through Jeſus Chriſt, that in your own preſence I may powre forth the ſorrows of my heart; yea, your ſelves ſhall be witneſſe if I make any lie in things by-paſt from the beginning of Gods mighty Works within this Realme: I have been with you in your moſt deſperate temptations. Aske your own Conſciences, and let them anſwer you before God, if that I (not I, but Gods Spirit by me) in your greateſt extremity willed you not ever to depend upon your God, and in his Name promiſed unto you victory and preſervation from your enemies, ſo that onely ye would depend upon his protection, and preferre his glory before your lives and worldly commoditie; in your moſt extreme danger I have been with you; Saint *Johnſtoun Cowper-More*, and the charges of *Edinburgh*, are yet recent in my heart; yea, that dark and dolorous night wherein all you my Lords with ſhame and feare left this Town, is yet in my minde, and God forbid that ever I forget it: What was (I ſay) my Exhortation unto you? and what is fallen in vain of all that ever God promiſed unto you by my mouth, ye your ſelves live and teſtifie. There is not one of you againſt whom death and deſtruction was threatned, periſhed in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes; ſhall this be the thankfulneſſe that ye ſhall render unto your God? To betray his Cauſe when ye have it in your own hands, to eſtabliſh it as you pleaſe? The Queen ſayes you will not agree with us; aske ye of her that which by Gods Word ye may juſtly require, and if ſhe will not agree with you

you in God, you are not bound to agree with them in the Devill; Let her plainly understand so farre of your mindes, and steal not from your former stoutnesse in God, and he will prosper you in your enterprises: But I can see nothing but a recalling from Christ Jesus, that the man that first and most speedily fleeth from Christs Ensigne, holdeth himselfe most happy; yea, I hear some say, That we have nothing of our Religion Established, neither by Law nor Parliament; Albeit the malicious words of such can neither hurt the truth of God, nor yet us that thereupon depend; yet the speaker of this Treason, committed against God, and against this poore Common-wealth, deserves the Gallows; for our Religion being commanded, and so established by God, is received with this Realme in publike Parliament. And if they will say, That it was no Parliament, we must, and will say, and also prove, That that Parliament was also as lawfull as ever any that passed before it within this Realme. I say, if the King then living was King, and the Queen now in this Realm be lawfull Queen, that Parliament cannot be denyed. Anno

The Speaker was the Dean of *Restarik*.

And now my Lords to put end to all, I hear of the Queens marriage, Dukes, Brethren to Emperours, and Kings strive all for the best gain; But this my Lords will (I say) note the day, and beare witnesse after, Whensoever the Nobilitie of *Scotland* who professe the Lord Jesus, consents that an Infidell (and all Papists are Infidels) shall be Head to our Soveraigne, ye do, so farre as in you lyeth, to banish Christ Jesus from this Realme, yea, to bring Gods vengeance upon the Countrey, a plague upon your selves, and perchance you shall do small comfort to your Soveraigne.

John Knox his affirmation

These words and this manner of speaking was judged intollerable, Papists and Protestants were both offended; yea, his most familiars disdained him for that speaking, *Placeboes* and Flatterers posted to the Court, to give advertisement, That *John Knox* had spoken against the Queens Marriage. The Provest of *Glencludan*, *Douglas* by sirname, of *Drumlangrig*, was the man that gave the charge, That the said *John* should present himselfe before the Queen, which he did immediately after Dinner. The Lord *Uchiltrie* and divers of the faithfull bare him company to the Abbey, but none past in to the Queen with him in the Cabinet, but *John Arskin* of *Dun* then super-intendent of *Angus* and *Mernes*.

The Queen in a vehement fume began to crie out, That never Prince was used as she was; I have (said she) born with you in all your rigorous manner of speaking, both against my selfe, and against my Uncles; yea, I have sought your favours by all possible means; I offered unto you presence and audience whensoever it pleased you to admonish me; and yet I cannot be quit of you; I Vow to God I shall be once revenged: and with these words scarce could *Marnocke*, one of her Pages, get Handkirchiefs to hold her Eyes drie; for the Tears and the howling, besides womanly weeping stayed her Speech. The said *John* did patiently abide all this fume, and at opportunitie answered; True it is Madame, your Majesty and I have been at divers controversies, into the which

Anno I never perceived your Majeſtie to be offended at me; but when it ſhall pleaſe God to deliver you from that bondage of darkneſſe and errour, wherein ye have been nouriſhed for the lack of true doctrine; your Majeſtie will finde the libertie of my tongue nothing offenſive; without the preaching-place (Madame) I thinke few have occaſion to be offended at me; and there (Madame) I am not Maſter of my ſelfe, but muſt obey him who commands me to ſpeak plaine, and to flatter no fleſh upon the face of the Earth.

But what have you to do (ſaid ſhe) with my marriage?

If it pleaſe your Majeſtie (ſaid he) patiently to hear me, I ſhall ſhew the truth in plaine words. I grant your Majeſtie offered unto me more then ever I required, but my anſwer was then as it is now, That God hath not ſent me to awaite upon the Courts of Princes, or upon the Chamber of Ladies, but I am ſent to preach the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt, to ſuch as pleaſe to hear; it hath two points, *Repentance* and *Faith*: Now (Madame) in preaching repentance, of neceſſity it is that the ſinnes of men be noted, that they may know where-in they offend. But ſo it is that the moſt part of your Nobilitie, are ſo addicted to your affections, that neither Gods Word, nor yet their Common-wealth are rightly regarded; and therefore it becometh me to ſpeake, that they may know their dutie.

Let this ſerve for our times.

What have you to do (ſaid ſhe) with my marriage, or what are you within the Common-wealth?

A ſubject, borne within the ſame, (ſaid hee) Madame, and albeit I be neither Earle, Lord, nor Barron within it, yet hath God made me, (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable and uſefull Member within the ſame; Yea, Madame, to me it appertaineth no leſſe to forewarne of ſuch things as may hurt it, if I foreſee them, then it doth to any one of the Nobility, for both my Vocation and Office craveth plainneſſe of me: and therefore (Madame) to your ſelfe I ſay, that which I ſpake in publick, Whenſoever the Nobilitie of this Realme ſhall be content, and conſent that you be ſubject to an unlawfull husband, they doe as much as in them lieth, to renounce Chriſt, to baniſh the truth, to betray the freedome of this Realme, and perchance ſhall in the end doe ſmall comfort to your ſelfe.

Let the Papiſts judge this day 1567.

At theſe words howling was heard, and teares might have beene ſeene in greater abundance then the matter required: *John Arskin* of *Dun*, a man of meeke and gentle ſpirit, ſtood beſide, and did what he could to mittigate the anger, and gave unto her many pleaſant words, Of her Bounty, of her Excellencie, and how that all the Princes in *Europe* would be glad to ſeek her favours; but all that was to caſt Oyl into the flaming fire. The ſaid *John* ſtood ſtill, without any alteration of countenance for a long time, while that the Queen gave place to her inordinate paſſions, and in the end he ſaid, Madame, in Gods preſence I ſpeak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of Gods Creatures, yea, I can ſcarcely well abide the teares of mine own Boyes, when my own hands corrects them; much leſſe can I rejoyce in your Majeſties weeping; but ſeeing I have offered

unto

unto you no juſt occaſion to be offended, but have ſpoken the truth, as my Vocation craves of me: I muſt ſuſtaine your Majeſties teares, rather then I dare hurt my conſcience, or betray the Common-wealth by ſilence. Herewith was the Queene more offended, and commanded the ſaid *John* to paſſe forth of the Cabinet, and to abide further of her pleaſure in the Chamber. Anno

The Laird of *Dun* tarried, and Lord *John* of *Coldinghame* came into the Cabinet, and ſo they remained with her neere the ſpace of one houre. The ſaid *John* ſtood in the Chamber, as one whom men had never ſeene (ſo were all afraid) except that the Lord *Uchiltrie* bare him company; And therefore began he to make diſcourſe with the Ladies who were there ſitting in all their gorgeous apparell: Which when he eſpied, he merrily ſaid, Fair Ladies, How pleaſant were this life of yours, if it ſhould ever abide; and then in the end that we might paſſe to Heaven with this geare: But fie upon that knave, Death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he hath laid on the Arreſt, then foule wormes will be buſie with this fleſh, be it never ſo faire and ſo tender. And the ſilly ſoule, I fear, ſhall be ſo feeble, that it can neither carry with it Gold, Garniſhing, Targating, Pearle, nor precious Stones. And by ſuch and the like diſcourſe entertained he the Ladies, and paſt the time, till that the Laird of *Dun* willed him to depart to his houſe, till new advertiſement. Note Women.

The Queen would have had the ſentiment of the Lords of the Articles, if that ſuch manner of ſpeaking deſerved not puniſhment. But ſhee was counſelled to deſiſt; And ſo that ſtorme quieted in appearance, but never in the heart.

Short after the Parliament, *Lethington* returned from his Negotiation in *England* and *France*. GOD in the *February* before had ſtricken that bloodie Tyrant the Duke of *Guiſe*; which ſomewhat brake the heat of our Queene for a ſeaſon: But ſhort after the returning of *Lethington*, Pride and Malice began to ſhew themſelves againe. The Queene ſet at liberty the Biſhop of Saint *Andrewes*, and the reſt of the Papiſts that before were put in priſon for violating of the Laws.

Lethington at his returning, ſhewed himſelfe not a little offended that any brute ſhould have beene raiſed of the Queenes Marriage with the King of *Spaine*; for he took upon him to affirme, That any ſuch thing had never entered into her heart: But how true that was, we ſhall hereafter heare. The end of his acquaintance and complaint was, To diſcredit *John Knox*, who had affirmed, That ſuch a Marriage was both propoſed, and upon the part of the Queen, by the Cardinall accepted. *Lethington* in his abſence had run into a very evil brute among the Nobility, for

Anno too much ſerving the Queens affections againſt the Common-wealth: And therefore had he, as one that lacked not worldly wiſedome, made proviſion both in *England* and *Scotland*; for in *England* he travelled for the Freedome of the Earle *Bothwell*, and by that means obtained promiſe of his favour: He had there alſo taken order for the home coming of the Earle of *Lenox*, as we ſhall after hear. In *Scotland* he joyned with the Earle of *Atholl*; him he promoted, and ſet forward in Court; and ſo began the Earle of *Murray* to be defaced: And yet to the ſaid Earle, *Lethington* at all times ſhewed a fair countenance. The reſt of that Summer, the Queen ſpent in her Progreſſe thorow the Weſt Countrey, where in all Towns and Gentlemens places, ſhe had her Maſſe; which coming to the ears of *John Knox*, he began that forme of prayer which ordinarily he ſaith after thanks-giving at his Table: (1.) *Deliver us, O Lord, from the bondage of Idolatry.* (2.) *Preſerve and keep us from the tyranny of ſtrangers.* (3.) *Continue us in Peace and Concord amongſt our ſelves, if they good pleaſure be, O Lord, for a ſeaſon.* Whilſt that divers of the familiars of the ſaid *John* asked of him, Why he prayed for quietneſſe to continue for a ſeaſon, and not rather abſolutely, that we ſhould continue in quietneſſe: His anſwer was, *That he durſt not pray, but in faith; and faith in Gods Word aſſured him, That conſtant quietneſſe would not continue in that Realme, wherein Idolatry had been ſuppreſſed, and then was permitted to be erected againe.*

Lethington's practice.

From the Weſt Countrey, the Queen paſt into *Argyle* to the Hunting, and after returned to *Sterlin*. The Earle of *Murray*, the Lord *Robert* of *Halyrud-houſe*, and Lord *John* of *Coldingham*, paſt to the Northlands, where Juſtice Courts were holden. Theeves and Murtherers were puniſhed: Two Witches were burnt; the eldeſt was ſo blinded with the devill, that ſhe affirmed, That no Judge had power over her. The ſame time Lord *John* of *Coldingham* departed this life in *Innernes*: It was affirmed, That he commanded ſuch as were beſide him to ſay to the Queen, That unleſſe ſhe left her Idolatry, God would not fail to plague her: He asked God mercy that he had ſo far born with her in her impiety, and had maintained her in the ſame; and that no one thing did him more grief, then that he had flattered, foſtered, and maintained in her fury againſt God and his ſervants. And in very deed, great cauſe had he to have lamented his wickedneſſe: For beſides all his other infirmities, he in the end, for the Queens pleaſure, became enemy to vertue, and all vertuous men, and a patron to impiety, to the uttermoſt of his power; yea, his venome was ſo kindled againſt God and his Word, that in his rage he burſted forth theſe words; *Do I ſee the Queens Majeſty ſo troubled with the raiſing of theſe knaves? I ſhall leave the beſt of them ſticked in the Pulpit.* What further villany came forth of his ſtinking throat and mouth, modeſty will not ſuffer us to write: whereof if he had grace unfainedly to repent, it is no ſmall document of Gods mercies: But however God wrought with him, the Queen regarded his words as winde, or elſe thought them to have been forged by others, and not to have proceeded from himſelf; and affirmed plainly, They were invented by the Laird of *Pittarrow*, and Maſter *John Wood*, both whom ſhe hated, becauſe they flattered her not in her dancing

Note diligently

The laſt commendation of Lord *Iohn* to the Queen.

dancing, and other things. One thing in plain words ſhe ſpoke, That God took alwayes from her thoſe perſons in whom ſhe had greateſt pleaſure; and that ſhe repented. But of farther ſins no mention. Anno

Whilſt the Queen lay at *Sterlin*, with her Idolatry in her Chappell in the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*, were left certain *Duntiberis*, and others of the French Menzie, who raiſed up their Maſſe more publikely then they had done at any time before: For upon the ſame Sundayes that the Church of *Edinburgh* had the Miniſtration of the Lords Table, the Papiſts in a great number went to the Abbey to their Abomination: Which underſtood, divers of the Brethren being ſore offended, conſulted how to redreſſe that enormity: And ſo were appointed certain of the moſt zealous, and moſt upright in Religion, to wait upon the Abbey, that they might note ſuch perſons as reſorted to the Maſſe; and perceiving a great number to enter into the Chappell, ſome of the Brethren thruſt in alſo: Whereat the Prieſt and French Dames being afraid, made the Showt to be ſent to the Town; and Madame *Baylie*, Miſtris to the Queens *Deuntibures* (for maids that Court would not then well bear) poſted on with all diligence to the Comptroller the Laird of *Pittarrow*, who then was in Saint *Geills* Church at the Sermon, and cryed for his aſſiſtance, to ſave her life, and to ſave the Queens Palace: Who, with greater haſte then need required, obeyed her deſire, and took with him the Proveſt and Baylies, and a great part of the faithfull; but when they came where the fear was bruted to have been, they found all things in quiet, except the tumult they brought with themſelves, and peaceable men talking to the Papiſts, forbidding them to tranſgreſſe the Laws. True it is, a zealous brother, named *Patrick Cranſton*, paſt into the Chappell, and finding the Altar covered, and the Prieſt ready to go to his abominable Maſſe, ſaid, *The Queens Majeſty is not here; How dare you then be ſo malapert, as openly to do againſt the Law?* No further was done or ſaid, and yet brute hereof was poſted to the Queen (with ſuch information as the Papiſts could give: Which found ſuch credit as their hearts could have wiſhed for) which was ſo haynous a crime in her eyes, that ſatisfaction for that ſin was there none, without blood; And therefore without delay were ſummoned *Andrew Armſtrong*, and *Patrick Cranſton*, to finde ſurety to under-lie the Law; for fore-thought Fellony, having made violent invaſion into the Queens Palace, and for ſpoliation of the ſame. Theſe Letters divulgate, and the extremity feared, the few Brethren that were within the Towne, conſulted upon the next remedy, and in the end concluded, That *John Knox* (to whom the charge was given to make advertiſements, whenſoſoever danger ſhould appear) ſhould write to the Brethren in all quarters, giving information as the matter ſtood, and requiring their aſſiſtance, which he did, in manner as here enſueth.

Anno

The Superſcription.

Whereſoever two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midſt of them.

THIS not unknown unto you (dear brethren) what comfort and tranquility God gave unto us in times moſt dangerous, by our Chriſtian Aſſemblies, and godly Conference, as oft as any danger appeared to any member or members of our own Body; And how that ſince we have neglected, or at leaſt not frequented our Conventions and Aſſemblies, The adverſaries of Chriſt Jeſus his holy Evangell, have enterpriſed and boldned themſelves, publikely and ſecretly to do many things odious in Gods preſence, and moſt hurtfull to the true Religion, now of Gods great favour granted unto us: The holy Sacraments are abuſed by prophane Papiſts; Maſſes have been, and yet are ſaid openly, and maintained: The blood of ſome of our deareſt Miniſters hath been ſhed, without fear of puniſhment or correction craved by us. And now laſt are two of our dear Brethren; *Patrick Cranſton*, and *Andrue Armſtrong*, ſummoned to under-lie the Law in the Tolbuith of *Edinburgh* the four and twentieth of this inſtant of *October*, for a fore-thought Fellony, pretended Murther, and for invading of the Queens Majeſties Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*, with unlawfull convocation, &c. Theſe terrible Summons are directed againſt our Brethren, becauſe that they, with two or more, paſſed to the Abbey, upon Sunday the five and twentieth of *Auguſt*, to behold and note what perſons repaired to the Maſſe. And becauſe that upon the Sunday before (the Queen being abſent) there reſorted to that Idoll a raſcall multitude, having openly the leaſt devilliſh Ceremony (yea, even the conjuring of their accurſed water) that ever they had in the time of greateſt blindeneſſe: But becauſe (I ſay) our ſaid Brethren paſt, and that in moſt quiet manner, to note ſuch abuſers, theſe fearfull Summons are directed againſt them, to make, no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a doore may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. And if ſo it come to paſſe, God, no doubt, hath juſtly recompenced our former negligence and ingratitude towards him and his benefits, in our owne boſomes. God gave us a moſt notable Victory of his and our enemies: he brake their ſtrength, and confounded their counſells; he left us at freedome, and purged the Realme, for the moſt part, of open Idolatry; To the end that we, ever mindefull of ſo wondrous a deliverance, ſhould have kept this Realme cleane from ſuch vile filthineſſe, and damnable Idolatry. But we, alas, preferring the pleaſure of fleſh and blood, to the Pleaſure and Commandment of God, have ſuffered that Idoll the Maſſe publikely to be erected againe: And therefore juſtly ſuffers he us now to fall in that danger, That to look to an Idolater going to his Idolatry, ſhall be reputed a crime little inferiour to Treaſon; God grant that we fall not farther. And now

M. *Rob. Pont* ſtricken in the head with a weapon by Cap. *Lawd.*

now I, whom God of his mercy, hath made one amongſt many, to travell in ſetting forward his true Religion within this Realme, ſeeing the ſame in danger of ruine, cannot but in conſcience crave of you, my brethren of all ſtates, that have profeſſed the truth, your preſence, comfort, and aſſiſtance at the ſaid day in the Town of *Edinburgh*, even as ye tender the advancement of Gods glory, the ſafety of your brethren, and your own aſſurance; together with the preſervation of the Church, in theſe appearing dangers: It may be (perchance) that perſwaſions be made to the Countrey, and that ye may be informed, that either your aſſembly is not neceſſary, or elſe that it will offend the upper Powers, and my good hope is that neither flattery nor fear ſhall make you ſo farre to decline from Chriſt Jeſus, as that againſt your publike promiſe, and ſolemne Band, you will leave your Brethren in ſo juſt a cauſe; and albeit there were no great danger, yet cannot our Aſſembly be unprofitable, for many things requiring conſultation, which cannot be had unleſſe the wiſeſt and godlieſt convene. And thus doubting nothing of the aſſiſtance of our God, if that we uniformly ſeek his glory, I ceaſe farther to trouble you, committing you heartily to the protection of the Eternall. Anno

Bond to a mutuall defence in the cauſe of Religion.

From Edinburgh *the eighth day of October.* 1563.

JOHN KNOX.

THe Brethren advertiſed by this Letter, prepared themſelves, ſo many as was thought expedient for every Towne and Province, to keep the day appointed; but by the means of ſome falſe brethren, the Letter came to the hands of the Queene, and the manner was this, It was read in the Towne of *Ayre*, where was preſent Maſter *Robert Cunningham*, ſtiled Miniſter of *Fairfurd*, who then was holden a profeſſor of the Evangell, (by what meanes we know not) gat the ſaid Letter, and ſent it with his token to Maſter *Henry Sinclaire*, then Preſident of the Seat and Colledge of Juſtice, ſtiled Biſhop of *Roſſe*, a perfect Hypocrite, and a conjured Enemie to Chriſt Jeſus, whom God after ſtroke according to his deſervings. The ſaid Maſter *Henry* being Enemy to all that unfainedly profeſſed the Lord Jeſus, but chiefly to *John Knox*, for the libertie of his Tongue, for he had affirmed, as ever ſtill he doth affirme, That a Biſhop that receives profit and feeds not the Flock, (even by his owne labours) is both a Thiefe and a Murtherer: The ſaid Maſter *Henry* (we ſay) thinking himſelfe happie that he had found ſo good occaſion to trouble him, whoſe life he hated, poſted the ſaid Letter, with his counſell, to the Queen, who then lay in *Sterlin*. The letter being read, it was concluded by the Councell of the *Cabinet*, that is, by the moſt ſecret Councell, That it imported Treaſon; whereof the Queen did not a little rejoyce, for ſhe thought once to be avenged of that her great Enemy. It was concluded, that the Nobilitie ſhould be written for; that the condemnation ſhould have the greater Authoritie, the day was appointed, about the midſt of *December*; which was kept of the whole Councell, and of divers others, ſuch as the Maſter of *Maxwell*, the old Laird of *Lethington*, and the ſaid Preſident.

Note Paſtors.

In,

Anno

The Maſter of *Maxwells* diſcharge to *Iohn Knox*, and their reaſoning together.

In the meane time the Earle of *Murray* returned from the North, to whom Secretary *Lethington* opened the matter, as beſt pleaſed him. The Maſter of *Maxwell* (after made Lord *Heris*) gave unto the ſaid *Iohn* as it were a diſcharge of the familiaritie which before was great betwixt them, unleſſe that he would ſatisfie the Queen at her own will. The anſwer of *Iohn Knox* was, that he knew no offence done by him to the Queens Majeſtie, and therefore he knew not what ſatisfaction to make. No offence, (ſaid he) Have you not written Letters, deſiring the brethren from all parts to convene, to *Andro Armſtrong* and *Patrick Cranſtons*? That I grant, (ſaid the other) but therein I acknowledge no offence done by me. No offence (ſaid he) to convocate the Queens Leidges. Not for a juſt cauſe (ſaid the other) for greater things were reputed no offence within theſe two yeers. The time (ſaid he) is now other, for then our Soveraigne was abſent, and now ſhe is preſent. It is neither the abſence nor the preſence of the Queen (ſaid he) that rules my conſcience, but God plainly ſpeaking in his Word; what was lawfull to me the laſt yeer, is yet lawfull, becauſe my God is unchangeable.

Well (ſaid the Maſter) I have given you my counſell, doe as you liſt, but I think you ſhall repent it if you bow not unto the Queen.

I underſtand not (ſaid he) what you meane; I never made my ſelfe an adverſe partie unto the Queens Majeſtie, except in the point of Religion, and thereunto I think you will not deſire me to bow.

Well (ſaid he) you are wiſe enough, but you will not finde that men will beare with you in times to come, as they have done in times by-paſt.

If God ſtand my friend, (ſaid the other) as I am aſſured he of his mercy will, ſo long as I depend upon his promiſe, and preferre his glory to my life and worldly profit, I little regard how men behave themſelves towards me, neither yet know I wherinto any one man hath born with me in times by-paſt, unleſſe it be, that of my mouth they have heard the Word of God, which in time to come if they refuſe, my heart will be perfect, and for a ſeaſon I will lament; but the incommodity will be their owne. And after theſe words (hereunto the Laird of *Lochinvar* was witneſſe) they departed, but unto this day, the ſeventeenth day of *December*, 1571. yea, never in this life met they in ſuch familiarity as before.

The bruit of the accuſation of *Iohn Knox* being devulgate, Maſter *Iohn Spence* of *Condie* Advocate, a man of gentle nature, and one that profeſſed the doctrine of the Evangell, came as it were in ſecret to *Iohn Knox*, to enquire the cauſe of that great bruite; to whom the ſaid *Iohn* was plain in all things, and ſhewed unto him the double of the Letter, which heard and conſidered, he ſaid, I thank God, I came unto you with a fearfull and ſorrowfull heart, fearing that you had done ſuch a Crime as Lawes might have puniſhed, which would have been no ſmall trouble to the heart of all ſuch as have received the Word of life which you have preached; but I depart greatly rejoyced, as well becauſe I ſee your own comfort, even in the midſt of the troubles, as that I clearly underſtand, that you have committed no ſuch Crime as you are bruited with; you will be accuſed (ſaid he) but God will aſſiſt you; and ſo he departed.

The

Anno

The Earle of *Murray* and the Secretary ſent for the ſaid *Iohn* to the Clerk of the Regiſters houſe, and began to lament that he had ſo highly offended the Queens Majeſtie, for the which they feared ſhould come a great inconvenience to him, if the buſineſſe were not wiſely foreſeen; they ſhew what pains and travel they had taken to mittigate her anger, but they could finde nothing but extremity, unleſſe that he himſelf would confeſſe his offence, and put him in her Majeſties will. To which Heads the ſaid *Iohn* anſwered, as follows:

Before they diſdained not to come to his own houſe.

I praiſe my God through Jeſus Chriſt, (ſaid he) I have learned not to crie Conjuration and Treaſon at every thing that the godleſſe multitude doth condemn, nether yet to fear the things that they fear; I have the teſtimony of a good conſcience, that I have given no occaſion to the Queens Majeſtie to be offended with me, for I have done nothing but my duty, and ſo whatſoever ſhall thereof enſue, my good hope is, that my God will give me patience to bear it; but to confeſſe an offence where my Conſcience witneſſeth there is none, far be it from me. How can it be defended (ſaid *Lethington*) have you not made a Convocation of the Queens Leiges? If I have not (ſaid he) a juſt defence for my fact, let me ſmart for it. Let us hear (ſaid they) your defences, for we would be glad that you might be found innocent. Nay, (ſaid the other) *I* am informed by divers, that even by you my Lord Secretary, *I* am already condemned, and my cauſe prejudged, therefore *I* might be reputed a fool, if *I* would make you privie to my Defences. At theſe words they ſeemed both offended, and ſo the Secretary departed, but the ſaid Earle remained ſtill, and would have entred into further diſcourſe of the ſtate of the Court with the ſaid *Iohn*; who anſwered, My Lord, *I* underſtand more then *I* would of the ſtate of the Court, and therefore it is not needfull that your Lordſhip trouble me with the recounting thereof; if you ſtand in good caſe, *I* am content, and if you do not, as *I* fear you do not already, or elſe you ſhall not do it ere it be long, blame not me, you have the Councellors whom you have choſen, my weak judgement both they and you deſpiſed: *I* can do nothing but behold the end, which I pray God it be other then my troubled heart feareth.

Iohn Knox his anſwer.

Note a wiſe Reply.

This was the firſt time the Earle *Murray* ſpake with *Iohn Knox* after the Parliament

Within four dayes the ſaid *Iohn* was called before the Queen and Councell, betwixt 6 and ſeven a Clock at night; the ſeaſon of the year was the midſt of *December*; the report riſing in the towne, That *I. Knox* was ſent for by the Queen. The Brethren of the Town followed in ſuch number, that the inner Cloſe was full, and all the Staires, even to the Chamber door where the Queen and Counſell ſate, who had been reaſoning amongſt themſelves before, but had not fully ſatiſfied the Secretaries minde. And ſo was the Queen retired to her Cabbinet, and the Lords were talking one with another, as occaſion ſerved. But upon the entry of *Iohn Knox* they were deſired to take their places, as they did, ſitting as Councellors oneagainſt another.

Iohn Knox called before the Queen and Counſell in *Decemb.* 1563.

The Duke, according to his dignity, began the one ſide, upon the other ſide ſate the Earle of *Argile*, and conſequently followed the Earle of *Murray*, the Earle of *Glencarne*, the Earle of *Merſhall*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the common Officers, *Pittaro* then Controller, the Juſtice *Clerk*, with Maſter *Iohn Spence* of *Condie* Advocate, and divers

Anno others ſtood by; removed from the Table, ſate old *Lethington* father to the Secretary, Maſter *Henry Sinclare* then Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and Maſter *James Makgill* Clerke of the Regiſter.

Things thus put in Order the Queen came forth, and that with no little worldly pompe, was placed in a Chaire having two faithfull Supporters, the Maſter of *Maxwell* upon the one Torre, and Secretary *Lethington* upon the other Torre of the Chaire, whereon hee waited diligently; at the time of the Accuſation, ſometime the one was ſpeaking in her Eare, and ſometime the other: Her pompe lacked nothing of an womanly gravitie; for when ſhe ſaw *John Knox* ſtanding at the other end of the Table bare-headed; at the firſt ſhe ſmiled, and after gave a guaf of laughter; whereunto her *Placebos* gave their *Plaudite*, aſſenting with like countenance.

This is a good beginning (ſhe ſaid) but know you whereat I laugh? Yon man cauſed me to crie, and ſhed never a Tear himſelf; I will ſee if I can cauſe him to grieve. At that word the Secretary whiſpered her in the Eare, and ſhe him again, and with that gave him a Letter; after the inſpection whereof, he directed his viſage and ſpeech to *John Knox* in this manner.

The Queens Majeſty is informed, That you have travelled to raiſe a Tumult of her Subjects againſt her; and for Certification thereof, there is preſented to her your owne Letter, ſubſcribed in your name: Yet becauſe her Majeſty will do nothing without good advertiſement, ſhe hath convened you before this part of the Nobilitie, that they may witneſſe betwixt you and her.

Let him acknowledge (ſaid ſhe) his owne hand-writing, and then ſhall we judge of the Contents of the Letter; and ſo was the Lettet ſent from hand to hand to *John Knox*, who taking inſpection of it, ſaid, I acknowledge this to be my hand-writing; and alſo I remember, that I indited a Letter in the month of *October*, giving ſignification to the Brethren in divers Quarters, of ſuch things as diſpleaſed me; and ſo good opinion have I of the fidelity of the Scribes, that willingly they would not adulterate my originall; albeit that I left divers blanks ſubſcribed with them. And ſo I acknowledge both the Hand-writing, and the Dictatement.

You have done more (ſaid *Lethington*) then I would have done. Charity (ſaid the other) is not ſuſpitious. Well, well, (ſaid the Queen) read your own Letter, and then anſwer to ſuch things as ſhall be demanded of you. I ſhall do the beſt I can (ſaid the other) and ſo with a loud voice he began to reade, as before is expreſſed. After that the Letter was read, it was preſented again to M. *John Spence* her Advocate; for the Queen commanded him to accuſe, as he did, but very gently. After (we ſay) that the Letter was read, the Queen beholding the whole Table, ſaid, Heard you ever (my Lords) a more diſpightfull and Treaſonable Letter? While that no man gave anſwer, *Lethington* addreſſed himſelf to *John Knox*, and ſaid, M. *Knox*, are you not ſorry from your heart, and do you not repent that ſuch a Letter hath paſſed your Pen, and from you hath come to the knowledge of others? *I. Knox* anſwered, My Lord Secretary, before I repent I muſt be taught of my offence. Offence, (ſaid *Lethington*) if there were no more

more but the vocation of the Queenes Leiges, the offence cannot be denyed. Remember your ſelfe (my Lord) ſaid the other, there is a difference betwixt a lawfull Vocation and an unlawfull: If I have been guilty in this, I have oft offended ſince I came laſt in *Scotland*; for what Vocation of Brethren hath ever been this day, unto which my Pen hath not ſerved? and before this no man laid it to my charge as a crime. Then was then, and now is now (ſaid *Lethington*) we have no need of ſuch Vocation, as ſometimes we have had. *Iohn Knox* anſwered, The time that hath been, is even now before my eyes; for I ſee the poor Flock in no leſſe danger, then it hath been at any time before, except that the devill hath gotten a Vizard upon his face: Before he came in with his own face, diſcovered by open Tyranny, ſeeking the deſtruction of all that refuſed Idolatry; and then, I think, you will confeſſe the Brethren lawfully aſſembled themſelves for defence of their lives: And now the devill comes, under the cloke of Juſtice, to do that which God would not ſuffer him to do by ſtrength. What is this (ſaid the Queen) methinks you trifle with him: Who gave you Authority to make Convocation of my Lieges? Is not that Treaſon? No, Madame (ſaid the Lord *Ruthuen*) for he makes Convocation of the people, to hear Prayer and Sermon, almoſt dayly: And what ever your Majeſtie or others thinke thereof, we think it no Treaſon. Hold your peace (ſaid the Queen) let him anſwer for himſelf. I began Madame (ſaid *Iohn Knox*) to reaſon with the Secretary (whom I take to be a better Dialectationer then your Majeſtie is) That all Convocation is not lawfull: And now my Lord *Ruthuen* hath given the inſtance; which if your Majeſtie will deny, I ſhall make my ſelfe ready for the proof. I will ſay nothing (ſaid the Queen) againſt your Religion, nor againſt your convening to your Sermons: But what Authority have you to Convocate my ſubjects when you will, without any Commandment? I have no pleaſure (ſaid *Iohn Knox*) to decline from my former purpoſe; And yet, Madame, to ſatisfie your Majeſties two queſtions, I anſwer, That at my will I never convened four perſons in *Scotland*, but at the Order that the Brethren hath appointed, I have given divers Advertiſements, and great multitudes have aſſembled thereupon. And if your Majeſtie complaineth, That this was done without your Majeſties Commandment; I anſwer, So hath all that God hath bleſſed within this Realme, from the beginning of this action: And therefore, Madame, I muſt be convinced by a juſt Law, that I have done againſt the Duty of Gods Meſſenger, in writing of this Letter, before that I either be ſorry, or yet repent for the doing of it, as my Lord Secretary would perſwade me; for what I have done, I have done at the Commandment of the Generall Church of this Realme. And therefore I thinke I have done no wrong. You ſhall not eſcape ſo (ſaid the Queene) Is it not Treaſon, my Lords, to accuſe a Prince of cruelty; I thinke there are Acts of Parliament to be found, againſt ſuch Whiſperers. This was granted to be true of many: But wherein (ſaid Maſter *Iohn Knox*) can I be accuſed? Reade this part of your Letter (ſaid the Queene) which began, This fearfull Summons is directed againſt them (to wit, the Brethren aforeſaid) to make,

Anno

Note this diligently.

Anno no doubt, a preparation upon a few, that a door may be opened to execute cruelty upon a greater multitude. Lord (ſaid the Queen) What ſay you to that? While many doubted what the ſaid *John* ſhould anſwer, he ſaid unto the Queen, Is it lawfull for me, Madame, to anſwer for my ſelf? Or ſhall I be condemned before I be heard? Say what you can (ſaid ſhe) for I thinke you have enough ado. I will firſt then deſire (ſaid he) of your Majeſtie, Madame, and of this Honourable audience, Whether if your Majeſtie knows not that the obſtinate Papiſts are deadly enemies to all that profeſſe the Evangel of Jeſus Chriſt; And that they moſt earneſtly deſire the extirpation of all them, and of the true Doctrine that is taught within this Realme? The Queen held her peace; but all the Lords with common conſent and voyce, ſaid, God forbid that either the life of the faithfull, or yet the ſtaying of the Doctrine, ſtood in the power of the Papiſts; for juſt experience hath taught us what cruelty is in their hearts. I muſt proceed then (ſaid *John Knox*) ſeeing that I perceive that all will grant, That it were a barbarous cruelty to deſtroy ſuch a multitude as profeſſed the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt within this Realme, which oftner then once or twice they attempted to do by force, as things done of late dayes do teſtifie: Whereof they being (by Gods providence) diſappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, To make the Prince party, under colour of Law; and ſo, what they could not do by open force, they ſhall performe by crafty deceit: For who thinks (my Lords) That the inſatiable cruelty of the Papiſts (within this Realme, I mean) ſhall end in the murthering of thoſe two, now unjuſtly ſummoned, and more unjuſtly to be accuſed? I thinke no man of judgement can ſo eſteem, but rather the direct contrary; that is, By this few number, they intend to prepare a way to their bloody enterpriſe againſt the whole. And therefore (Madame) caſt up when you liſt, the Acts of your Parliaments, I have offended nothing againſt them; For I accuſe not in my Letter your Majeſtie, nor yet your nature, of cruelty: But I affirm yet again, That the peſtilent Papiſts, who have enflamed your Majeſtie without cauſe againſt theſe poore men at this preſent, are the ſons of the devill, and therefore muſt obey the deſires of their father, who hath beene a Murtherer from the beginning. You forget your ſelfe (ſaid one) you are not in the Pulpit. I am in the place (ſaid the other) where I am commanded in my conſcience to ſpeak the truth; and therefore the truth I ſpeak, impugne it who ſo liſts: And hereunto I adde (Madame) that honeſt, meeke and gentle natures (in appearance) by wicked and corrupt Councellors, may be changed and altered to the direct contrary. Example we have of *Nero*, whom in the beginning of his Empire we finde, having ſome naturall ſhame; but after that his flatterers had encouraged him in all impiety, alleadging that nothing was either unhoneſt, or yet unlawfull in his Perſon, who was Emperour above others: When he had drunken of this Cup (I ſay) to what enormies he fell, the Hiſtories beare witneſſe. And now, Madame, to ſpeak plain, Papiſts have your Majeſties ear patent at all times; aſſure your Majeſtie, they are dangerous Councellors, and that your Mother found. As this was ſaid, *Lethington* ſingled, and ſpake

Note.

As the Iriſh Papiſts have done to Proteſtants in *Ireland.*

Let this be noted for this day.

Let the world judge what enſued.

ſpake ſecretly to the Queene in her eare, What it was, that the Table heard not: But immediately ſhe addreſſed her viſage and ſpeech to *John Knox*, and ſaid, Well, you ſpeak fair enough here, before my Lords, but the laſt time I ſpake with you ſecretly, you cauſed me to weep many tears, and ſaid to me ſtubbornly, Ye cared not for my weeping. Madame, (ſaid the other) becauſe now the ſecond time your Majeſty hath burthened me with that crime, I muſt anſwer, leſt for my ſilence I be holden guilty: If your Majeſtie be ripely remembred, the Laird of *Dun*, yet living to teſtifie the truth, was preſent at that time, whereof your Majeſty complaineth. Your Majeſty accuſed me, That I had irreverently ſpoken of you in the Pulpit. That I denied. You ſaid, What had I to do to ſpeak of your Marriage? What was I, that I ſhould meddle with ſuch matters? I anſwered, As touching Nature, I was a worm of this earth; and yet a ſubject to this Common-wealth: But as touching the Office wherein it hath pleaſed God to place me, I was a Watch-men both over the Realme, and over the Church of God gathered within the ſame; by reaſon whereof, I was bound in conſcience to blow the Trumpet publikely, ſo oft as ever I ſaw any appearance of danger, either of the one, or of the other. But ſo it was, that a certaine brute affirmed, That a Traffique of Marriage was betwixt your Majeſtie and the Spaniſh *Allia*. Whereunto I ſaid, That if your Nobility and State did agree, unleſſe that both you and your husband ſhould be ſtraitly bound, that neither of you might hurt the Common-wealth, nor yet the poor Church of God within the ſame; in that caſe I ſhould pronounce, That the conſenters were troublers of the Common-wealth, and enemies unto God, and unto his Truth planted within the ſame. At theſe words, I grant, your Majeſtie ſtormed, and burſt forth in an unreaſonable weeping: what mitigation the Laird of *Dun* would have made, I ſuppoſe your Majeſty hath not forgot: But while that nothing was able to ſtay your weeping, I was compelled to ſay, I take God to witneſſe, I never took pleaſure to ſee your Majeſtie make ſuch regret; But ſeeing I have offered to your Majeſtie no ſuch occaſion, I muſt rather ſuffer your Majeſtie to take your own pleaſure, then I dare conceale the truth, and ſo both betray the Church, and the Common-wealth. Theſe were the moſt extreme words I ſpake that day. After that the Secretary had conferred with the Queen, he ſaid, Maſter *Knox*, you may returne to your houſe for this night. I thank God and the Queens Majeſty (ſaid the other.) And (Madame) I pray God to purge your heart from Papiſtry, and to preſerve you from the counſell of flatterers; for how pleaſant that ere they appear to your ear, and corrupt affections for the time, experience hath taught us in what perplexity they have brought famous Princes. *Lethington*, and the Maſter of *Maxwell*, were that night the two ſtoups of her Chayre. *John Knox* being departed, the Tables of the Lords, and others that were preſent, were demanded every one their voyce, If *John Knox* had not offended the Queens Majeſtie? The Lords voted uniformly, That they could finde no offence (the Queen was paſt to her Cabinet.) The flatterers of the Court (and principally *Lethington*) raged. The Queen was brought again, and placed in the Chayre: And they com-

Anno

Note Paſtors.

Anno manded to vote over again: Which thing highly offended the whole Nobility, and began to ſpeak in open audience, What? ſhall the Laird of *Lethington* have power to controll us? Or ſhall the preſence of a woman cauſe us to offend God, and to condemne an innocent againſt our conſciences, for the pleaſure of any creature? And ſo the whole Note diligently Nobility abſolved *Johne Knox* againe, and praiſed God for his modeſtie, and for his plain and ſenſible anſwers. Yet before the end, one thing is to be noted; to wit, That amongſt ſo many *Placeboes* (we mean the flatterers of the Court) there was not one that plainly durſt condemne the ſaid poore man, that was accuſed; God ruling their tongues, that ſometimes ruled the tongue of *Balaam*, when gladly he would have curſed Gods people.

This perceived, the Queen began to upbraid Maſter *Henry Sinclare*, then Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and ſaid (hearing his vote to agree with the reſt) Trouble not the barne, I pray you, trouble him not, for he is newly wakened out of his ſleep; Why ſhould not the old fool follow them that paſt before him? The Biſhop anſwered coldly, Your Majeſty may conſider, That it is neither affection to the man, nor love to his Profeſſion, that moved me to abſolve him, but the ſimple truth (which plainly appears in his defence) drawes me hereunto, albeit that others would have condemned him and it. This being ſaid, the Lords and whole Aſſiſtants aroſe and departed. That night was neither dancing nor fidling in the Court, for our Soveraigne was diſappointed of her purpoſe; which was, To have had *Johne Knox* in her will, by voice of her Nobility. *Johne Knox* abſolved by the greateſt part of the Nobility, from the crime intended againſt him, even in the preſence of the Queen, ſhe raged, and her *Placeboes* ſtormed: And ſo began new aſſaults to be made at the hands of the ſaid *Johne Knox*, to confeſſe an offence, and to put him in the Queens will, and ſhe ſhould promiſe, That his greateſt puniſhment ſhould be, But to go within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and immediately to returne to his own houſe: He anſwered, God forbid that my confeſſion ſhould condemne theſe Noble-men, who in their conNote the craft of the Court. ſcience, and in diſpleaſure of the Queen, have abſolved me; And further I am aſſured, ye will not in earneſt deſire me to confeſſe an offence, unleſſe that therewith you would deſire me to ceaſe from Preaching: For how can I exhort others to Peace, and Chriſtian quietneſſe, if I confeſſe my ſelf an author and mover of ſedition.

The generall Aſſembly of the Church approached, which began the five and twentieth of *December*, 1563. But the juſt Petitions of the Miniſters, and Commiſſioners of Churches, were deſpiſed at the firſt, and that with theſe words; As Miniſters will not follow our counſell, ſo will we ſuffer Miniſters to labour for themſelves, and ſee what ſpeed they come. But then the whole Aſſembly ſaid, If the Queen will not, we muſt; for both third and two parts are rigorouſly taken from us, and from our Tenants. If others (ſaid one) will follow my counſell, the Guard and the Papiſts ſhall complaine, as long as our Miniſters have done. At theſe words, the former ſharpneſſe was coloured, and the Speaker alleadged, That hee meant not of all Miniſters:

Chriſto-

Chriſtopher Goodman anſwered, My Lord Secretary, if you can ſhew me what juſt Title either the Queene hath to the Third, or the Papiſts to the two parts, then I think I ſhould reſolve you whether ſhe were Debtor to Miniſters within *Burgh*, or not: But thereto he received this check for anſwer; *Ne ſit Peregrinus curioſus in aliena Republica*; that is, *Let not a Stranger be curious in a ſtrange Common-wealth.* The man of God anſwered, Albeit I be a Stranger in your policy, yet ſo am I not in the Church of God; and therefore the care doth no leſſe appertain to me in *Scotland*, then if I were in the middeſt of *England*. Many wondred at the ſilence of *John Knox*, for in all theſe quick reaſonings he opened not his mouth; the cauſe thereof he himſelf expreſſed in theſe words: Anno

Note.

I. Knox falſly reported of, his anſwer.

I have travelled (Right Honourable and beloved Brethren) ſince my laſt arrivall within this Realme, in an upright conſcience before my God, ſeeking nothing more (as he is witneſſe) than the advancement of his glory, and the ſtability of his Church within this Realme; and of late dayes I have been accuſed as a ſeditious man, and as one that uſurpeth to my ſelfe power that becometh me not: True it is that I have given advertiſment unto the Brethren in divers Quarters, of the extremity intended againſt divers faithfull, for looking to a Prieſt going to Maſſe, and for obſerving of thoſe that tranſgreſſe againſt juſt Laws; but that therein I have uſurped further power then is given me, till that by you I be condemned, I utterly deny; for (I ſay) that by you, that is, By the charge of the Generall Aſſembly, I have all juſt power to advertiſe the Brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as I have power to preach the Word of God in the Pulpit of *Edinburgh*; for by you was I appointed to the one, and to the other; and therefore in the Name of God I crave your judgements. The danger that appeared to me in my Accuſation was not ſo fearfull, as the words that came to my Ears were dolorous to my heart; for theſe words were plainly ſpoken, and that by ſome Proteſtants, What can the *Pope* do more, then to ſend forth his Letters, and require them to be obeyed. Let me have your judgements therefore whether I have uſurped any power to my ſelf; or if I have obeyed your commandment.

The Flatterers of the Court (amongſt whom the Juſtice *Clerk* then not the leaſt) began to ſtorme, and ſaid, ſhall we be compelled to juſtifie the raſh judgements of men; My Lord (ſaid *John Knox*) you ſhall ſpeak your pleaſure for the preſent, of you I crave nothing, but the if Church that is here preſent, do not either abſolve me, or elſe condemne me, never ſhall I in publike or in private, as a publike Miniſter, open my mouth in doctrine or reaſoning.

After long contention the ſaid *Iohn* being removed, the whole Church found, that a charge was given unto him, To advertiſe the Brethren in all Quarters, as oft as ever danger appeared; and therefore avowed that fact not to be his onely, but the fact of the whole aſſembly. Thereat were the Queens Claw-backs more enraged then ever they were, for ſome of them had promiſed the Queen to get the ſaid *Iohn* convinced, both by the Councell, and by the Church; and being fruſtrate of both, ſhe and they thought themſelves not a little diſappointed.

Remark falſe brethren.

In the very time of the generall Aſſembly there comes to publike knowledge

Anno

Murther and Whoredome in the Court.

ledge, or naynous murther committed in the Court, yea not far from the Queens Lap; for a French-woman that ſerved in the Queens Chamber had played the Whore with the Queens own Apothecary; the woman conceived and bare a Childe, whom with common conſent the father and the mother murthered; yet were the cries of a new borne Childe heard, ſearch was made, the Childe and the Mother were both apprehended, and ſo was both the man and the woman condemned to be hanged in the publike Street of *Edinburgh*. The puniſhment was notable becauſe the Crime was hainous. But yet was not the Court purged of Whores and Whoredoms, which was the fountaine of ſuch enormities, for it was well known, that ſhame haſted Marriage, betwixt *John Sempill* called the Dancer, and *Mary Leringſton* ſirnamed the Luſty, what bruit the *Maries* and the reſt of the Dancers of the Court had, the Ballads of that age did witneſſe, which we for modeſties ſake omit, but this was the common complaint of all godly and wiſe men, That if they thought that ſuch a Court ſhould long continue, and if they looked for no better life to come, they would have wiſhed their Sonnes and Daughters rather to have been brought up with Fidlers and Dancers, and to have been exerciſed in flinging upon a Floore, and in the reſt that thereof followes, then to have been exerciſed in the company of the godly, and exerciſed in vertue, which in that Court was hated; and filthineſſe not onely maintained, but alſo rewarded; witneſſe the Abbacie of *Abercorne*, the Barony of *Anchvermuchtie*, and divers others pertaining to the Patrimony of the Crowne given in heritage to Skippers, and Dancers, and Dalliers with Dames. This was the beginning of the Regiment of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and theſe were the fruits that ſhe brought forth of *France*. *Lord look upon our miſeries, and deliver us from the wickedneſſe of this corrupt Court, for thy own Names ſake.*

Maries Regiment.

God from Heaven, and from the face of the Earth did declare, that he was offended at the iniquitie committed within this Realme; for upon the twentieth day of *January* there fell rain in great abundance, which in the falling freezed ſo vehemently, that the earth was but a ſhot of Ice; the Fowls, both great and ſmall freezed, and might not flie, many dyed, and ſome were taken and laid beſide the fire, that their feathers might diſſolve; and that ſame moneth the Sea ſtood ſtill, (as was clearly obſerved) and never ebbed nor flowed the ſpace of foure and twenty hours: In the moneth of *February*, the fifteenth and eighteenth dayes thereof, there was ſeen in the Firmament battels arrayed, ſpears, and all other weapons, as it had been the joyning of two Armies: Theſe things were not onely obſerved, but alſo ſpoken of and conſtantly affirmed by men of judgement, and credit. But the Queen and our Court made merry, there was banquetting upon banquetting; the Queen would banquet with the Lords; and that was done onely upon policy to remove her diſpleaſure againſt them, becauſe they would not at her devotion condemne *John Knox*. To remove (we ſay) that jealouſie, ſhe made the Banquet to the whole Lords, whereat ſhe would have the Duke amongſt the reſt. It behoved them to banquet her again; and ſo did banquetting continue till Lent ever after. But the poor Miniſters were mocked, and reputed

Great Wet and Froſt in *Jan.* 1563.

The Sea ſtood ſtill, neither ebbed nor flowed for 24 houres.

as

as Monſters; the Guard, and the Affairs of the Kitchin were ſo gripping, that the Miniſters ſtipends could not be had; and yet at the Aſſembly laſt paſt, ſolemne promiſe was made in the Queens Name, by the mouth of Secretary *Lethington*, in the audience of the Nobilitie, and of the whole Aſſembly, who affirmed that he had commandment of her Highneſſe, to promiſe full content unto all the Miniſters within the Realme, and of ſuch Order to be kept in all times to come, that the whole body of the Proteſtants ſhould have occaſion to ſtand content; The Earle of *Murray* affirmed the ſame, with many other faire promiſes given by writing, by *Lethington* himſelf; as in the Regiſter of the Acts of the generall Aſſembly may be ſeene; but how that or yet any other thing promiſed in her name, to the Church of God, was obſerved, the world can witneſſe. Anno

The Miniſters perceiving all things to tend to ruine, diſcharged their conſciences in publike and in private, but they received for their labour hatred and indignation; and amongſt others, that worthy ſervant of God Maſter *John Craig*, ſpeaking againſt the manifold corruption that then (without ſhame or fear declared it ſelf, ſaid, Sometimes was Hypocrites known by their noted habits, and we had men to be Monks, and women to be Nuns; but now all things are ſo changed, that we cannot diſcerne the Earle from the Abbot, nor the Nunne from him that would be eſteemed the Nobleman; ſo that we have gotten a new order of Monkes and Nunnes; But, ſaid he, ſeeing you are not aſhamed of that unjuſt profit, would to God that you had therewith the Kowll, the Vaile and the Tayle joyned withall, that ſo you might appear in your own colours. This libertie did ſo provoke the choler of *Lethington*, that in open audience he gave himſelf to the Devill, If that after that day he ſhould regard what became of the Miniſters, but he would do what he could, that his companion ſhould have a ſhare with him: And let them bark and blow (ſaid he) as loud as they liſt. And ſo that was the ſecond time that he had given defiance unto the ſervants of God. *Cucullus.*

Whereupon aroſe whiſperings and complaints, although the Flatterers of the Court, complaining that men were not charitably handled, might not ſince be reproved in generall, albeit men were not ſpecially taxed, that all the world might know of whom the Preacher ſpeakes; whereunto was this anſwer made, Let men be aſhamed publikely to offend, and the Miniſters ſhall abſtain from ſpecialities; but ſo long as Proteſtants are not aſhamed manifeſtly to do againſt the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt, ſo long cannot the Miniſters of God ceaſe to crie, that God would be avenged upon ſuch abuſers of his holy Word.

Thus had the ſervants of God a double battaile, fighting upon the one ſide againſt the Idolatry and the reſt of the abominations mentioned by the Court; and upon the other part, againſt the unthankefulneſſe of ſuch as ſometimes would have been eſteemed the chief Pillars of the Church within the Realme. The threatnings of Preachers was fearfull, but the Court thought it ſelf in ſuch ſecurity, that it could not miſcarry.

The Queen after the Banquetting, kept a dyet (Monſieur *Luſerie* a French-

Anno

Note how this agrees with our time.

man, who had been accuſtomed with her malady before, being her Phyſitian) and therefore ſhe for the ſecond time made her progreſſe in the North, and commanded to Ward in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Earle of *Caithnes*, for a Murther committed by his ſervants upon the Earle *Merſhals* men; he obeyed, but he was ſuddenly releaſed; for ſuch blood-thirſty men, and Papiſts (ſuch as he is) are good ſubjects thought at Court. Thy Kingdom come (O Lord) for in this Realme is nothing amongſt ſuch as ſhould puniſh vice, and maintain vertue, but abomination abounding without Bridle. The Flatterers of the Court did daily enrage againſt the poor Preachers; happieſt was he that could invent the moſt bitter taunts, and diſdainfull mocking of the Miniſters; and at length they began to jeſt at the Terme of Idolatry, affirming that men knew not what they ſpake when they called the Maſſe Idolatry; yea, ſome proceeded further, and feared not at open Table to affirme, That they would ſuſtaine the Argument that the Maſſe was no Idolatry. Theſe things coming to the ears of the preachers, they were proclaimed in publike Pulpit of *Edinburgh*, with this complaint, directed by the ſpeaker to his God;

O Lord, how long ſhal the wicked prevail againſt the juſt? how long wilt thou ſuffer thy Self and thy bleſſed Evangell to be deſpiſed of men? Of men (we ſay) that boaſt themſelves Defenders of the truth; for of thy manifeſt and known Enemies we complain not, but of ſuch as unto whom thou haſt revealed thy light; for now it cometh to our Ears, that men (not Prieſts we ſay, but chief Proteſtants) will defend the *Maſſe* to be no Idolatry; if it ſo were, miſerably have I been deceived, and miſerably (alas, O Lord) have I deceived thy people; which thou knoweſt, (O Lord) I have ever more abhorred then a thouſand deaths. But ſaid he, (turning his face towards the Room where ſuch men as had ſo affirmed, ſate) If I be not able to prove the *Maſſe* to be the moſt abominable Idolatry that ever was uſed from the beginning of the world, I offer my ſelf to ſuffer the puniſhment appointed by God to a falſe Preacher. And it appeareth unto me (ſaith the Preacher) that the Affirmers ſhould be ſubject to the ſame Law; for it is the truth of God, that you perſecute as a blaſphemy; and it is the invention of the Devill, that obſtinately againſt his Word you maintaine; whereat albeit you now flute and flyre, as if ſo be all that were ſpoken were but winde; yet am I all fully aſſured, as I am aſſured that my GOD liveth, That ſome that hear this your defection, and railing againſt the truth and the ſervants of God, ſhall ſee a part of Gods judgement powred forth upon this Realm, (and principally upon you that faſteſt cleave unto the favour of the Court;) for the abominations that are by you maintained. Albeit that ſuch vehemency provoked tears from the eyes of ſome, yet theſe that knew themſelves guilty, in a mocking manner, ſaid, We muſt recant, and burne our Bill, for the Preachers are angry.

Lethington's countenance at the threatning of the preacher.

Let the world judge whether this hath come to paſſe, or not, what hath fallen ſince that time.

The generall aſſembly holden in *June*, 1564. approached, unto the which a great part of the Nobilitie (of thoſe that are called Proteſtants) convened, ſome for aſſiſtance of the Miniſters, and ſome to accuſe them, as we ſhall

ſhall after hear. A little before theſe troubles, which Sathan raiſed in the Body of the Church, began one *David* an Italian, to be great in the Court; the Queen uſed him for Secretary, for things that appertained to her ſecret affairs, or elſewhere: great men made ſuit unto him, and their ſuits were the better heard: But of his beginning and progreſſe, we delay now further to ſpeak, and refer it unto another fitter occaſion of time and place, becauſe that his end will require the deſcription of the whole. The firſt day of the generall Aſſembly, neither the Courtiers; nor the Lords that depended upon the Court, preſented themſelves in Seſſion with their Brethren; whereat many wondred. One ancient and honourable man, the Laird of *Lundie*, ſaid, Nay, I wonder not at their abſence; but I wonder that at our laſt Aſſembly they drew themſelves apart, and joyned not with us, but drew from us ſome of our Miniſters, and willed them to conclude ſuch things as were never propoſed to the publike Aſſembly, very prejudiciall to the Liberty of the Church; and therefore my judgement is, That they ſhall be informed of this offence, which the whole Brethren have conceived of their former Fact; Humbly requiring, That if they be Brethren, that they would aſſiſt their Brethren with their preſence and counſell, for we had never greater need: And if they be minded to fall back from us, it were better we knew it now, then afterwards. Thereto agreed the whole Aſſembly, and gave Commiſſion to certaine Brethren, to ſignifie the mindes of the Aſſembly unto the Lords; which was done that ſame afternoon. The Courtiers at the firſt ſeemed a little offended, that they ſhould be as it were ſuſpected of defection; yet nevertheleſſe upon the morning they joyned with the Aſſembly, and came unto it; but they drew themſelves (like as they did before) apart, and entred into the inner Councell-Houſe. They were the Duke, the Earls of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Mortoune*, *Glencarne*, *Merſhall*, Lord *Roſſe*, the Maſter of *Maxwell*, Secretary *Lethington*, the Juſtice Clerk, the Clerk of the Regiſter, and the Laird of *Pittarrow* Comptroller. Anno

After a little conſultation, they directed a Meſſenger, M. *George Hay*, the Miniſter of the Court, requiring the Superintendents, and ſome of the learned Miniſters, to confer with them. The Aſſembly anſwered, They convened to deliberate upon the common affairs of the Church, and therefore that they could not lack their Superintendents, and chiefe Miniſters, whoſe judgements were ſo neceſſary, that the reſt ſhould ſit (as it were) idle, without them; And therefore willed them, as oft before, That if they acknowledged themſelves Members of the Church, that they would joyn with their Brethren, and propoſe in publike ſuch things as they pleaſed, and ſo they ſhould have the aſſiſtance of the whole, in all things that might ſtand with Gods Commandment: But to ſend from themſelves a portion of their company, they underſtood, That thereof hurt and ſlander might ariſe, rather then any profit or comfort to the Church; for they feared that all men ſhould not ſtand content with the concluſion, where the conference and reaſonings were heard but of a few.

Anno

This anſwer was not given without cauſe; for no ſmall travell was made, to have drawn ſome Miniſters to the faction of the Courtiers, and to have ſuſtained their Arguments and Opinions: But when it was conceived by the moſt politick amongſt them, That they could not travell by that means, they prepared the matter in other termes, purging themſelves, That they never meant to divide themſelves from the Society of their Brethren, but becauſe they had certain Heads to confer with certain Miniſters. But the Aſſembly did ſtill reply, That ſecret Conference would they not admit, in thoſe Heads that ſhould be concluded by generall Voice. The Lords promiſed, That no Concluſion ſhould be taken, neither yet Vote required, till that both the Propoſitions and the Reaſons ſhould be heard and conſidered by the whole Body; and upon that condition were directed unto them, with expreſſe charge, To conclude nothing, without the knowledge and adviſe of the Aſſembly, The Laird of *Dun*, Superintendent of *Angus*, the Superintendents of *Lothain* and *Fyfe*, Maſter *John Row*, Maſter *Iohn Craig*, *William Chriſtieſon*, Maſter *David Lyndſay*, Miniſters; with the Rector of Saint *Andrees*, and Maſter *George Hay*, the Superintendent of *Glaſgow*: Maſter *John Willock* was Moderator, and *John Knox* waited upon the Scribe; And ſo were they appointed to ſit with the Brethren: And yet becauſe the principall complaint touched *John Knox*, he was alſo called for.

Lethington his Harangue at the Aſſembly, Anno 1564.

Secretary *Lethington* began the *Harangue*, which contained theſe Heads; firſt, How much we are indebted unto God, by whoſe providence we have liberty of Religion, under the Queens Majeſtie, albeit that ſhe is not perſwaded in the ſame. Secondly, How neceſſary a thing it is, That the Queens Majeſtie by all good Offices of the part of the Church (ſo ſpake he) and of the Miniſters principally ſhould be retained in that conſtant opinion, that they unfainedly favoured her advancement, and procured her ſubjects to have a good opinion of her. And laſt, How dangerous a thing it is, That the Miniſters ſhould be noted one to diſagree from another in form of Prayer for her Majeſtie: And in theſe two laſt Heads (ſaid he) we deſire you all to be circumſpect: But eſpecially, we moſt crave of you our Brother *Iohn Knox*, to moderate your ſelfe, as well in form of praying for the Queens Majeſty, as in Doctrine that you propoſe, touching her State and Obedience: Neither ſhall ye take this (ſaid he) as ſpoken to your reproach, *quia mens pulchra, interdum in corpore pulchro*; But becauſe that others, by your example, may imitate the like liberty, albeit not with the ſame diſcretion and foreſight; and what opinion that may engender in the peoples heads, wiſe men may foreſee.

Iohn Knox his anſwer.

The ſaid *Iohn* prepared himſelf for anſwer as follows: If ſuch as fear God, have occaſion to praiſe him, becauſe that Idolatry is maintained, the ſervants of God deſpiſed, wicked men placed again in Honour and Authority (Maſter *Henry Sinclare* was of ſhort time before, made Preſident, who before durſt not have ſitten in Judgement) And finally, if we ought to praiſe God, becauſe that vice and impiety over-floweth the whole Realm, without puniſhment, then we have occaſion to rejoyce and praiſe God: But if theſe and the like, uſe to provoke Gods vengeance againſt Realms and Nations, then in my judgement, the godly within

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Scotland ought to lament and mourn, and ſo to prevent Gods Judgements, leſt that he finding all in a like ſecurity, ſtrike in his hot indignation, beginning, perchance, at ſuch as think they offend not. Anno

That is one Head (ſaid *Lethington*) whereunto you and I never agreed; for how are you able to prove, That God ever ſtruck or plagued any Nation or People for the iniquity of their Prince, if that they themſelves lived godlily? I looked (ſaid he) my Lord, to have audience till that I had abſolved the other two parts: But ſeeing it pleaſeth your Lordſhip to cut me off before the midſt, I will anſwer to your queſtion. The Scripture of God teacheth me, That *Jeruſalem* and *Juda* were puniſhed for the ſins of *Manaſſes*. And if you alleadge, That they were puniſhed becauſe they were wicked, and offended with their King, and not becauſe their King was wicked; I anſwer, That albeit the Spirit of God makes for me, ſaying in expreſſe words, *For the ſins of Manaſſes*, yet will I not be ſo obſtinate, as to lay the whole ſin, and plagues that thereof enſued, upon the King, and utterly abſolve the people; but I will grant withall, That the whole people offended with their King; but how, and in what faſhion, I fear that ye and I ſhall not agree: I doubt not but the great multitude accompanied him in all the abomination that he did; for Idolatry and falſe Religion, hath ever been, and will be, pleaſing to the moſt part of men: But to affirm, That all *Judah* committed really the acts of his impiety, is but to affirm that which neither hath certainty, nor yet appearance of any truth; for who can think it to be poſſible, That all thoſe of *Jeruſalem* ſhould ſo ſhortly turn to Idolatry, conſidering the notable Reformation lately before had, in the dayes of *Hezekias*: But yet (ſayes the Text) *Manaſſes made Juda, and all the inhabitants of Jeruſalem to erre*. True it is, the one part (as I have ſaid) willingly followed him in his Idolatry, the other ſuffered him to defile *Jeruſalem* and the Temple of God with all abominations, and ſo were they criminall of his ſin; the one by act and deed, the other by ſuffering and permiſſion, even as *Scotland* is this day guilty of the Queens Idolatry; and ye, my Lords, in ſpeciall, above others. Well (ſaid *Lethington*) that is the chief Head wherein we never agreed; but of that we ſhall ſpeak hereafter: What will ye ſay as touching the moving of the people to have a good opinion of the Queens Majeſty, and as concerning obedience to be given to her Authority? as alſo of the form of Prayer which ye commonly uſe? My Lord (ſaith he) more earneſtly to move the people, or yet otherwiſe to pray, then heretofore I have done, a good conſcience will not ſuffer me; for he who knows the ſecrets of hearts, knows, That privately and publikely I have called to God for her converſion, and have willed the people to do the ſame, ſhewing unto them the dangerous ſtate wherein not onely ſhe her ſelf ſtands, but alſo the whole Realm, by reaſon of her indurate blindneſſe. That is (ſaid *Lethington*) wherein we finde the greateſt fault, your extremity againſt her Maſſe in particular, paſſeth meaſure; ye call her a ſlave to Sathan; ye affirm that Gods vengeance hangs over the Realm, by reaſon of her impiety: And what is this elſe, but to raiſe up the hearts of the people againſt her Majeſty, and againſt them that ſerve her. Then there was heard an acclamation of the reſt of the flatterers, that ſuch extremity could not pro-

Note diligently, and ſee how the Biſhops did forbid to pray for the converſion of the Queen that now is in *Britain*.

Anno

M. *Maxwells* word. in the Aſſembly.

fit. The Maſter of *Maxwell* ſaid in plain words, If I were in the Queens Majeſties place, I would not ſuffer ſuch things as I hear. If the words of Preachers (ſaid *John Knox*) ſhall be alwayes wreſted in the worſt part, then will it be hard to ſpeak any thing ſo circumſpectly (providing that the truth be ſpoken) which ſhall not eſcape the cenſure of the calumniator. The moſt vehement (as ye ſpeak) and moſt exceſſive manner of Prayer that I uſe in publike, is this: *O Lord, if thy good pleaſure be, purge the heart of the Queens Majeſtie from the venome of Idolatry, and deliver her from the bondage and thraldom of Satan, into the which ſhe hath been brought up, and yet remains, for the lack of true Doctrine; and let her ſee, by the illumination of thy holy Spirit, That there is no means to pleaſe thee, but by Jeſus Chriſt thy only Son; and that Jeſus Chriſt cannot be found, but in thy holy Word; nor yet received, but as it preſcribes; which is, To renounce our own wiſedom, and preconceived opinion, and worſhip thee as it commands; that in ſo doing, ſhe may avoid the eternall damnation which is ordained for all obſtinate and impenitent to thee; and that this poor Realm may alſo eſcape that plague and vengeance which inevitably followeth Idolatry, maintained againſt thy manifeſt Word, and the light thereof.*

Iohn Knox his prayer for the Queen.

This (ſaid he) is the form of common Prayer, as your ſelves can witneſſe: Now what is worthy of reprehenſion in it, I would hear. There are three things in it (ſaid *Lethington*) that never liked me; and the firſt is, Ye pray for the Queens Majeſty with a condition, ſaying, *Illuminate her heart, if thy good pleaſure be*; Wherein it may appear, That ye doubt of her converſion; Where have ye the example of ſuch Prayer? Whereſoever the examples are (ſaid the other) I am aſſured of the Rule, which is this, If we ſhall ask any thing according to his Will, he ſhall grant us: And our Maſter Chriſt Jeſus commands us to pray unto our Father, *Thy will be done.* But (ſaid *Lethington*) Where ever finde ye any of the Prophets ſo to have prayed? It ſufficeth me (ſaid the other) my Lord, that the Maſter and Teacher both of Prophets and Apoſtles, hath taught me ſo to pray. But in ſo doing (ſaid *Lethington*) ye put a doubt in the peoples heads of her converſion. Not I (ſaid the other) but her own obſtinate rebellion, cauſeth more then me to doubt of her converſion. Wherein (ſaid he) rebells ſhe againſt God? In all the actions of her life (ſaid M. *Knox*) but in theſe two Heads eſpecially; The former is, That ſhe will not hear the Preaching of the bleſſed Evangel of Jeſus Chriſt. 2. That ſhe maintaineth that Idol the Maſſe. She thinks not that rebellion (ſaid *Lethington.*) So thought they (ſaid the other) that ſometimes offered their children unto *Moleth*; and yet the Spirit of God affirms, That they offered them unto devils, and not unto God: And this day the Turks think they have a better Religion then the Papiſts have; and yet I think ye will excuſe neither of both from committing rebellion againſt God; neither yet can ye do the Queen, unleſſe ye will make God to be partiall. But (ſaid *Lethington*) Why pray ye not for her, without moving any doubt? Becauſe (ſaid the other) I have learned to pray in faith; now faith (ye know) depends upon the Word of God; and ſo it is that the Word teacheth me, That prayer profiteth the ſons and daughters of Gods Election; of which number if ſhe be one or not, I have juſt cauſe to doubt; and therefore I pray that God would illuminate her heart, if his good pleaſure be ſo to do: But yet (ſaid *Lethington*) ye can produce

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the example of none that ſo hath prayed before you. Thereto I have already anſwered (ſaid *John Knox*) But yet for further declaration, I will demand a queſtion, which is this, Whether ye think that the Apoſtles prayed themſelves, as they commanded others to pray, or not? who doubts of that, ſaid the company that were preſent. Well then, ſaid *John Knox*, I am aſſured, that *Peter* ſaid theſe words to *Simon Magus*, *Repent therefore of this thy wickedneſſe, and pray God, That if it be poſſible, the thoughts of thy heart may be forgiven thee.* Here we may cleerly ſee, That *Peter* joynes a condition with his Commandment. That *Simon* ſhould repent and pray; to wit, If it were poſſible that his ſin might be forgiven, for he was not ignorant, that ſome ſinnes are unto death, and ſo without all hope of repentance, or remiſſion. And think ye not (my Lord *Secretary*, ſaid he) but that ſame doubt may touch my heart; as touching the Queens converſion, that then touched the heart of the Apoſtle; I would never (ſaid *Lethington*) heare you, or any other call that in doubt: But your will (ſaid the other) is no aſſurance to my conſcience. And to ſpeak freely, My Lord, I wonder if yee your ſelf doubt not of the Queens converſion; for more evident ſignes of Induration have appeared, and do appear in her, then *Peter* outwardly could have eſpyed in *Simon Magus*; for albeit ſometimes, he was a Sorcerer, yet joyned he with the Apoſtles, beleeved, and was baptized. And albeit, That the venome of Avarice remained in his heart, and that he would have bought the holy Ghoſt; yet, when he heard the fearfull threatnings of God pronounced againſt him, he trembled; deſired the aſſiſtance of the Prayers of the Apoſtles; and ſo humbled himſelf, ſo farre as the judgement of man could peirce, like a true penitent; and yet we ſee that *Peter* doubts of his converſion; Why then may not all the godly, juſtly doubt of the converſion of the Queen, who hath uſed Idolatry, which is alſo moſt odious in the ſight of the moſt jealous God, and ſtill continues in the ſame; yet ſhe deſpiſes all threatnings, and refuſeth all godly admonitions. Why ſay ye, That ſhe refuſeth admonition, (ſaid *Lethington*) ſhe will gladly hear any man: But what obedience (ſaid the other) to God or to his word enſues of all that is ſpoken unto her, or when ſhall ſhe be ſeen to give her preſence to the publike Preaching; I think never (ſaid *Lethington*) ſo long as ſhe is thus uſed. And ſo long (ſaid the other) yee, and all others muſt be content, that I pray ſo, as I may be aſſured to be heard of my God; that is, That his good will may be done, either in making her comfortable to his Church; or if that he hath appointed her to be a ſcourge to the ſame, That we may have patience, and ſhe may be bridled. Well, (ſaid *Lethington*) Let us come to the ſecond head? Where finde ye, that the Scriptures calls any the bond ſlaves of Satan, or that the Prophets of God ſpake of Kings and Princes, ſo irreverently. The Scripture, ſaid *John Knox*, ſaith, That by nature wee are all the ſonnes of wrath: Our Maſter Chriſt affirmes, That ſuch as doe ſinne, are ſervants to ſinne, and that it is the onely Sonne of God that ſets men at freedome; now what difference there is betwixt the ſonnes of wrath, the ſervants of ſinne, &c. And the ſlaves of Satan, I underſtand not, except I be taught; And if the ſharpneſſe of the terme offend you, I have

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Anno have not invented that phraſe of ſpeech, but have learned it out of Gods Scriptures; for theſe words I finde ſpoken unto *Paul, Behold I ſend thee unto the Gentiles, to open their eyes, that they may turne from darkneſſe unto light, and from the power of Sathan unto God.* Mark the words, my Lord, and ſtirre not at the ſpeaking of the holy Ghoſt. And the ſame Apoſtle writing to
2 Tim. 2. his Scholler *Timothius*, ſayes, *Inſtruct with meekneſſe thoſe that are contrary minded, if that God at any time will give them repentance, that they may know the truth, and come to amendment out of the ſnare of the Devill, which are taken of him at his will.* If your Lordſhip do rightly conſider theſe ſentences, you ſhall not onely finde my words to be the words of the holy Ghoſt, but alſo the condition which I uſe to adde, to have the aſſurance of Gods Scriptures.

But they ſpeak nothing againſt Kings in Scripture in ſpeciall (ſaid *Lethington*) and your continuall crying is, The Queens Idolatry, The Queens *Maſſe* will provoke Gods vengeance.

In the former ſentence (ſaid the other) I hear not Kings and Queens excepted, but all unfaithfull are pronounced to ſtand in one rank, and to be in bondage to one Tyrant the Devill. But beleeve me, my Lord, you little regard the ſtate wherein they ſtand, when you would have them ſo flattered, that the danger thereof ſhould neither be knowne, neither yet declared to the people.

Where will you finde (ſaid *Lethington*) that any of the Prophets did ſo uſe Kings, Queens, Rulers or Magiſtrates.

In more places then one, (ſaid the other;) *Ahab* was a King, and *Iezabel* a Queen, and yet what the Prophet *Elias* ſaid to the one, and to the other I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant.

That was not cried out before the people, (ſaid *Lethington*) to make them odious unto their ſubjects.

That *Elias* ſaid, *Dogs ſhall lick the blood of Ahab*, (ſaid *John Knox*) *and eate the fleſh of Jezabell*, the Scriptures aſſures me; but that it was whiſpered in their Eares, or in a Corner, I read not; but the plain contrary appears to me, which is, that both the people and the Court underſtood well enough what the Prophet had promiſed; for ſo witneſſed *Jehu* after that Gods vengeance had ſtricken *Jezabell.*

Theſe were ſingular motions of the Spirit of God (ſaid *Lethington*) and appertaineth nothing to our age.

Then hath the Scripture (ſaid the other) deceived me, for Saint *Paul* teacheth me, that *whatſoever is written within the holy Scriptures, the ſame is written for our inſtruction*; And my Maſter ſaith, *That every learned Scribe brings forth of his Treaſure, both things old and things new*; and the Prophet *Jeremy* affirmes, *That every Realme or Citie that likewiſe offends,* (as then did *Ieruſalem*) *ſhould likewiſe be puniſhed.*

Why then, that the facts of ancient Prophets, and the fearfull judgements of God, executed before us, upon the diſobedient, appertain not unto our age, I neither ſee, nor yet can underſtand.

Note. But now to put an end to this Head, my Lord, (ſaith he) the Prophets of God have not ſpared to rebuke Kings, as well to their faces as before the people and ſubjects; *Elizeus* feared not to ſay to King *Ioram*, *What have*

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I to doe with thee, get thee to the other Prophets of thy Mother; for as the Lord of Hoſtes liveth, in whoſe ſight I ſtand; if it were not that I regard the preſence of Jehoſaphat, the King of Judah, I would not have looked toward thee, nor ſeene thee? Plaine it is, that the Prophet was a Subject in the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, and yet how little reverence he giveth to the King; we heare *Jeremy* the Prophet was commanded to *Cry to the King and Queene, and to ſay, Behave your ſelves lowly, execute juſtice, and judgement, &c. or elſe your Carcaſſes ſhall be caſten to the heate of the day, and unto the froſt of the night.* Unto *Conias*, *Sullim*, and *Zedekias*, he ſpeaketh in ſpeciall, and ſhewes to them in his publike Sermons their miſerable ends; and therefore yee ought not to thinke ſtrange my Lord (ſaid he) albeit the ſervants of God, taxe the vices of Kings and Queenes, even as well as of other offenders; and that becauſe their ſinnes be more noyſome to the Common-wealth, then are the ſinnes of inferiour perſons. Anno

The moſt part of this reaſoning, Secretary *Lethington* leaned upon the Maſter of *Maxwells* Breaſt, who ſaid, I am almoſt weary, I would ſome other would reaſon in the chief head, which is yet untouched.

Then the Earle of *Mortoune*, Chancellor, commanded Maſter *George Hay* to reaſon againſt *John Knox* in the head of obedience due to Magiſtrates, who began ſo to doe; Unto whom *John Knox* ſaid, Brother, that ye ſhall reaſon in my contrary, I am well content, becauſe I know you to be both a man of learning, and of modeſty; but that you ſhall oppoſe your ſelfe unto the Trueth, whereof I ſuppoſe your owne conſcience is no leſſe perſwaded, then is mine, I cannot well approve; for I would be ſorry, that yee and I ſhould be reputed to reaſon, as two Schollers of *Pythagoras*, to ſhew the quickeneſſe of our wit, as it were to reaſon on both parts: I proteſt here before God, That whatſoever I ſuſtaine, I doe the ſame in conſcience; yea, I dare no more ſuſtaine a propoſition, knowne to my ſelfe untrue, then I dare teach falſe Doctrine, in the publike place; And therefore Brother, if Conſcience move you to oppoſe your ſelfe to that Doctrine which yee have heard out of my mouth, in that matter, doe it boldly, it ſhall never offend me; But that yee ſhall bee found to oppoſe your ſelfe unto mee, yee being perſwaded in the ſame Trueth; I ſay yet againe, it pleaſeth me not; for therein may be greater inconveniency, then either yee or I doe conſider for the publike. *Note.*

The ſaid Maſter *George* anſwered, That I will not oppoſe my ſelfe unto you, as one willing to impugne or confute that Head of Doctrine, which not onely yee, but many others; yea, and my ſelfe have affirmed, farre be it from me, for ſo ſhould I be found contrarious to my ſelfe; for my Lord Secretary knows, my judgement in that Head.

Marry, ſaid the Secretary, you are (in my opinion) the worſt of the two, for I remember that your Reaſoning when the Queen was in *Carricke*.

Anno

Well ſaid *Iohn Knox*, ſeeing Brother, God hath made you one to fill the chaire of verity; wherein I am aſſured, we agree in all principall Heads of Doctrine; Let it never be ſaid, That we agree not in diſputation. *Iohn Knox* was moved thus to ſpeake, becauſe he underſtood more of the craft then the other did. Well (ſaid *Lethington*) I am ſomewhat better provided in this laſt Head, then I was in the other two: Maſter *Knox*, ſaid he, yeſterday we heard your Judgement upon the thirteenth to the *Romanes*; we heard the minde of the Apoſtle well opened; we heard the cauſes why God hath eſtabliſhed powers upon the earth; we heard of the neceſſitie that mankinde hath of the ſame; and wee heard the dutie of Magiſtrates ſufficiently declared; But in two things I was offended, as I thinke ſome other more of my Lords that were preſent: which was, Ye made difference betwixt the Ordinance of God, and the perſons that were placed in Authoritie: And ye affirmed, That men might refuſe the perſons, and yet not offend againſt Gods Ordinance; This is one, the other yee had no time to explaine; but this me thought ye meant, That Subjects were not bound to obey their Princes, if they command unlawfull things, but that they might refuſe their Princes; and that they were not ever bound to ſuffer.

In very deed, ſaid the other, ye have rightly both marked my words, and underſtood my minde; for of that ſame Judgement I have long been, and yet ſo remaine.

Let this be noted diligently.

How will ye prove your diviſion and difference (ſaid *Lethington*,) and that the perſons placed in Authoritie, may be reſiſted, and the Ordinance of God not tranſgreſſed, ſeeing that the Apoſtle ſaith, *He that reſiſteth, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.*

My Lord ſaid he, The plaine words of the Apoſtle makes the difference, and the facts of many approved by God, prove my affirmative. Firſt the Apoſtle affirmes, That the powers are ordained of God, for the preſervation of quiet and peaceable men, and for the puniſhment of malefactors; whereof it is plaine, That the Ordinance of God and the power given unto man, is one thing, and the perſon clad with the Authoritie, is another; For Gods Ordinance is the conſervation of mankinde, The puniſhment of vice, and the maintenance of vertue, which in it ſelf, is holy, juſt, conſtant, ſtable, and perpetuall; but men clad with the Authoritie, are commonly prophane and unjuſt; yee, they are mutable, tranſitory, and ſubject to corruption, as God threateneth by his Prophet *David*, ſaying, *I have ſaid yee are gods, and every one of you the ſonnes of the moſt high; but yee ſhall dye as man, and the Princes ſhall fall like others.* Here I am aſſured, That the perſons, yee ſoule and body are threatned with death; I think that ſo ye will not affirm, is the Authothority, the Ordinance, and the Power, wherewith God endeued ſuch perſons; for (as I have ſaid) it is holy, ſo is the permanent will of God. And now, my Lord, that the Prince may be reſiſted, and yet the Ordinance of God not violated: It is evident that the people reſiſted *Saul*, when he had ſworn by the living God that *Ionathan* ſhould die; The people (I ſay) ſwore in the contrary, and delivered *Ionathan*, ſo that a hair of his head fell not: Now *Saul* was the Anoynted King, and they were

Pſal. 82.

Note this.

were his ſubjects, and yet they reſiſted him, that they made him no better then men ſworn. I doubt (ſaid *Lethington*) That in ſo doing, the people did well. The Spirit of God (ſaid the other) accuſes them not of any crime, but rather praiſes them, and condemnes the King, as well for his fooliſh vow and Law made without God, as for his cruell minde, that ſo ſeverely would have puniſhed an innocent man: But herein will I not ſtand; this that followeth ſhall confirme the former. This ſame *Saul* commanded *Abimelech* and the Prieſts of the Lord to be ſlain, becauſe they had committed Treaſon (as he alleadged) for intercommuning with *David*: His Guard, and principall ſervants, would not obey his unjuſt commandment; But *Doeg* the flatterer put the Kings cruelty in execution. I will not ask your judgement, Whether that the ſervants of the King, in not obeying his Commandment, reſiſted the Ordinance of God, or not; or, Whether *Doeg*, in murthering the Prieſts, gave obedience to a juſt Authority: For I have the Spirit of God, ſpeaking by the mouth of *David*, for aſſurance, as well of the one, as of the other; for he in his 52 *Pſalme*, condemnes that fact, as a moſt cruell murther; and affirms, That God would puniſh, not onely the commander, but alſo the mercileſſe executer: And therefore I conclude, That they who gainſtood his commandment, reſiſted not the Ordinance of God. And now (my Lord) to anſwer to the place of the Apoſtle, who affirms, That ſuch as reſiſt the Power, reſiſt the Ordinance of God; I ſay, That the power in that place is not to be underſtood of unjuſt commandment of men, but of the juſt power wherewith God hath armed his Magiſtrates and Lieutenants, to puniſh ſin, and maintain vertue. And if any man ſhould enterpriſe to take from the hands of the faithfull Judge a murtherer and adulterer, or any malefactor that deſerved death, this ſame reſiſteth Gods Ordinance, and procureth to himſelf vengeance and damnation, becauſe that he ſtayed Gods Sword from ſtriking. But ſo it is, if men in the fear of God oppoſe themſelves to the fury and blinde rage of Princes; for ſo they reſiſt not God, but the devill, who abuſes the Sword and Authority of God. I underſtand ſufficiently (ſaid *Lethington*) what ye mean; unto the one part I will not oppoſe my ſelf, but I doubt of the other; for if the Queen would command me to ſlay *John Knox*, becauſe ſhe is offended at him, I would not obey her: But if ſhe would command others to do it, or yet by colour of Juſtice take his life from him, I cannot tell if I be bound to defend him againſt the Queen and her Officers. With proteſtation (ſaid the other) That the auditors think not that I ſpeak in favour of my ſelf, I ſay, my Lord, That if ye be perſwaded of my innocency, and if God have given unto you ſuch power and credit as might deliver me, and yet ſuffered me to periſh, that in ſo doing, ye ſhould be criminall and guilty of my blood. Prove that, and win the play (ſaid *Lethington.*) Well, my Lord (ſaid the other) remember your promiſe, and I will be ſhort in my probation: The Prophet *Jeremy* was apprehended by the Prieſts and Prophets (who were a part of the Authority within *Jeruſalem*) and by the multitude of the people, and this ſentence was pronounced againſt him, *Thou ſhalt die the death; for thou haſt ſaid, This Houſe ſhall be like* Siloh, *and this City ſhall be deſolate,*

Anno

1 Sam. 22.

Note this Diſcourſe diligently.

Anno

without any Inhabitant, &c. The Princes hearing the uprore, came from the Kings houſe, and ſate down in Judgement in the entry of the new Gate of the Lords Houſe; And there the Prieſts and Prophets, before the Princes, and before all the people, intented their Accuſation in theſe words; *This man is worthy to die; for he hath propheſied againſt this City, and your eares have heard.* *Jeremiah* anſwered, That whatſoever he had ſpoken, proceeded from God; and therefore ſaid he; *As for me, behold, I am in your hands, do with me as ye thinke good and right; But know ye for certaine, That if ye put me to death, ye ſhall ſurely bring innocent blood upon your ſoules, and upon this Citie, and upon the inhabitants thereof: For of a truth, the Lord hath ſent me unto you to ſpeake all theſe words.* Now, my Lord, if the Princes and the whole people ſhould have been guilty of the Prophets blood, How ſhall ye, or others, be judged innocent before God, if ye ſhall ſuffer the blood of ſuch as have not deſerved their blood to be ſhed, when ye may ſave it. The cauſes were nothing alike (ſaid *Lethington.*) And I would learn (ſaid the other) wherein the diſſimilitude ſtands. Firſt (ſaid *Lethington*) the King had not condemned him to death; And next, The falſe Prophets, the Prieſts, and the People, accuſed him without a cauſe, and therefore they could not be guilty of his blood. Neither of theſe (ſaid *John Knox*) fights againſt my argument; For albeit the King was neither preſent, nor yet had condemned him, yet were the Princes and chiefe Councellors there ſitting in Judgement, who repreſented the Kings Authority, hearing the accuſation laid unto the charge of the Prophet; And therefore he forewarns them of the danger, as before is ſaid; to wit, That in caſe he ſhould be condemned, and ſo put to death, That the King, the Councell, and the whole City of *Jeruſalem*, ſhould be guilty of his blood, becauſe that he had committed no crime worthy of death: And if ye thinke that they all ſhould have been criminall, onely becauſe that they all accuſed him, the plain Text witneſſeth the contrary; for the Princes defended him, and ſo (no doubt) did a great part of the People; and yet he boldly affirmed, That they ſhould be all guilty of his blood, if he ſhould be put to death. And the Prophet *Ezekiel* gives a reaſon, Why all are guilty of common corruption, Becauſe (ſaith he) *I ſought a man amongſt them, that ſhould make up the hedge, and ſtand in the gap before me for the Land, that I ſhould not deſtroy it, but I found none; Therefore have I poured forth my indignation upon them.* Hereof, my Lord, (ſaid he) it is plain, That God craves, not onely that man ſhould do no iniquity in his owne perſon; but alſo that he oppoſe himſelf to all iniquity, ſo farre as in him lieth. Then will ye (ſaid *Lethington*) make ſubjects to controll their Princes and Rulers. And what harme (ſaid the other) ſhould the Common-wealth receive, if the corrupt affections of ignorant Rulers were moderated, and ſo bridled by the wiſedome and diſcretion of godly ſubjects, that they ſhould do no wrong, nor no violence to any man. All this reaſoning (ſaid *Lethington*) is out of the purpoſe; For we reaſon as if the Queen ſhould become ſuch an enemy to our Religion, that ſhe ſhould perſecute it, and put innocent men

God craves of us, That we ſhould oppoſe our ſelves to iniquity.

men to death; while I am assured, she never thought, nor never will do; For if I should see her begin at that end, yea, if I should suspect any such thing in her, I should be as farre forward in that argument, as ye, or any other within the Realme: But there is no such thing; Our Question is, Whether that ye may suppresse the Queens Masse; or, Whether that her Idolatry shall be laid to our charge. What ye may (said *John Knox*) by force, I dispute not: But what ye may and ought to do by Gods expresse Commandment, that I can tell Idolatry ought not onely to be suppressed, but the Idolater also ought to die the death: But by whom? By the people of God (said the other) for the Commandment was given to *Israel*, as ye may reade, *Heare Israel*, (sayes the Lord) *the Statutes and the Ordinances of the Lord thy God, &c.* Yea, a Commandment is given, that if it be heard that Idolatry is committed in any one City, inquisition shall be taken; and if it be found true, That then the whole Body of the People arise and destroy that City, sparing in it neither man, woman, nor childe. But there is no Commandment (said the Secretary) given to punish their King. If he be an Idolater, I finde no priviledge granted unto Kings (said the other) by God, more then unto the people, to offend Gods Majestie. I grant (said *Lethington*) but yet the people may not be judges to their King to punish him, albeit he be an Idoter. God (said the other) is the Universall Judge, as well unto the King, as to the People: So that what his Word commands to be punished in the one, is not to be absolved in the other. We agree in that (said *Lethington*) But the people may not execute Gods Judgements, but mst leave it unto himselfe, who will either punish it by Death, by Warre, by Imprisonment, or by some other kinde of his Plagues. Anno

I know (said *John Knox*) the last part of the reason to be true: But for the first, That the people, yea, or a part of the people, may not execute Gods Judgements against their King, being an offendor: I am assured ye have no other Warrant, except your own imaginations, and the opinion of such as more fear to offend their Princes then God.

Why say ye so (said *Lethington*) I have the judgement of the most famous men in *Europe*, and of such as ye your selfe will confesse both godly and learned.

And with that he called for his Papers, which produced by Master *Maitland*, he began to reade with great gravity the Judgements of *Luther*, *Melancthon*, the mindes of *Bucer*, *Musculus*, and *Calvin*, how Christians should behave themselves in time of Persecution; yea, the Book of *Bazuc* was not omitted, with this conclusion, The gathering of those things (said he) hath cost me more travell then I thinke this seven yeers in reading Commentaries.

The more pity (said the other) and yet what you have profited your own cause, let others judge. But as for my argument, I am assured you have infirmed it in nothing; for your first two witnesses speak against the Anabaptists, who deny that Christians should be

Anno ſubject to Magiſtrates; or yet that it is lawfull for a Chriſtian to be a Magiſtrate: whoſe opinion, I no leſſe abhor, then ye do, or any other that liveth. The others ſpeak of Chriſtians ſubject to Tyrants and Infidels, ſo diſperſed, that they have no other force, but onely to ſob unto God for deliverance; that ſuch (indeed) ſhould hazard any further then theſe godly men wills them, I cannot haſtily be of counſell: But my argument hath another ground; for I ſpeak of a people aſſembled in one Body of a Common-wealth, unto whom God hath given ſufficient force, not onely to reſiſt, but alſo to ſuppreſſe all kinde of open Idolatry: And ſuch a people yet again I affirme, are bound to keep their Land clean and unpolluted. And that this my diviſion ſhall not appear ſtrange unto you, ye ſhall underſtand that God required one thing of *Abraham* and of his Seed, when he and they were ſtrangers and Pilgrims in *Egypt* and *Canaan*; and another thing required he of them, when they were delivered from the Bondage of *Egypt*, and the poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan* granted unto them: The firſt, and during the time of their Bondage, God craved no more, but that *Abraham* ſhould not defile himſelfe with their Idolatry; neither was he, nor his Poſterity commanded to deſtroy the Idolls that were in *Canaan*, or in *Egypt*: But when God gave unto them poſſeſſion of the Land, he gave unto them this ſtrait Commandment, *Beware that thou make not League or Confederacie with the inhabitants of this Land: give not thy ſonnes unto their daughters, nor yet give thy daughters unto their ſonnes, &c. But this ye ſhall do unto them, Cut down their Groves, deſtroy their Images, breake downe their Altars, and leave thou no kinde of remembrance of theſe Abominations which the Inhabitants of the Land uſed before; for thou art a holy People unto the Lord thy God; defile not thy ſelfe therefore with their gods, &c.* To this Commandment, I ſay, are ye, my Lords, and all ſuch as have profeſſed the Lord within this Realme, bound; for God hath wrought no leſſe miraculouſly upon you, both Spiritually and Corporally, then he did unto the Carnall Seed of *Abraham*: For in what ſtate your Bodies, and this poor Realme were, within theſe ſeven yeers, your ſelves cannot be ignorant; you, and it were both in the Bondage of a ſtrange Nation, and what Tyrants did raigne over your conſciences, God perchance may yet again let you feel, becauſe that ye do not rightly acknowledge and eſteeme the benefits received, when our poore Brethren that were before us, gave up their bodies to the flames of fire, for the Teſtimony of Gods Truth. And when ſcarcely could be found ten in a Country that rightly knew God, it had been fooliſhneſſe to have craved, either of the Nobility, or of the mean Subjects, the ſuppreſſing of Idolatry; for that had been nothing, but to have expoſed the ſimple Sheep in a prey to the Wolves: But ſince that God hath multiplyed knowledge, yea, and hath given the victory to his Truth, even in the hands of his ſervants, if yee ſuffer the Land again to be defiled, yee, and your Princes ſhall both drinke the cup of Gods indignation. The Queen, for her obſtinate abiding in manifeſt Idolatry, in this great light of the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt; And ye, for your permiſſion and maintaining her in the ſame. (*Lethington* ſaid,) In that point we will never agree.

Let this be noted for our times.

Whether this hath come to paſſe or not, let the world judge.

And

And where finde ye (I pray you) that ever any of the Prophets, or of the Apoſtles, taught ſuch Doctrine, That the people ſhould be plagued for the Idolatry of the Prince; or yet, That the Subjects might ſuppreſſe the Idolatry of the Rulers, or them for the ſame. What was the Commiſſion given unto the Apoſtles? My Lord, (ſaid he) we know it was to preach, and plant the Evangell of Jeſus Chriſt where darkneſſe before had Dominion; And therefore it behoved them to let them ſee the light, before that they ſhould will them, to put their hands to ſuppreſſe Idolatry: What precepts the Apoſtles gave unto the faithfull in particular, other then that they commanded, all to fly from Idolatry, I will not affirme: But I finde two things which the faithfull did; The one was, They aſſiſted their Preachers, even againſt the Rulers and Magiſtrates; The other was, They ſuppreſſed Idolatry, whereſoever God gave unto them force; asking no leave of the Emperour, nor of his Deputies. Read the *Eccleſiaſticall* Hiſtories, and ye ſhall finde examples ſufficient? And as to the Doctrine of the Prophets, we know they were Interpreters of the Law of God; and we know, They ſpake as well unto the Kings, as unto the People. I read that neither of both would heare them; and therefore came the plague of God upon both; but that they flattered the Kings, more then they did the people, I cannot be perſwaded. Now Gods Law pronounces death (as before I have ſaid) to Idolaters without exception of perſons. Now, how the Prophets could rightly interpret the Law, and ſhew the cauſe of Gods Judgements, which ever they threatned, ſhould fall for Idolatry, and for the reſt of the abhominations that did accompany it (for it is never alone, *but ſtill corrupt Religion brings with it, a filthy, and corrupt life.*) How (I ſay) the Prophets could reprove the Vice, and not ſhew the people their duty, I underſtand not; And therefore, I conſtantly beleeve, That the Doctrine of the Prophets was ſo ſenſible, That the Kings underſtood their own abhominations; and the people underſtood, what they ought to have done in puniſhing and repreſſing them. But becauſe that the moſt part of the People was no leſſe Rebellious unto God, then were their Princes; Therefore the one, and the other, conjured againſt God, and againſt his ſervants. And yet my Lord, The facts of ſome Prophets are ſo evident, That thereby we may collect what Doctrine they taught; For it were no ſmall abſurdity to affirme, that their facts did repugne to their Doctrine. I think (ſaid *Lethington*) ye meane of the Hiſtory of *Jehu*, What will yee prove thereby? The chief head (ſaid *John Knox*) that ye deny, to wit, That the Prophets never taught, that it appertained to the people to puniſh the Idolatry of their Kings: The contrary whereof I affirme; and for the probation, I am ready to produce the fact of a Prophet. For ye know my Lord (ſaid he) that *Eliæus*, ſent one of the children of the Prophets to annoint *Jehu*, who gave him a commandment to deſtroy the houſe of his Maſter *Achab* for the Idolatry committed by him; and for the innocent blood that *Jezabell* his wicked Wife had ſhed. While he obeyed and put in full execution (for the which) God promiſed unto him, the ſtability of the Kingdome, unto the fourth Generation.

Anno

Note this diligently.

Now

Anno

Now (ſaid he) here is the fact of a Prophet, that proves, that Subjects were commanded to execute Gods judgements upon their King and Prince. There is enough (ſaid *Lethington*) to be anſwered thereto; For *Jehu* was a King before he put any thing in execution. And beſides, That the fact is extraordinary, and ought not to be Imitate: My Lord (ſaid the other) he was a meere Subject, and no King, when the Prophets ſervant came unto him; yea, and albeit that his fellow Captaines hearing of the Meſſage, blew the Trumpet, and ſaid, *Jehu* is King; yet I doubt not, but *Jezabel* both thought, and ſaid, that he was a Traytor; and ſo did many others that were in *Iſrael*, and in *Samaria*.

And as touching, That ye alleadge, that the fact was extraordinary, and is not to be imitate: I ſay, That it had the ground of Gods ordinary judgement, which commandeth the Idolater to dye the death. And therefore, I yet againe affirme, That it is to be Imitate of all thoſe that preferres the true Honour of the true Worſhip and Glory of God, to the affection of fleſh, and wicked Princes. We are not bound (ſaid *Lethington*) to follow extraordinary examples, unleſſe we have the like commandment and aſſurance. I grant (ſaid the other) if the example repugne to the Law; As if an avaritious and deceitfull man would borrow Silver, Rayment, or other neceſſaries from his Neighbour, and withhold the ſame; alleadging, that ſo he might do, and not offend God; becauſe the *Iſraelites* at their departure forth of *Egypt*, did ſo to the *Egyptians*. The example ſerved to no purpoſe, unleſſe that they could produce the like cauſe, and the like commandment that the *Iſraelites* had; and that becauſe their fact repugned to this Commandment of God, *Thou ſhalt not ſteale*: But where the example agrees with the Law, and is, as it were the execution of Gods judgement, expreſſed within the ſame; I ſay, That the example approved of God, ſtands to us in place of a Commandment; For as God in his Nature, is conſtant and immutable, ſo can he not condemne in the Ages ſubſequent, that which he hath approved in his ſervants before us; but in his ſervants before us, he by his own word confounds all ſuch as crave further approbation of Gods will, then is already expreſſed within his Scriptures; For *Abraham* ſaid, They have *Moſes* and the Prophets, whom if they will not beleeve, neither will they beleeve, albeit that any of the dead ſhould riſe. Even ſo (I ſay) my Lord, that ſuch as will not be taught what they ought to do by the Commandment of God once given, and once put in practiſe, will not beleeve nor obey, albeit, that God ſhould ſend Angels from Heaven to inſtruct that Doctrine.

Note.

Yee have produced but one example (ſaid *Lethington*) one ſufficeth (ſaid the other;) but yet God be praiſed we lacke not others; for the whole people conſpired againſt *Amaſiah* King of *Iuda*, after that he had turned away from the Lord, and followed him to *Lachis*, and ſlew him, and took *Uzziah* and annointed him King in ſteed of his father. The people had not altogether forgotten the League and Covenant, which was made betwixt their Kings and them, at the Inauguration of *Ioas* his Father; to wit, That the King and the People ſhould be the People of the Lord, and then ſhould they be his faithfull Subjects. From the which

2. Paral 25.

which Covenant when first the Father, and after the sonne had declined, they were both punished to death, *Ioas* by his own servants, and *Amasias* by the whole people.

I doubt (said *Lethington*) whether they did well, or not.

It shall be free for you (said the other) to doubt as you please, but where I finde execution according to Gods Law, and God himselfe not to accuse the doers, I dare not doubt of the equity of their cause. And farther it appeareth to me, that God gave sufficient approbation and allowance of their fact, for he blessed them with victory, peace and prosperity the space of fiftie two yeers after.

But prosperity (said *Lethington*) does not alwayes prove that God approves the facts of men.

Yes, (said the other) when the facts of men agree with the Law of God, and are rewarded according to his owne promise expressed in his Law; I say, that the prosperitie succeeding the fact, is a most infallible assurance that God hath approved that fact. Now so it is That God hath pronounced in his Law, That when the people shall exterminat and destroy such as decline from him, that hee will blesse them and multiplie them, as he hath promised unto their Fathers. But so it is that *Masiah* turned from God (for so the Text doth witnesse, and plaine it is the people slew their King; and like plain it is, that God blessed them: Therefore yet againe conclude I, that God himselfe approved their fact, and so farre as it was done according to his commandement, it was blessed according to his promise.

Well, (said *Lethington*) I thinke not the ground so sure, as I durst build my Conscience thereupon.

I pray God (said the other) that your Conscience have no worse ground then this is whensoever you shall begin the like work which God in your owne eyes hath already blessed. And now, my Lord, (saith hee) I have but one example to produce, and then I will put an end to my reasoning, because I am weary longer to stand. Commandment was given that he should sit downe; but he refused, and said, Melancholly reasons would have some mirth intermixed: My last example, (said he) my Lord is this, *Uzziah* the King not content with his Royall Estate, malapertly took upon him to enter within the Temple of the Lord to burn Incense upon the Altar of Incense; and *Azariah* the Priest, went in after him, and with him fourscore Priests of the Lord, valiant men, and they withstood *Uzziah*, and said unto him, *It appertaineth not unto thee*, (Uzziah) *to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests the Sonnes of* Aaron, *that are consecrated to offer Incense; Goe forth of the Sanctuary, for thou hast transgressed, and thou shalt have none honour of the Lord.* Hereof, my Lords, I conclude, That Subjects not onely may, but also ought to withstand and resist their Princes, whensoever they doe any thing that expressely repugnes to God, his Law, or holy Ordinance.

They that withstood the King (said *Lethington*) were not simple subjects, but were the Priests of the Lord, and figures of Christ, and

Anno

When the Prince does serve God sincerely in private and publike, and hath a care that the people do the same, then assuredly they are faithfull to him; but if he faile in these or in either of them, he findes disobedience in his people, because he is not carefull to obey God, and to see him obeyed. Deut. 13.

2 Paral. 26.

Let this be applyed to the late affairs of *Scotland*.

2 Paral. 26.

Note.

Anno ſuch Prieſts have we none this day to withſtand Kings if they doe any wrong.

That the High Prieſt was the figure of Chriſt (ſaid the other) I grant, but that he was not a ſubject, that I deny; for I am aſſured, that he in his Prieſthood had no Prerogative above thoſe that paſſed before him; now ſo it is, that *Aaron* was ſubject to *Moſes*, and called him his Lord; *Samuel* being both Prophet and Prieſt, ſubjected himſelfe unto *Saul* after hee was inaugurated of the People; *Sadoc* bowed before *David*; and *Abiathar* was depoſed from the Prieſthood by *Solomon*, which all confeſſed themſelves ſubjects to the Kings, albeit therewith they ceaſed not to be the figures of Chriſt. And whereas you ſay, we have no ſuch prieſts this day, I might anſwer, That neither have we ſuch Kings this day as then were annointed by Gods commandment, and ſate upon the ſeate of *David*, and were no leſſe the figure of Chriſt Jeſus in their juſt adminiſtration, then were the Prieſts in their appointed Office; and ſuch kings (I am aſſured) we have not now no more then wee have ſuch Prieſts; for Chriſt Jeſus being annointed in our nature of God his Father, both King, Prieſt and Prophet, hath put end to all externall unction. And yet I thinke you will not ſay that God hath now diminiſhed his graces from thoſe whom he appoints Ambaſſadours betwixt him and his people, then he doth from Kings and Princes; and therefore why the ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt may not alſo juſtly withſtand Kings and Princes that this day no leſſe offend Gods Majeſtie then *Uzziah* did, I ſee not; unleſſe that ye will not ſay, that we in the brightneſſe of the Evangell, are not ſo ſtraitly bound to regard Gods glory, nor his Commandments, as were the Fathers who lived under the dark ſhadows of the Law.

Well (ſaid *Lethington*) I will dip no farther in that Head; but how reſiſted the Prieſts the King, they onely ſpake unto him, without further violence intended.

That they withſtood him (ſaid the other) the Text aſſures me, but that they did nothing but ſpeak, I cannot underſtand; for the plain Text affirms the contrary, to wit, That they cauſed him haſtily to depart from the ſanctuary, yea, and that he was compelled to depart; which manner of ſpeaking (I am aſſured) in the *Hebrew* Tongue, importeth more then exhorting, or commanding by word.

They did that (ſaid *Lethington*) after he was eſpyed to be leprous.

They withſtood him before, (ſaid the other) but yet their laſt fact confirms my propoſition ſo evidently, that ſuch as will oppoſe themſelves unto it, muſt needs oppoſe themſelves unto God; for my aſſertion is, That Kings have no priviledge more then hath the people to offend Gods Majeſtie, and if ſo they do, they are no more exempted from the puniſhment of the Law, then is any other ſubject; yea, and that ſubjects may not onely lawfully oppoſe themſelves to their Kings, whenſoever they do any thing that expreſly oppugnes Gods Commandment, but alſo that they may execute judgement upon them, according to Gods Law; ſo that if the King be a Murtherer, Adulterer, or an Idolater, he ſhould ſuffer according

according to Gods Law, not as a King, but as an offender: And that the people may put Gods Law in execution, this Hiſtory cleerly proveth; for how ſoon that the Leproſie appeared in his forehead, he was not onely compelled to depart out of the Sanctuary, but alſo he was removed from all publike ſociety and adminiſtration of the Kingdom, and was compelled to dwell in a houſe apart, even as the Law commanded; and gat no greater priviledge in that caſe, then any other of the people ſhould have done: And this was executed by the people; for it was no doubt but more were witneſſes of his Leproſie then the Prieſts alone; but we finde none oppoſe themſelves to the ſentence of God pronounced in his Law againſt the Leproſie: And therefore yet again I ſay, That the people ought to execute Gods Law, even againſt their Princes, when that their open crimes by Gods Laws deſerve puniſhment; but eſpecially, when they are ſuch as may infect the reſt of the multitude. And now, my Lords, (ſaid he) I will reaſon no longer, for I have ſpoken longer then I intended. Anno

And yet (ſaid *Lethington*) I cannot tell what ſhall be the concluſion.

Albeit ye cannot (ſaid the other) yet I am aſſured what I have proved; to wit,

1. *That ſubjects have delivered an innocent from the hands of their King, and therefore offended not God.*

2. *That ſubjects have refuſed to ſtrike innocents, when a King commanded, and in ſo doing, denied no juſt Obedience.*

2. *That ſuch as ſtrook at the commandment of the King, were before God reputed mutherers.*

4. *That God hath not onely of a ſubject made a King, but alſo he armed ſubjects againſt their naturall King, and commanded them to take vengeance upon them, according to his Law.*

5. *And laſtly, That Gods people hath executed Gods Law againſt their King, having no further regard to him in that behalf, then if he had been the moſt ſimple ſubject within the Realme.*

And therefore, albeit ye will not underſtand what ſhould be concluded, yet I am aſſured, That not onely may Gods people, but alſo, That they are bound to do the ſame, where the like crimes are committed, and when he gives to them the like power.

Well (ſaid *Lethington*) I think ye ſhall not have many learned men of your opinion.

My Lord, (ſaid the other) the Truth ceaſeth not to be Truth, howſoever it be, That men muſt either know it, or gainſtand it. And yet (ſaid he) I praiſe God, I lack not the conſent and approbation of Gods ſervants in that Head. And with that he preſented unto the Secretary

Anno the Apologie of *Magdeburgh*, and willed him to reade the names of the Miniſters, who had ſubſcribed the defence of the Town to be a moſt juſt defence; and therewith added, That to reſiſt a miſled King, is not to reſiſt God, nor yet his Ordinance, &c. Who when he had read, he ſtouped and ſaid, *Homines obſcuri.* The other anſwered, *Dei tamen ſervi.* And *Lethington* aroſe, and ſaid, My Lords, ye have heard the reaſons upon both parts; it becomes you now to decide, and to put an order unto Preachers, that they be uniform in Doctrine. May we (think ye) take the Queens Maſſe from her?

While that ſome began to give, as it were, their Votes (for ſome were appointed, as it were, leaders of the reſt) *John Knox* ſaid; My Lords, I ſuppoſe you will not do contrary to your Lordſhips promiſe made to the whole Aſſembly, which was, That nothing ſhould be voted in ſecret, till that firſt all matters ſhould be debated in publike, and that then the Votes of the whole Aſſembly ſhould put end to the controverſie. Now have I onely ſuſtained the argument, and have rather ſhewn my conſcience in moſt ſimple manner, then that I have inſiſted upon the force and vehemency of any one argument: And therefore I for my part utterly diſaſſent from all voting, untill the whole Aſſembly have heard the Propoſitions and the Reaſons of both parties; for I unfainedly acknowledge, That many in that company are more able to ſuſtain the argument then I am.

Think ye it reaſonable (ſaid *Lethington*) That ſuch a multitude as are now convened, ſhould reaſon and vote in ſuch heads and matters that concerns the Queens Majeſties own Perſon and Affairs.

I think (ſaid the other) That whatſoever ſhould binde the multitude, the multitude ſhould hear it; unleſſe they have reſigned their power to Commiſſioners, which they have not done, ſo far as I underſtand; for my Lord Juſtice Clerk heard them with one voyce ſay, That in no wiſe would they conſent that any thing there ſhould be voted or concluded.

I cannot tell (ſaid *Lethington*) if my Lords that be here preſent, and that bear the burthen of ſuch matters, ſhould be bound to their will: What ſay ye, my Lords, (ſaid he) will ye vote in this matter, or will ye not vote?

After long reaſoning, ſome that were made for the purpoſe, ſaid, Why may not the Lords vote, and then ſhew unto the Church whatſoever is done?

That appears to me (ſaid *John Knox*) not onely a backward order, but a tyranny uſurped upon the Church: But for me, do as ye liſt (ſaid he) for as I reaſon, ſo I wrote; yet proteſting as before, That I diſaſſent from all voting, till that the whole Aſſembly underſtand as well the queſtions as the reaſons.

Well (ſaid *Lethington*) that cannot be done now, for too much time is ſpent; And therefore, my Lord Chancellor (ſaid he) aſk ye the votes, and take ever, one of the Miniſters, and one of us.

M. *John Dowgl.* Rector, his Vote.

And ſo was the Rector of Saint *Andrees* commanded firſt to ſpeak his conſcience: Who ſaid, I refer it to the Superintendent of *Fyfe*, for I think we are both of one judgement: and yet (ſaid he) if ye will that I ſpeake firſt,

first, my conſcience is this, That if the Queen oppoſe her ſelf to our Religion (which is the onely true Religion) that in that caſe the Nobility and States of this Realme, profeſſors of the true Doctrine, may juſtly oppoſe themſelves to her: But as concerning her Maſſe, I know it is Idolatry, but I am not yet reſolved, Whether by violence we may take it from her, or not. The Superintendent of *Fyfe* ſaid, That ſame is my conſcience: And ſo affirmed ſome of the Nobility. But others voted frankly, and ſaid, That as the Maſſe is abominable, ſo it is juſt and right that it ſhould be ſuppreſſed; And that in ſo doing, men did no more hurt to the Queens Majeſty, then they that ſhould by force take from her a poyſoned cup, when ſhe were a going to drink in it. Laſt Maſter *John Craig*, fellow Miniſter with *John Knox* in the Church of *Edinburgh*, was required to give his judgement and vote; who ſaid, I will gladly ſhew unto your Honours what I underſtand; but I greatly doubt, Whether my knowledge and conſcience ſhall ſatisfie you, ſeeing you have heard ſo many reaſons, and are ſo little moved by them: But yet I will not conceale from you my judgement, adhering firſt to the Proteſtation of my Brother, to wit, That our voting prejudge not the Liberty of the Generall Aſſembly. I was (ſaid he) in the Univerſity of *Bonnonia*, in the yeer of our Lord 1554. where, in the place of the black-Friers of the ſame Town, I ſaw in the time of their Generall Aſſembly this Concluſion ſet forth; the ſame I heard reaſoned, determined and concluded, to this ſenſe. Anno

Maſter John Craigs Vote.

Concluſion.

All Rulers, be they Supreme or Inferiour, may and ought to be reformed or bridled (to ſpeak moderately) by them by whom they are choſen, confirmed or admitted to their Office, ſo oft as they break that promiſe made by Oath to their ſubjects; Becauſe that the Prince is no leſſe bound by Oath to the ſubjects, then are the ſubjects to their Princes; And therefore ought it to be kept and reformed equally, according to Law, and Condition of the Oath that is made of either party.

This Concluſion (my Lords) I heard ſuſtained and concluded, as I have ſaid, in a moſt notable Auditory. The ſuſtainer was a learned man, Maſter *Thomas de Finola*, Rector of the Univerſity, a man famous in that Countrey: Maſter *Vincentius de Placentia* affirmed the Concluſion to be moſt true and certain, agreeable both with the Law of God and man. The occaſion of this diſputation and concluſion, was a certain diſorder and tyranny that was attempted by the Popes Governours, who began to make Innovations in the Countrie againſt the Laws that were before eſtabliſhed, alleadging themſelves not to be ſubject to ſuch Laws, by reaſon that they were not inſtituted by the People, but by the Pope, who was King of that Countrey: And therefore they having full Commiſſion and Authority of the Pope, may alter and change Statutes and Ordinances of the Countrey, without any conſent of the people. Againſt this uſurped Tyranny, the learned and the people oppoſed themſelves: And when that all reaſons which the Popes Governours could alleadge were

Anno heard and conſulted, the Pope himſelf was fain to take up the matter, and to promiſe, not onely to keep the Liberty of the people, but alſo that he ſhould neither abrogate any Law nor Statute, neither yet make any new Law, without their owne conſent: And therefore, my Lord, (ſaid he) my Vote and my Conſcience is, That Princes are not onely bound to Note diligently keep Lawsand Promiſes to their ſubjects; But alſo, That in caſe they fail, they juſtly may be bridled: For the Band betwixt the Prince and the People is reciprocall.

Then ſtart up a claw-back of that corrupt Court, and ſaid, Ye wot not what ye ſay; for ye tell us what was done in *Bononia*; we are a Kingdom, and they are a Common-wealth.

My Lord, (ſaid he) my judgement is, That every Kingdom is, or at leaſt ſhould be a Common-wealth, albeit that every Common-wealth be not a Kingdom; And therefore I think that in a Kingdom no leſſe diligence ought to be taken that Laws ought not to be violated, then they ought to be in a Common-wealth, becauſe that the tyranny of Princes who continuing in a Kingdom, is more hurtfull to the ſubjects, then is the miſ-government of thoſe that from yeer to yeer are changed, in free Common-wealths: But yet, my Lord, to aſſure you, and all others, that Head was diſputed to the uttermoſt; and then in the end was concluded, That they ſpake not of ſuch things as were done in divers Kingdoms and Nations, by Tyrannie and negligence of people: But we conclude (ſaid they) what ought to be done in all Kingdoms and Common-wealths, according to the Law of God, and unto the juſt Laws of man: And if by the negligence of the people, by the tyranny of Princes, contrary Laws have been made, yet may that ſame people, or their poſterity, juſtly crave all things to be reformed according to the originall inſtitution of Kings and Com- Note diligently mon-wealths; and ſuch as will not ſo do, deſerve to eat the fruit of their own fooliſhneſſe.

M. *James Markgow*, then Clerk of the Regiſter, perceiving the Votes to be different, and hearing the bold plainneſſe of the foreſaid ſervant of God, ſaid, I remember that this ſame queſtion was long debated on before in my houſe; and there, by reaſon we were not all of one minde, it was concluded, That M. *Knox* in all our names, ſhould have written to M. *Calvin*, for his jugement in the controverſie. Nay, (ſaid M. *Knox*) my Lord Secretary would not conſent that I ſhould write, alleadging, That the greateſt weight of the anſwer ſtood in the Narrative; and therefore promiſed, that he would write, and that I ſhould ſeeit: But when divers times I required him to remember his promiſe, I found nothing but delay. Whereunto the Secretary anſwered, True it is, I promiſed to write; and true it is, That M. *Knox* required me ſo to do; but when I had ripely adviſed, and deeply conſidered the weight of the matter, I found more doubts then I did before: And this is one, amongſt others; How durſt I, being a ſubject, and the Queens Majeſties Secretary, take upon me to ſeek reſolution of controverſies depending betwixt her Highneſſe and her ſubjects, without her own knowledge and conſent.

Then was an acclamation of the claw-backs of the Court, as if *Apollo* had given his Reſponce: It was wiſely and faithfully done.

Well,

Anno

Well (ſaid *John Knox*) let worldly men praiſe worldly wiſdome ſo highly as they pleaſe, I am aſſured, that by ſuch ſhifts Idolatry is maintained, and the truth of Jeſus Chriſt is betrayed, whereof God one day will be avenged.

At the and at the like ſharpneſſe were many offended, the Voting ceaſed, and every Faction began to ſpeak as affection moved; then *John Knox* in the end was commanded yet to write to Maſter *Calvin*, and to the learned in other Churches, to know their judgement in that Queſtion; which he refuſed, ſhewing his Reaſon, I my ſelf am not onely full reſolved in conſcience, but alſo I have heard their judgements, in this and all other things that I have affirmed within this Realme, of the moſt godly and moſt learned that he knew in *Europe*; I came not to this Realme without their Reſolution; and for my aſſurance I have the hand-writing of many: And therefore if I ſhould now move the ſaid Queſtions again, what ſhould I do other, but either ſhew mine own ignorance and forgetfulneſſe, or elſe inconſtancy: And therefore it may pleaſe you to pardon me, in that I write not. But I will teach you the ſurer way, which is, That you write and complain upon me, That I teach publikely, and affirme conſtantly ſuch doctrine which offends you; and ſo ſhall you know their plain mindes, and whether that they and I agree in judgement, or not.

Divers ſaid the offer was good, but no man was found that would be the Secretary, and ſo did that Aſſembly and long reaſoning break up; After the which time the Miniſters (that were called preciſe) were holden as Monſters of all the Courtiers. In all that time the Earle of *Murray* was ſo frame and ſtrange to *John Knox*, that neither by word nor writ was there any Communication betwixt them, &c.

The end of the long reaſoning betwixt John Knox *and the Secretary, in the moneth of* June, 1564.

The end of the fourth Book.

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Anno

THE FIFTH BOOK
Of the Reformation of the CHURCH Of SCOTLAND.

IN the next Moneth, which was *July*, the Queen went into *Athole* to the Hunting; and from thence she made her Progresse into *Murray*, and returned to *Fyfe* in *September*. All this while there was appearance of love and tender friendship betwixt the two Queens; For there was many Letters, full of Civility and Complements sent from either of them to the other, in signe of Amity; besides costly Presents for Tokens. And in the mean-time the Earle of *Lenox* laboured to come home forth of *England*, and in the moneth of *October* he arrived at *Halyrud-house*, where he was graciously received by the Queens Majestie; namely, When he had presented the Queen of *England* her Letters, written in his favour: And because he could not be restored to his Lands without Act of Parliament, therefore there was a Parliament procured to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 13 day of *December*: But before the Queen would cause to Proclaim a Parliament, she desired the Earle of *Murray*, by whose means chiefly the said Earle of *Lenox* came into *Scotland*, That there should no word be spoken, or at least concluded, that concerned Religion in the Parliament. But he answered, That he could not promise it. In the mean time, the *Hamiltons* and the Earle of *Lenox* were agreed.

There be two Epigrams extant, written by *George Buchanan*, of a rich Diamond sent from Qu. *Mary* to Queen *Elizabeth*.

At the day appointed, the Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, where the said Earle of *Lenox* was restored, after two and twenty yeers Exile: He was banished, and forfeited by the *Hamiltons*, when they had the rule.

Anno There were ſome Articles given in by the Church, eſpecially for the aboliſhing of the Maſſe univerſally, and for puniſhment of vice; but there was little thing granted, ſave that it was Statute, That ſcandalous livers ſhould be puniſhed firſt by priſon, and then publikely ſhewne unto the people with ignominy; but the ſame was not put in execution. In the end of this moneth of *December*, the generall Aſſembly of the Church was held at *Edinburgh*, many things were ordained for ſetling of the affaires of the Church.

In the end of *January* the Queen paſt to *Fyfe*, and viſiting the Gentlemens houſes, was magnificently banquetted every where, ſo that ſuch ſuperfluity was never ſeen before within this Realme; which cauſed the wilde Fowl to be ſo dear, that Partridges were ſold for a crown a piece. At this time was granted by an Act of Parliament, the confirmation of the Fewes of Church Lands, at the deſire of divers Lords, whereof the Earle of *Murray* was chief. During the Queens abſence, the Papiſts of *Edinburgh* went down to the Chappell to hear Maſſe; and ſeeing there was no puniſhment, they waxed more bold: ſome of them thinking thereby to pleaſe the Queen, upon a certain Sunday in *February* they made an Evenſong of their own, ſetting two Prieſts on the one ſide of the Quire, and one or two on the other ſide, with *Sandy Stevin*, Menſtrall (Baptizing their children, and making Marriages) who within eight dayes after convinced of Blaſphemy, alleadging, That he would give no more credit to the New Teſtament, then to a *Tale of Robin-Hood*, except it were confirmed by the Doctors of the Church. The ſaid ſuperſtitious Evenſong was the occaſion of a great ſlander, for many were offended with it; which being by the Brethren declared to the Lords of the Privy Councell, eſpecially to the Earle of *Murray*, who lamented the cauſe to the Queens Majeſtie, ſhewing her what inconveniency ſhould come, if ſuch things were ſuffered unpuniſhed: And after ſharp reaſoning it was promiſed, That the like ſhould not be done hereafter: The Queen alſo alleadged, That they were a great number; and that ſhe could not trouble their conſcience.

About the 20 of this moneth arrived at *Edinburgh*, *Henry Stewart*, Lord *Darley*; from thence he paſt to *Fyfe*: And in the Place of *Weemes* he was admitted to kiſſe the Queens hand; whom ſhe liked ſo well, that ſhe preferred him before all others; As ſhall hereafter, God willing, be declared. Soon after, in the Moneth of *March*, the Earle *Bothwell* arrived out of *France*; whereat the Earle of *Murray* was highly offended, becauſe of the evil report made to him of the Lord *Bothwell*; And paſſing immediately to the Queens Majeſtie, demanded of her if it was her will, or by her advice, that he was come home; and ſeeing he was his deadly enemy, either he or the other ſhould leave the Countrey, and therefore deſired that he might have Juſtice. Her anſwer was, That ſeeing the Earle *Bothwell* was a Noble-man, and had done her ſervice, ſhe could not hate him: Nevertheleſſe ſhe would do nothing that might be prejudiciall to the Earle of *Murray*, but deſired that the matter might be taken away: within few days ſhe cauſed ſummon the Earl *Bothwell*, to anſwer to the courſe of Law the 2 of *May*, for the Conſpiracy which the Earl of *Arrane* had alleadged two yeers

yeers before, and for the breaking of the Ward of the Caſtle. In the mean while there was nothing in the Court, but Banquetting, Balling, and Dancing, and other ſuch pleaſures as were meet to provoke the diſordered appetite; and all for the entertainment of the Queens Couſin from *England*, the Lord *Darley*, to whom ſhe did ſhew all the expreſſions imaginable of love and kindeneſſe. Anno

Within few dayes, the Queen being at *Sterlin*, order was given to Secretary *Letbington* to paſſe to the Queen of *England*: The chief point of his Meſſage was, to declare to the Queen of *England*, That the Queen was minded to marry her Couſin the Lord *Darley*; and the rather, becauſe he was ſo neer of Blood to both Queens: For by his mother, he was Couſin German to the Queen of *Scotland*, alſo of neer kindred, and of the ſame name by his father: His mother was Couſin German to the Queen of *England*. Here mark Gods providence; King *James* the fifth having loſt his two ſons, did declare his reſolution to make the Earl of *Lenox* his Heir of the Crown; but he prevented by ſudden death, that deſigne ceaſed: Then come the Earle of *Lenox* from *France*, with intenion to marry King *James* his Widow; but that failed alſo: He marries *Mary Dowglas*, and his ſon marrieth *Mary*, King *James* the fifth his daughter: And ſo the Kings deſire is fulfilled, to wit, The Crown continueth in the Name and in the Family. The Queen of *England*, nevertheleſſe, ſhewed her ſelf nothing pleaſed therewith, but rather declared, That ſhe would in no wiſe ſuffer her ſubjects to make ſuch Contracts or Alliance that might be prejudiciall to her, and for the ſame purpoſe ſent a Poſt to the Queen with Letters, wherein ſhe complained greatly of the mind of our Miſtris, ſeeing the great affection ſhe bare to her, intending to declare her Heretrix of her Realm of *England*, providing onely that ſhe would uſe her counſell in Marriage; but ſhe could not approve her Marriage with the Lord *Darley*, although he was their neer Couſin by Birth, ſince he was below the Rank of the Queen by Condition, being but a private ſubject. At the ſame time ſhe wrote to the Earle of *Lenox*, and to his ſon, commanding them to repair both into *England*. Some write, That all this was but counterfeit by the Queen of *England*; and from her heart ſhe was glad of the Marriage; for by that means the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England* was ſecured, the Lord *Darley* being the right Heir after the Queen of *Scotland*: and Queen *Elizab.* was not angry to ſee her married to one of inferiour Rank, for by that means ſhe thought the Scots Queen would be leſſe proud. During this time, there were certain Letters directed to the Brethren of *Edinburgh*, to *Dundie*, *Fyfe*, *Angus* and *Mernes*, and other places, from the Brethren of *Kyle*, and other places in the Weſt Countrey, deſiring the profeſſors of the Evangel in all places, to remember what the Eternall God had wrought, and how potently he had aboliſhed all kinde of Idolatry and ſuperſtition, and placed his Word in this Realm; ſo that no man could ſay otherwiſe, but it was the Work of God; who alſo had delivered this Countrey from the bondage and tyranny of ſtrangers: Nevertheleſſe by our ſlothfulneſſe, we have ſuffered that Idol the Maſſe, not onely to be planted again, but to encreaſe ſo, that the maintainers thereof are like, by all appearance, to get the upper hand, which would be the occaſion of our deſtruction: And

Anno for that the Papiſts purpoſed to ſet up their Idol at *Eaſter* following, in all places; which was to be imputed to the ſlothfulneſſe, and want of godly zeal of the Profeſſors: Therefore they admoniſhed the Brethren to ſtrive to avert the evil in time, & not to ſuffer ſuch wickedneſſe to continue and encreaſe, leſt that Gods heavie wrath come upon us unawares like a conſuming fire. By theſe Letters many Brethren were animated, and their ſpirits wakened, minding to provide as God ſhould give them grace: And firſt of all, by the advice of the moſt learned in *Edinb.* there was a Supplication made, and given to the Queens Majeſtie by the Superintendent of *Lowthian*, containing in effect, That the Church in generall of the Realme had divers times moſt humbly craved of her Majeſty, That committers of Adultery ſhould be puniſhed according to the Law of God, and the Acts of Parliament, nevertheleſſe they continued in their wickednes; and the Papiſts of obſtinate malice pretended nothing elſe, but to erect and ſet up their Idolatry and Superſtition; and eſpecially at *Eaſter* day following they intended to put the ſame in practice, which the Brethren and Profeſſors of the Evangel could not ſuffer; Therefore wiſhed her Majeſtie to take heed of the matter.

At this time an Italian, named *Davie*, entred in great familiarity with the Queen, ſo that there was nothing done without him.

This Supplication the Secretary received of the hands of the Superintendents of *Lowthian* and *Glaſgow*, and told them, in the Queenes Name, That there ſhould be ſuch proviſion made, as ſhould ſerve to their contentment: And for the ſame purpoſe, the Queens Majeſtie writ to all ſuch places as were ſuſpected, eſpecially to the Biſhop of Saint *Andrewes* and *Aberdeine* (as was ſaid) not to uſe any Maſſe; And that they ſhould not do any ſuch thing as was feared by the Proteſtants, or convene any Councell, and thereto commanded them. Now the Communion was adminiſtred in *Edinburgh* the firſt day of *April*, 1565. At which time, becauſe it was neer *Eaſter*, the Papiſts uſed to meet at their Maſſe: And as ſome of the Brethren were diligent to ſearch ſuch things, they having with them one of the Bayliffs, took one Sir *James Carvet* riding hard, as he had now ended the ſaying of the Maſſe, and conveyed him, together with the Maſter of the houſe, and one or two more of the aſſiſtants, to the Tolbuith, and immediately reveſted him with all his Garments upon him, and ſo carried him to the Market-Croſſe, where they ſet him on high, binding the Chalice in his hand, and himſelf faſt tyed to the ſaid Croſſe, where he tarried the ſpace of one hour; During which time, the boyes ſerved him with his *Eaſter* egges. The next day following, the ſaid *Carvet*, with his aſſiſtants, were accuſed and convinced by an Aſſize, according to the Act of Parliament: And albeit for the ſame offence he deſerved death, yet for all puniſhment, he was ſet upon the Market-Croſſe for the ſpace of three or four hours, the hang-man ſtanding by, and keeping him, the boyes and others were buſie with egges caſting; and ſome Papiſts there were, that ſtopped as far as they could: And as the preaſſe of people encreaſed about the Croſſe, there appeared to have beene ſome tumult. The Proveſt, *Archibald Dowglas*, came with ſome Halberdiers, and carried the Prieſt ſafe againe to the Tolbuith. The Queen being advertiſed, and having received ſiniſter information that the Prieſt was dead, ſuddenly thought to have uſed and inflicted ſome extreme puniſh-

puniſhment, for ſhe thought that all this was done in contempt of her, and of her Religion; and it was affirmed, That the Towne ſhould have beene ſacked, and a great number executed to death; ſhe ſent to ſuch as ſhe pleaſed, commanding them to come to her at *Edinburgh* ſuddenly with their whole Forces; and in the mean time ſhe ſent her Advocate Maſter *Spence* of *Condie* to *Edinburgh*, to take a ſure triall of the matter. The Proveſt and Councell wrote to the Queen the truth of the matter as it was, deſiring her Majeſtie to take the ſame in good part, and not to give credit to falſe reports; and therewith ſent to her Majeſtie the Proceſſe and enrolment of the Court of the Prieſt Conviet. Thus the Queens Majeſty being informed of the truth by her ſaid Advocate, ſent againe and ſtayed the ſaid meeting of men, and ſent to the Town a grave Letter, whereof the Copie followeth. Anno

The Queens Letter to the Proveſt, Bailiffe, and Councell of *Edinburgh*.

PRroveſt, Bayliffe and Councell of our Citie of Edinburgh, *We received your Letter from our Advocate, and underſtand by this report what diligence you took to ſtay the Tumult in the late diſorder attempted at* Edinburgh; *wherein, as you did your duty in ſuppreſſing the Tumult, ſo can we not take in good part, nor thinke our ſelf ſatisfied of ſo notorious a thing, without certain ſeditious perſons, who were pleaſed to do juſtice perforce and without the Magiſtrates Authoritie, be condignly and really puniſhed for their raſhneſſe and misbehaviour; for if all private Perſons ſhould uſurpe to take vengeance at their owne hands, What lies in ours? And to what purpoſe hath good Laws and Statutes been eſtabliſhed? Since therefore we have never been obſtinate to the due puniſhment of any offendors, preſcribed by the Lawes, but have alwayes maintained Juſtice in that caſe without reſpect of perſons. It is Our will, and We command you, as you will anſwer to Us upon your obedience and allegiance, That you will take before you certaine of the moſt reſponſall perſons which are declared Authors of the ſaid Sedition, and uſurpers of our Authority, and to Miniſter Juſtice upon them, in ſuch ſort as We may know a ſinceritie on your parts, and Our Authority no wayes ſlighted. But if you faile, perſwade your ſelves, (and that ſhortly) we will not overſee it, but will account this Contempt not onely to be in the Committers thereof, but in your ſelves, who ought to puniſh it, and relieve us on our part, remitting the reſt to your diligence and execution, which we look for ſo ſoon as reaſon will permit.*

Subſcribed with Our Hand at STERLIN,
this 24 of *April*, *Anno* 1565.

By

Anno

BY this manner of writing and high threatning, may be perceived how grievouſly the Queens Majeſtie would have been offended if the ſaid *Tarbot* and *Maſſe-monger* had been handled according to his demerite, being not onely a Papiſt Idolater, but a manifeſt Whoremaſter, and a common Fighter and blaſphemer; nevertheleſſe within few dayes the Queen charged the Proveſt and Bailiffs to ſet him at libertie, commanding them further, That no man ſhould trouble nor moleſt him in any ſort for whatſoever cauſe, and ſoon after rewarded him with a Benefice, and likewiſe his Aſſiſters *John Low* and *John Kennedie* ſet at libertie in the ſame manner. At this *Eaſter*-Tyde in *Sterlin* the Queen made her domeſtick ſervants uſe Papiſticall Rites and Ceremonies, and more, ſhe perſwaded others by faire means to do the ſame, and threatned thoſe that were moſt conſtant at the Earle of *Caſſels* Houſe. Upon the ſecond day of *May* 1565. conveened at *Edinburgh* the Earle of *Murray* with his friends in great numbers to keepe the day of Law againſt the Earle *Bothwell*, who being called, appeared not, onely the Laird of *Rickerton* proteſted, That the perſonall abſence of the Earle *Bothwell* ſhould not be prejudiciall to him, by reaſon that for juſt fear, which might happen in the heart of any man, ſince he had ſo potent an enemy as the Lord of *Murray*, who, next the Queens Majeſty was of greateſt eſtimation and Authority of any man within this Realm, to whom aſſiſted at this preſent day of Law, ſeven or eight hundred men, which Force he could not reſiſt, and therefore had abſented himſelf; which Proteſtation being made, thoſe that had been Sureties for his appearance, were Outlawed. The ſaid Earle *Bothwell* a few dayes after paſt into *France*, after he had been in *Liddeſdale*, where ſuſpecting almoſt every man, he was not in great aſſurance of his life, notwithſtanding he was not put to the Horne, for the Queen continually bore a great favour towards him, and kept him to be a Souldier, as appeared within leſſe then half a year; for ſhe would not ſuffer the Lord *Morton*, nor my Lord *Ariskin*, my Lord of *Murrayes* great friends to keep the day; There aſſiſted my Lord of *Murray*, the Earles of *Argyle*, *Glencarne*, and *Crawford*, with great numbers, and many Lords and Barons, who for the moſt part conveened the ſame Afternoon to Treat and Conſult for the maintaining of Religion; where ſome Articles were deviſed, and delivered to the Lord of *Murray* to be preſented to the Queens Majeſtie and privie Councell, which Articles were enlarged at the generall aſſembly following, as ſhall be declared. In the meane time, as they were informed in Court of this great Aſſembly of people in *Edinburgh*, they were affraid, for naturally the Queen hated and ſuſpected all ſuch Conventions as were not in her own preſence, and deviſed by her ſelf. The chief Counſellors in the Court, were the Earls of *Lenox* and *Athole*. The Queen writ incontinent for all the Lords to come to *Sterlin*, ſo ſoone as ſhe was advertiſed that they had Treated in *Edinburgh* of Religion; She Writ likewiſe for the ſuperintendants and other learned men who went thither, and being there they cauſed to keep the Ports or Gates, and make good Watch about the Towne. The ſpeciall cauſe of this Convention was to give to the Lord *Darley* Title of Honour openly and ſolemnly, with conſent of the Nobles, before the marriage. The fourth day of *May* the

the Earle of *Murray* came to *Sterlin*, where he was well received by the Queens Majeſtie, as appeared, and immediately, as he paſt with her to my Lord *Darleys* Chamber, they preſented to him a Contract, containing in effect, That foraſmuch, as, or ſince, the Queen had contracted Marriage with the Lord *Darley*, and that therefore ſundry Lords of the Nobilitie had under-written, ratified and approved the ſame, and obliged themſelves to grant unto him in full Parliament the Crowne *Matrimoniall*, (by a new Court Soleciſme in Policie, the Crowne for the ſecond time is ſirnamed *Matrimoniall*; (before, when the Queen was firſt married, it was ſo called alſo) to ſerve and obey him and her as their Lawfull Soveraignes. The Queen deſired my Lord *Murray* to ſubſcribe, as many others had done before; which hee refuſed to do, Becauſe (ſaid he) it is required neceſſarily that the whole Nobility be preſent, at leaſt the principall, and ſuch as he himſelf was poſteriour unto, before that ſo grave a matter ſhould be adviſed and concluded. Anno

The Queens Majeſty no wayes content with this Anſwer, inſiſted ſtill upon him, ſaying, The greateſt part of the Nobilitie were there preſent and content with the matter, wiſhed him to be ſo much a *Stewart*, as to conſent to the keeping of the Crown in the Family, and the ſirname, according to their Fathers Will and deſire, as was ſaid of him a little before his death: But he ſtill refuſed for the cauſes above written.

Now as the Lords were aſſembled, an Ambaſſadour from *England* named ſir *Nicholas Throckmorton* arrived at *Sterlin*, and in his company the Laird of *Lethington*; the Ambaſſadour was at the Caſtle Gate or ever they were aware; and as he ſtood there in the Entry, he was deſired to paſſe to his Lodgings. The next day he had audience of the Queen, and was graciouſly received according to the dignity of his Meſſage. The whole ſumme of this his Meſſage was, to ſhew and declare to the Queene, how highly the Queene his Miſtris was offended with this precipitated Marriage, and wondred what had moved her to take a man of inferiour rank and condition, to her ſelfe: And therefore diſſwaded her therefrom. And ſpecially deſiring her moſt earneſtly to ſend home her Subjects the Earle of *Lennox* and the Lord *Darley*: But all in vaine for the matter was well farre proceeded. In her heart Queen *Elizabeth* was not angry at this marriage; firſt, becauſe if Q. *Mary* had married a forraigne Prince, it had been an acceſſe to her Greatneſſe, and conſequently ſhe had been more redoubted by the other; next both *Harry* and *Mary* were alike and in equall degree of Conſanguinitie unto her, the father of *Mary* and the mother of *Harry* being Children to her fathers ſiſter.

With many fair words the Queen let the Ambaſſadour depart, promiſing to do all ſhe could to ſatisfie the Queen of *England*; and for the ſame purpoſe ſhe would ſend an Ambaſſador to her.

In the meane time the Queens marriage with the Lord *Darley*, was prepared and propounded in Councell, and the chief of the Nobilitie, ſuch as the Duke, the Earles of *Argyle*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, with the reſt, granted freely to the ſame, providing that they might have the Religion eſtabliſhed in Parliament, by the Queene, and the

The Earl of *Murray* ſeeing the other Nobles conſent, gave his, which before he refuſed.

Anno Idolatrous *Maſſe* and Superſtition aboliſhed, ſhortly it was concluded, That they ſhould convene again to Saint *Johnſtoun*, where the Queen promiſed to take a finall order for Religion. The day was appointed, to wit, the laſt of *May* at *Perth*, my Lord of *Argile* came too late. The Queens Majeſtie communed with the Lords, who were very plain with her, ſaying, Except the *Maſſe* were aboliſhed, there ſhould be no quietneſſe in the Countrey. The twelfth day of *May* the Lord *Darley* was Belted, (that is, Created) Earle of *Roſſe*, with great ſolemnity, a Belt or Girdle being tyed about his waſte or middle; and albeit all kinde of proviſion was made to make him Duke of *Rotheſay*, yet at that time it came not to effect, albeit the Crown and Robe-Royall were prepared to him for the ſame. For the entertainment of this Triumph there were many Knights made, to the number of 14. The next day, which was the 13 of *May*, the Queen called for the Super-intendants, by name *John Willock*, *John Winram*, and *John Spotſwood*, whom ſhe cheriſhed with fair words, aſſuring them that ſhe deſired nothing more earneſtly then the glory of God and ſatisfying of mens conſciences, and the good of the Common-wealth; and albeit ſhe was not perſwaded in any Religion but in that wherein ſhe was brought up, yet ſhe promiſed to them that ſhe would hear Conference and Diſputation in the Scriptures: And likewiſe ſhe would be content to hear publike preaching, but alwayes out of the mouth of ſuch as pleaſed her Majeſtie; and above all others ſhe ſaid ſhe would gladly hear the Superintendant of *Angus* (for he was a milde and ſweet natur'd man) with true honeſty and uprightneſſe. Sir *Ariskin* of *Dun*. Soon after the Queen paſt to Saint *Johnſtons*, after that ſhe had directed Maſter *John Hay* Prior of *Monimusk* to paſſe to *England*, who ſped at the Queen of *Englands* hand even as ſir *Nicholas Throckmorton* did in *Scotland*. Before the day, which was appointed for the meeting at Saint *Johnſton*, my Lord of *Murray* moſt carefull of the maintenance of Religion, ſent to all the principall Churches, advertiſing them of the matter, and deſiring them to adviſe, and ſend the moſt able men in Learning and Reputation, to keep the day; but their craft and diſſimulation appeared, for the Dean of *Reſtalrigge* who lately arrived out of *France*, with others, ſuch as Mr. *John Leſley* Parſon of *Vure*, afterward Biſhop of *Roſſe*, cauſed the Queen to underſtand that thing whereof ſhe was eaſily perſwaded, to wit, That there ought to be given to all men libertie of conſcience, and for this purpoſe to ſhun or put off the firſt day appointed; The Queen writ to the Nobility, that becauſe ſhe was informed that there was great meetings out of every Shire and Town in great number; and then the other partie (ſo termed ſhe the Papiſts) were minded together to the ſaid Convention, which ſhould apparently make trouble or ſedition, rather then any other thing; therefore ſhe thought it expedient, and willed them to ſtay the ſaid meetings, and to deferre the ſame till ſuch a day that ſhe ſhould appoint with advice of her Councell. At this time there was a Parliament proclaimed to be held at *Edinburgh* the twentieth day of *July*. By this Letter, ſome of the Proteſtants having beſt judgement, thought themſelves ſufficiently warned of the Inconveniences and troubles to come. Now her Councell at this time, was onely the Earles of *Lenox* and *Athole*, the Lord *Ruthen*, but chiefely *David Rizio* the *Italian* ruled all;

yet

yet the Earle of *Roſſe* already in greateſt credit and familiarity. Theſe Letters were ſent out to the Lords about the eight and twentieth day of *May*; and within twelve dayes thereafter, ſhe directed new Miſſives to the chief of the Nobility, deſiringor, commanding them, to come to Saint *Johnſton* the three and twentieth day of *June* following, to conſult upon ſuch things as concerned Religion, and other things as her Majeſty ſhould propoſe; Which day, was even the day before that the generall Aſſembly ſhould have been held in *Edinburgh*. This laſt Letter uttered the effect of the former; ſo that the Proteſtants thought themſelues ſufficiently warned. Always as the Earle of *Murray* was paſſing to Saint *Johnſton* to have kept the ſaid day, he chanced to fall ſick of the Fluxes in *Lochlevin*, where he remained till the Queen came forth of Saint *Johnſton* to *Edinburgh*, where the generall Aſſembly of the whole Church of *Scotland* was held, the four and twentieth day of *July*. The Earls of *Argyle* and *Glencarne* aſſiſted the Church with a great company of Lords, Barons, and others: It was there ordered and concluded, That certain Gentlemen, as Commiſſioners from the Church National, ſhould paſſe to the Queens Majeſty, with certain Articles, to the number of ſix, deſiring her moſt humbly to ratifie and approve the ſame in Parliament. And becauſe the ſaid Articles are of great weight, and worthy of memory, I thought good to inſert the ſame word by word. Anno

IMprimis, *That the Papiſticall and Blaſpemous Maſſe, with all Papiſticall Idolatry, and Papall Juriſdiction, be univerſally ſuppreſt and aboliſht thorowout this Realme, not onely in the Subjects, but alſo in the Queens own Perſon, with puniſhment againſt all perſons that ſhould be deprehended to tranſgreſſe and offend in the ſame: And that the ſincere Word of God, and Chriſts true Religion now at this preſent received, be publiſhed, approved, and ratified, thorowout the whole Realm, as well in the Queens owne Perſon, as in the ſubjects: And that the people be to reſort upon the Sundayes at the leaſt, to the Prayers, and Preaching of Gods Word, even as they were before to the Idolatrous Maſſe: And theſe Heads to be provided by Act of Parliament, and ratified by the Queens Majeſty.*

Secondly, *That proviſion be made for ſuſtentation of the Miniſtry, as well for the time preſent, as the time to come: And that ſuch perſons as are preſently admitted to the Miniſtery, may have their Livings aſsigned unto them, in places where they travell in their Calling, or at leaſt next adjacent thereto: And that the Benefices now vacant, or hath been vacant ſince the Moneth of* March, 1558. *or that hereafter ſhall happen to be vacant, be diſpoſed to qualified and learned perſons, able to preach Gods Word, and diſcharge the Vocation concerning the Miniſtery, by Tryall and Admiſsion of the Superintendents and Overſeers: And that no Benefice or Living, having many Churches annexed thereunto, be diſpoſed altogether in any time to come, to any man, but at the leaſt the Churches thereof be ſeverally diſpoſed, and that to ſeverall perſons; So that every man having Charge, may ſerve at his owne Church, according to his Vocation: And to that effect, likewiſe the Gleebs and the Manſes, be given to the Miniſters, that they may make reſidency at their Churches, whereby they may*

Anno

diſcharge their conſciences according to their Vocation; and alſo that the Kirks may be repaired accordingly; And that a Law be made and eſtabliſhed hereupon by Act of Parliament, as ſaid is.

Thirdly, *That none be permitted to have charge of Souls, Colledges, or Univerſities, neither privately or publikely teach & inſtruct the youth, but ſuch as ſhall be tried by the Superintendents or Viſitors of Churches, and found ſonnd and able in Doctrine, and admitted by them to their Charges.*

Fourthly, *For the ſuſtentation of the poor; That all Lands founded for Hoſpitality of old, be reſtored again to the ſame uſe: And that all Lands, Annals, Rents, or any other Emoluments pertaining any wayes ſometimes to the Friers, of whatſoever Order they had been of. As likewiſe the Annuities, Alterages, Obits, and the other Duties pertaining to Prieſts, to be applied to the ſuſtentation of the poor, and uphold of the Town-Schools in Towns, and other places where they be.*

Fifthly, *That ſuch horrible crimes as now abound within this Realme without any correction, To the great contempt of God and his Word; ſuch as Idolatry, Blaſphemie of Gods Name, manifeſt breaking of the Sabbath day, Witchcraft, Sorcery, Inchantment, Adultery, manifeſt Whoredome, maintenance of Bordals, Murther, Slaughter, Oppreſſion, with many other deteſtable Crimes, may be ſeverely puniſhed; and Judges appointed in every Province and Dioceſſe, for execution thereof, with power to do the ſame; and that by Act of Parliament.*

Laſtly, *That ſome order be deviſed and eſtabliſhed for eaſe of the poor Labourers of the Ground, concerning the reaſonable payment of the Tythes, who are oppreſſed by the Leaſers of the Tythes ſet over their heads without their own conconſent and advice.*

The perſons who were appointed by the Church to carry theſe Articles and preſent them to the Queens Majeſtie, were the Lairds of *Cunningham-Head*, *Lundie*, *Spot* and *Grange* of *Angus*, and *Fames Baron* for the Broughs: Theſe five paſt from *Edinburgh* to Saint *Johnſton*, where they preſented the ſaid Articles to the Queens Majeſtie, deſiring and requiring her Highneſſe moſt humbly to adviſe therewith, and to give them anſwer. The next day, ere they were aware, the Queen departed to *Dunkeld*, and immediately they followed; And after they had gotten audience, they deſired the Queens Majeſtie moſt humbly to give their diſpatch. She anſwered, That her Councell was not there preſent, but ſhe intended to be in *Edinburgh* within eight dayes, and there they ſhould receive their anſwer. At the ſame time, as the generall Aſſembly was holden in *Edinburgh*, the Brethren perceiving the Papiſts to brag, and trouble like to be, they aſſembled themſelves at Saint *Leonard Cragg*, where they concluded they would defend themſelves; and for the ſame purpoſe, elected eight perſons of the moſt able, two of every Quarter, to ſee that the Brethren ſhould be ready armed.

And when the five Commiſſioners above named had waited upon the Court four or five dayes after her Majeſties coming to *Edinburgh*, there the matter was propoſed in Councell: And after long and earneſt reaſoning upon theſe Articles, at length it was anſwered to the Commiſſioners by the Secretary, That the Queens Majeſties command was, That the matter

ter ſhould be reaſoned in her preſence; which for the gravity of the ſame, there could nothing be concluded at that time, albeit the Queens Majeſtie had heard more in that matter, then ever ſhe did before: But within eight dayes thereafter, ſhe underſtood that a great part of the Nobility ſhould be preſent in *Edinburgh*, where they ſhould have a finall anſwer. At length, the one and twentieth of *Auguſt*, they received the anſwer in Writing in her preſence, according to the Tenour hereof as followeth. Anno

The Queens Majeſties Anſwer to the Articles preſented to Her Highneſſe, by certain Gentlemen, in the Name of the whole Aſſemblie of the Church.

TO the firſt, Deſiring the Maſſe to be ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed, as well in the Head, as in the Members, with puniſhment againſt the Contraveners; As alſo, the Religion profeſſed to be eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, it was anſwered, firſt for her Majeſties part, *That her Highneſſe is no way yet perſwaded in the ſaid* Religion, *nor yet that any impiety is in the Maſſe; and therefore believeth, That her loving ſubjects will not preſſe her to receive any Religion againſt her conſcience, which ſhould be unto her a continuall trouble by remorſe of conſcience, and therewith a perpetuall unquietneſſe. And to deale plainly with her Subjects, her Majeſty neither will, nor may leave the Religion wherein ſhe hath been nouriſhed and brought up; and believeth the ſame to be well grounded; Knowing, beſides the grudge of conſcience that ſhe ſhould receive, upon the change of her owne Religion, That ſhe ſhould loſe the friendſhip of the King of* France, *the married* Allia *of this Realme, and of other great Princes her Friends and Confederates, who would take the ſame in evil part, and of whom ſhe may look for their great ſupport in all her neceſſities; And having no aſſured conſideration that may countervaile the ſame, ſhe will be loth to put in hazard all her friends at an inſtant, praying all her loving ſubjects, ſeeing they have had experience of her goodneſſe, that ſhe hath neither in times paſt, nor yet intends hereafter, to preſſe the conſcience of any, but that they may worſhip God in ſuch ſort, as they are perſwaded in their conſcience to be beſt, That they will alſo not preſſe her conſcience. As to the eſtabliſhing of Religion in the Body of the Realme, they themſelves know, as appears by their Articles, That the ſame cannot be done onely by conſent of her Majeſtie, but requires neceſſarily the conſent of the States in Parliament, and therefore ſo ſoon as the Parliament holds, thoſe things which the States agree upon amongſt themſelves, her Majeſtie ſhall conſent unto the ſame; and in the mean time ſhall make ſure, That no man be troubled for uſing Religion according to conſcience; So that no man ſhall have cauſe to doubt, That for Religions ſake mens Lives and Heritage ſhall be in any hazard.*

To the ſecond Article, it is anſwered, *That her Majeſtie thinks it no wayes reaſonable, that ſhe ſhould defraud her ſelf of ſo great a part of the Patrimony of the Crowne, as to put the Patronage of Benefices forth of her own hands; for her owne neceſſity, in bearing of her Port and common Charges, will require the retention thereof, and that in a good part, in her owne*

Anno *hands: Nevertheleſſe her Majeſtie is well pleaſed, That conſideration being had of her owne neceſsity; And what may be ſufficient for the reaſonable ſuſtentation of the Miniſters, a ſpeciall Aſſignation be made to them in places moſt commodious and meet: With which her Majeſty ſhall not meddle, but ſuffer the ſame to come to them.*

To the third Article it is anſwered, *That her Majeſtie ſhall do therein as ſhall be agreed by the States in Parliament.*

To the fourth Article, *Her Majeſties liberality towards the poore ſhall alwayes be ſo far extended, as can be reaſonably required at her hands.*

To the fifth and ſixth Articles, *Her Majeſty will refer the taking order therein, unto the States aſſembled in Parliament.*

As the Queens Majeſtie came from Saint *Johnſton*, over *Perth* to the *Callender*, ſhe was conveyed to the Water ſide of *Forth* with two hundred Spears: For at that time it was bruted, That there was ſome lying in wait at the Path of *Dron*. In the mean time the Earle of *Murray* was in *Locklevin*, and the Earle of *Argyle* with him. Now in the Callender the Lord *Levingſton* had deſired the Queens Majeſtie to be Witneſſe to the Chriſtning of a childe; For his Lady was lately delivered and brought to Bed: And when the Miniſter made the Sermon and Exhortation concerning Baptiſme, the Queens Majeſtie came in the end, and ſaid to the Lord *Levingſton*, That ſhe would ſhew him that favour that ſhe had not done to any other before; that is, That ſhe would give her preſence to the Proteſtant Sermon, which was reckoned a great matter.

The Queen being in the *Callender*, was informed both by word and Letters by falſe Brethren, That a great part of the Proteſtants of *Edinburgh* had lately convened upon Saint *Leonards Craigs*, and there made a Conſpiration againſt her; And had choſen for the ſame purpoſe, certain Captains to governe the reſt; And without any Tryall, or perfect notice taken in the Caſe, ſhe ſent to the Proveſt and Bayliffs of *Edinburgh*, commanding them to take and apprehend *Alexander Guthrie*, *Alexander Clerke*, *Gilbert Lawder*, and *Andrew Slater*, and put them in priſon in the Caſtle.

This new and unaccuſtomed faſhion of proceeding ſeemed to be very ſtrange: And becauſe the ſaid four perſons were not apprehended, ſhe ſent the next day a Charge to the Proveſt and Bayliffs, and to her owne great Treaſurer, to paſſe to the houſes of the ſaid foure men, and likewiſe to their Booths or Shops, and there to take Inventory of all their Goods and Chattells; And commanded the ſaid Treaſurer to take the Keyes of the ſaid Houſes and Booths, together with the ſaid Inventory; which was executed in effect, eſpecially upon the ſaid *Alexander Guthrie* his wife, he being then common Clerke, and one of the greateſt in eſtimation within the Towne; his wife and children were ſhut out of their houſe, and compelled to ſeek ſome other lodging in the Town.

By this manner of proceeding, the hearts of all men of ſpirit and judgement were wonderfully abaſhed and wounded, ſeeing and perceiving theſe

theſe things ſo furiouſly handled upon ſiniſter and wrong Information, men never called to their anſwer, nor heard, nor any triall taken therein. Immediatly thereafter as ſhe came to *Edinburgh*, ſhe called to counſell ſuch as pleaſed her Majeſtie, and there complains of the ſaid matter, alleadging it to be a Conſpiracy and manifeſt Treaſon. And another matter likewiſe was complained upon, That the Earle of *Argile* (as the Queen was ſurely informed) was riding with a great Army to invade the Earle of *Athole* and his Lands. For the firſt matter it was concluded by the Councell, That diligent inquiſition ſhould be made in the matter, and to that purpoſe appointed the Queens Advocates M. *John Spence* of *Condie*, and M. *Robert Crichton* to examine ſuch as they would; and when the ſaid Advocates had called before them, and examined a ſufficient number, and their depoſitions ſubſcribed and delivered to the Queen, there was nothing found worthy of death nor Treaſon; at length the ſaid four perſons were ſummoned to anſwer at Law. Anno

For the matter, That the Queens Majeſty ſhould ſend to the Earles of *Argyle* and *Athole* ſome of her Councell or familiar ſervants to take order touching it. And when the Secretary, the Juſtice *Clarke* and Lord of Saint *Colme* had paſt to the ſaid Earle of *Argyle*, they found no ſuch thing; but in *Athole* there was great fear come of a ſudden fray; for after many Proclamations, the *Fire-Croſſe* (which they made uſe of in lieu of *Beacons*) was raiſed in *Athole*.

Now as the day of the Parliament approached, the Lords pretending to conſult before, what ſhould be done, as well in Religion, as for the Commonwealth, the fifteenth day of *July* there conveened at *Sterlin* the Duke, the Earles of *Argyle* and *Murray*, *Rothes*, and other Lords and Barons, and as they were deviſing and conſulting, the Queens Majeſty taking their meeting in evill part, ſent her Advocates Maſter *John Spence* and Maſter *Crichton* to them at *Sterlin*, requiring the cauſe of their meeting; they anſwered, That the ſpeciall occaſion of their meeting was for the cauſe of Religion and the aſſurance thereof, according as they had lately written to the Queens Majeſty in *Seaton* from the town of *Edinburgh*, they deſiring then to prorogate the day.

Finally, when the ſaid Advocates could by no means perſwade them to come to *Edinburgh*, they returned again to *Edinburgh* and declared to the Queens Majeſtie according as they had found.

In the mean time the Parliament was prorogated at the Queens Majeſties command to the firſt of *September* next after following; for it was thought, That the leaſt part and principall of the chiefe Nobility being abſent, there could no Parliament be holden: at the ſame time the Queens Majeſtie perceiving that the matter was already come to a maturity and ripeneſſe, ſo that the mindes and ſecrecy of mens hearts muſt needs be diſcloſed, ſhe wrote to a great number of Lords, Barons, Gentlmen, and others that were neareſt in Fife, *Angus Lowthian*, *Mers Tevindale*, *Perth*, *Lithgow Clidſdall*, and others to reſort to her, in this forme of words hereafter following.

The

Anno

The Queens Letter.

TRuſty friend, We greet you well; we are grieved indeed by the evill bruite ſpread amongſt our Lieges, as that we ſhould have moleſted any man in the uſing of his Religion and Conſcience freely, a thing which never entred into our minde; yet ſince we perceive the too eaſie beleeving ſuch reports hath made them careleſſe, and ſo we think it becomes us to be carefull for the ſafety and preſervation of our ſtate; wherefore we pray you moſt affectionately, That with all poſſible haſt (after the receipt of this our Letter) you with your kindred, friends and whole Force, well furniſhed with Arms for Warre, be provided for, fifteen dayes after your coming, addreſſe you to come to us, to waite and attend upon us, according to our expectation and truſt in you, as you will thereby declare the good affection you bear to the maintenance of our Authoritie, and will doe us therein acceptable ſervice.

Subſcribed with Our Hand at Edinburgh, *the ſeventeenth day of* July, 1565.

THere was likewiſe Proclamation made in *Edinburgh*, That the Queen minded not the trouble, nor alter the Religion; and alſo Proclamations made in the Shires above mentioned, for the ſame purpoſe, That all Freeholders andother Gentlemen ſhould reſort (in the aforeſaid manner) to *Edinbronth*, where the Earle of *Roſſe* was made Duke of *Rotheſay*, with great triumph, the 23 day of *July*. The ſame afternoon the Queen complained grievouſly upon the Earle of *Murray* in open audience of all the Lords and Barons; and the ſame day the Bans of the Earle of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rotheſay*, and the Queens Marriage were proclaimed. About this time the Lord *Arskin* was made Earle of *Marre*. In the mean time there were divers Meſſages ſent from the Queens Majeſtie to the Lord of *Murray*, firſt, Maſter *Robert Crichton* to perſwade him by all meanes poſſible to come and reſort to the Queens Majeſtie: his anſwer was, That he would be glad to come to her ſelf, according to his bounden duty; yet for as much as ſuch perſons as were moſt privie in her company, were his capitall enemies, who alſo had conſpired his death, he could no wayes come ſo long as they were in Court.

Soon after my Lord *Erskin* and the Maſter *Maxwell* paſt to him to S. *Andrews*, rather ſuffered and permitted by the Queen, then ſent by her Highneſſe; after them the Laird of *Dun*, who was ſent by the means of the Earl of *Mar*, but all this did not prevail with him; and when all hope of his coming was paſt, an Herald was ſent to him, charging him to come to the Queens Majeſty, and anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to his charge within eight and fourty hours next after the Charge, under pain of Rebellion; and becauſe he appeared not the next day after the eight and forty hours, he was denounced Rebell, and put to the Horne. The ſame order they uſed againſt the Earle of *Argyle*, for the Queen ſaid ſhe would ſerve him and

and the reſt with the ſame meaſure they had mete to others, meaning the ſaid *Argyle*. Anno

In the mean while, as the fire was well kindled, and enflamed, all means and wayes were ſought, to ſtir up enemies againſt the chief Proteſtants that had been lately at *Sterlin*; for the Earle of *Athole* was ready bent againſt the Earle of *Argyle*: the Lord *Lindſay* againſt the Earle *Rotheſſe* in *Fyfe*, they being both Proteſtants; for they had contended now a long time for the Heir-ſhip of *Fyfe*: And that no ſuch thing ſhould be left undone, the Lord *Gordon*, who now had remained neer three yeers in priſon in *Dumbar*, was, after ſome little travell of his friends, received by the Queen; and being thus received into favour, was reſtored firſt to the Lordſhip of *Gordon*, and ſoon after to the Earldom of *Huntley*, and to all his Lands, Honours and Dignities, that he might be a bar and a party in the North to the Earle of *Murray*.

The 18 of *July*, late in the evening, neer an hour after the Suns going down, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh*, containing in effect:

The Diſpenſation being come from *Rome* for the Marriage: Before which, according to the Romiſh Law, it was unlawful to marry, being Couſin Germans, brother and ſiſters children, and ſo the degree of Conſanguinity forbidden.

THat foraſmuch as at the will and pleaſure of Almighty God, the Queen had taken to her husband a right excellent and illuſtrious Prince, Harry *Duke of* Rotheſay, *Earle of* Roſſe, *Lord* Darley, *Therefore it was her Will, That he ſhould be holden and obeyed, and reverenced as King: Commanding all Letters and Proclamations to be made in the Names of* Henry *and* Mary *in times coming*.

The next day following, at ſix hours in the morning, they were marryed in the Chappell Royall of *Halyrud-houſe*, by the Dean of *Leſtarrig*; the Queen being all clothed in Mourning: But immediately, as the Queen went to Maſſe, the King went not with her, but to his Paſtime. During the ſpace of three or four dayes, there was nothing but Balling and Dancing, and Banqueting.

In the mean time, the Earle *Rotheſſe*, the Laird of *Grange*, the Tutor *Pitcur*, with ſome Gentlemen of *Fyfe*, were put to the *Horne*, for none appearance; And immediately the Swaſh, Tabron, and Drums, were ſtricken or beaten, for men of War to ſerve the King and Queens Majeſtie, and to take their Pay. This ſudden alteration, and haſty creation of Kings, moved the hearts of a great number.

Now amongſt the people there were divers brutes; for ſome alleadged, That the cauſe of this alteration was not for Religion, but rather for hatred, envie of ſudden promotion or dignity, or ſuch worldly cauſes: But they that conſidered the progreſſe of the matter, according as is heretofore declared, thought the principall cauſe to be onely for Religion.

In this mean time, the Lords paſt to *Argyle*, taking apparantly little care of the trouble that was to come: Howbeit they ſent into *England* M. *Nicolas Elphinſton* for ſupport, who brought ſome Moneys in this Countrey, to the ſum of ten thouſand pounds *ſterlin*. There came one forth of *England* to the Queen, who got Preſence the ſeventh of *Auguſt* in *Halyrud-houſe*. He was not well, &c.

About the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, the Lords met at *Aire*, to wit, the Duke

Anno *Hamilton*, the Earles *Argile*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Rotheſſe*, the Lord *Boyd*, and *Ochiltrie*, with divers Barons and Gentlemen of *Fife* and *Kyle*, where they concluded to be in readineſſe with their whole Forces the four and twentieth day of *Auguſt*. But the King and Queene with great cerity prevented them, for their Majeſties ſent thorow *Lowthian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratherne*, *Tividaile* and *Chiddiſdaile* and other Shires, making their Proclamations in this manner, That foraſmuch as certaine Rebels, who (under colour of Religion) intended nothing but the trouble and ſubverſion of the Common-wealth, were to convene with ſuch, as they might perſwade to aſſiſt them; therefore they charged all manner of men under pain of Life, Lands, and Goods, to reſort and meet their Majeſties at *Linlithgow* the 24 day of *Auguſt*.

Note this for our time.

This Proclamation was made in *Lowthian* the third pay of the ſaid moneth. Upon Sunday the ninteenth of *Auguſt*, the King came to the high Kirke of *Edinburgh*, where *John Knox* made the Sermon; his Text was taken out of the ſix and twentieth Chapter of *Eſayas* his Propheſie, about the thirteenth Verſe, where in the words of the Prophet, he ſaid, *O Lord our God, other Lords then thou have ruled over us*. Whereupon he tooke occaſion to ſpeake of the government of wicked Princes, who for the ſinnes of the people are ſent as Tyrants and ſcourges to plague them: And amongſt other things he ſaid, That God ſets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) Boyes and women. And ſo other words which appeared bitter in the Kings ears, as, That God juſtly puniſhed *Ahab* and his Poſterity, becauſe he would not take order with that Harlot *Iezabel*. And becauſe he had tarried an hour and more, longer then the time appointed, the King (ſitting in a Throne made for that purpoſe) was ſo moved at this Sermon, that he would not Dine; and being troubled, with great fury he paſt in the afternoon to the *Hawking*.

The King, to make himſelf more popular, and to take from the Lords of the Congregation the pretext of Religion, he went to the Kirk to hear *John Knox* preach.

Immediately *John Knox* was commanded to come to the Councell, where in the Secretaries Chamber were convened the Earle of *Athole*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Secretary, the Juſtice *Clarke*, with the Advocate. There paſſed along with the Miniſter a great number of the moſt apparent men of the Towne. When he was called, the Secretary declared, That the Kings Majeſtie was offended with ſome words ſpoken in the Sermon, (eſpecially ſuch as are above rehearſed) deſiring him to abſtaine from preaching for fifteen or twenty dayes, and let Maſter *Craig* ſupply the place.

He anſwered, That he had ſpoken nothing but according to his Text, and if the Church would command him either to ſpeake or abſtain, he would obey ſo far as the Word of God would permit him.

In anſwering he ſaid more then he had preached, for he added, That as the King had (to pleaſure the Queen) gone to *Maſſe*, and diſhonoured the Lord God, ſo ſhould God in his juſtice make her an Inſtrument of his ruine; and ſo it fell out in a very ſhort time: but the Queen being incenſed with theſe words, fell out in Teares, and to pleaſe her *John Knox* muſt abſtain from preaching for a time.

Within four dayes after, the King and Queen ſent to the Councell of *Edinburgh*, commanding them to depoſe *Archibald Douglas*, and to receive the Laird *Craigmiller* for their Proveſt, which was preſently obeyed.

The

The five and twentieth of *Auguſt* the King and Queens Majeſties paſt from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*, and from thence to *Sterlin*, and from *Sterlin* to *Glaſgow*. At their firſt arrivall, their whole people were not come. The next day after their arrivall to *Glaſgow*, the Lords came to *Paiſley*, where they remained that night, being in company about one thouſand horſes. On the morrow they came to *Hamilton*, keeping the high paſſage from *Paiſley* hard by *Glaſgow*, where the King and Queen eaſily might behold them. The night following, which was the *penult* of *Auguſt*, they remained in *Hamilton* with their Company; but for divers reſpects moving them, they thought it not expedient to tarry; eſpecially, becauſe the Earle of *Argyle* was not come; for his Diet was not afore the ſecond of *September* following, to have been at *Hamilton*. Finally, they took purpoſe to come to *Edinburgh*, the which they did the next day. And albeit *Alexander Areskin*, Captain under the Lord his brother, cauſed to ſhoot forth of the Caſtle two Shot of Cannon, they being neer the Towne; And likewiſe that the Laird *Craigmiller* Proveſt, did his endeavour to hold the Lords forth of the Towne, in cauſing the common Bells to be rung, for the convening of the Towne, to the effect aforeſaid, yet they entred eaſily at the Weſt Port or Gate, without any moleſtation or impediment, being in number, as they eſteemed themſelves, one thouſand three hundred Horſes. Immediately they diſpatched Meſſengers Southward and Northward to aſſiſt them; but all in vain: And immediately after they were in their Lodgings, they cauſed to ſtrike or beat the Drum, deſiring all ſuch men as would receive Wages for the defence of the Glory of God, That they ſhould reſort the day following to the Church, where they ſhould receive good Pay: But they profited little that way; neither could they in *Edinburgh* get any comfort or ſupport, for none or few reſorted unto them; yet they got more reſt and ſleep when they were at *Edinburgh*, then they had done in five or ſix nights before. Anno

The Noble-men of this Company were, The Duke, The Earles *Murray*, *Glencarne*, and *Rotheſſe*; The Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltrie*; The Lairds of *Grange*, *Cunningham-head*, *Balcomie*, and *Lavers*; The Tutor of *Pitcur*; The Lairds of *Barr*, *Carmell*, and *Dreghorn*; And the Laird of *Pittarow* Comptroller, went with them: Some ſaid merrily, That they were come to keepe the Parliament, for the Parliament was continued till the firſt day of *September*: Upon the which day they wrote to the King and Queens Majeſties a Letter, containing in effect, That albeit they were perſecuted moſt unjuſtly, which they underſtood proceeded not of the King and Queens Majeſties own Nature, but onely by evil Counſell, yet notwithſtanding they were willing and content to ſuffer according to the Lawes of the Realm, providing that the true Religion of God might be eſtabliſhed, and the dependants thereupon be likewiſe reformed: Beſeeching their Majeſties moſt humbly to grant theſe things: But otherwiſe, if their enemies would ſeek their blood, they ſhould underſtand, It ſhould be dear bought. They had written twice, almoſt to the ſame effect, to the King and Queens Majeſties, after their paſſing from *Edinburgh*; for the

Anno Laird of *Preſton* preſented a Letter to the King and Queens Majeſtie, and was therefore impriſoned, but ſoon after releaſed; nevertheleſſe they got no anſwer. The ſame day that they departed out of *Hamilton*, the King and Queens Majeſties iſſued out of *Glaſgow* in the morning betimes: And paſſing towards *Hamilton*, the Army met their Majeſties neer the Bridge of *Cadder*: As they muſtered, the Maſter of *Maxwell* ſate downe upon his knees, and made a long Oration to the Queen, declaring what pleaſure ſhe had done to them, and ever laid the whole burden upon the Earle *Murray*. Soon after, they marched forward in Battell aray: The Earle of *Lenox* took the Van-guard, the Earle of *Mortoun* the middle Battell, and the King and Queen the Reere: The whole number were about five thouſand men, whereof the greateſt part were in the Van-guard.

As the King and Queens Majeſties were within three miles of *Hamilton*, they were advertiſed that the Lords were departed in the morning; but where they pretended to be that night, it was uncertain: Alwayes ſoon after their returne to *Glaſgow*, the King and Queen were certainly advertiſed, That they were paſt to *Edinburgh*; and therefore cauſed immediately to warne the whole Army to paſſe with them to *Edinburgh* the next day; who early in the morning, long before the Sun was riſen, began to march: But there aroſe ſuch a vehement Tempeſt of winde and raine from the Weſt, as the like had not been ſeen before in a long time; ſo that a little brook, turned incontinent into a great River; and the raging ſtorme being in their face, with great difficulty went they forward: And albeit the moſt part waxed weary, yet the Queens courage encreaſed man-like ſo much, that ſhe was ever with the foremoſt. There was divers perſons drowned that day in the water of *Carren*; and amongſt others, the Kings Maſter, a notable Papiſt, who for the zeal he bare to the Maſſe, carried about his neck a round god of bread, well cloſed in a Caſe, which alwayes could not ſerve him.

Before the end of *Auguſt*, there came a poſt to the Queens Majeſtie, ſent by *Alexander Areskin*, who declared, That the Lords were in the Town of *Edinburgh*, where there was a multitude of innocent perſons, and therefore deſired to know if he ſhould ſhoot. She commanded incontinent that he ſhould return again to the ſaid *Alexander*, and command him, in her name, That he ſhould ſhoot ſo long as he had either Powder or Bullet, and not ſpare for any body.

At night, the King and Queen came well wet to the *Callender*, where they remained that night, and about eight hours at night, the firſt of *September*, the Poſt came again to the Caſtle, and reported the Queenes Command to *Alexander Areskin*, who incontinently cauſed to ſhoot ſix or ſeven ſhot of Cannon, whereof the marks appeared, having reſpect to no reaſon, but onely to the Queens Command.

The Lords perceiving that they could get no ſupport in *Edinburgh*, nor Souldiers for money, albeit they had travelled all that they could; and

and being advertiſed of the Queens returning with her whole Company, they took purpoſe to depart: And ſo the next day betimes, long before day, they departed with their whole Company, and came to *Lanrik*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, where the Maſter of *Maxwell* came to them, with his Uncle the Laird of *Dunlanrick*. And after conſultation, the ſaid Maſter wrote to the Queens Majeſty, That being required by the Lords as he was paſſing homeward, he could not refuſe to come to them; and after that he had given them counſell to diſperſe their Army, they thought it expedient to paſſe to *Dumfreis* to repoſe them, where they would conſult and make their Officers, and ſend to their Majeſties: And thus beſeeching their Majeſties to take this in good part. The Town of *Edinburgh* ſent two of the Councell of the Town to make their excuſe. Anno

The next day the King and Queen paſt to *Sterlin*, and ſent to *Edinburgh*, and cauſed a Proclamation to be made, commanding all men to returne to *Glaſgow*, where having remained three or four dayes: And underſtanding that the Lords were paſt to *Dumfreis*, they returned to *Sterlin*, and from thence to *Fyfe*; And in their paſſage, cauſed to take in Caſtle *Campbell*, which was delivered without impediment to the Lord of *Sanquhar*.

Before the King and Queen went out of *Sterlin*, there came from *Edinburgh* two Enſignes of Foot-men, to convey them into *Fyfe*. In the mean time the Burroughs were taxed in great Sums unaccuſtomed, for the payment of theſe Souldiers: Farther, there was raiſed divers Troops of Horſe-men, to the number of five or ſix hundred Horſe. The Souldiers had taken two poor men that had received the Lords wages; which two men being accuſed and convinced of, at the Queens Command, were hanged at *Edinburgh*, the third day after the Lords departing.

At this time, M. *James Balfour*, Parſon of *Flesk*, had gotten all the guiding in the Court. The third day after the Queens coming to *Fyfe*, the whole Barons and Lairds of *Fyfe*, convoyed her Majeſtie, till ſhe came to S. *Andrewes*, where the ſaid Lairds and Barons, eſpecially the Proteſtants, were commanded to ſubſcribe to a Band, containing in effect, That they obliged themſelves to defend the King and Queens Perſons, againſt Engliſhmen and Rebells: And in caſe they ſhould come to *Fyfe*, they ſhould reſiſt them to their utmoſt power; Which Charge every man obeyed.

The ſecond night after the Queens coming to S. *Andrews*, ſhe ſent a Band or Troop of Horſe-men, and another of Foot, to *Lundie*, and at midnight took out the Laird, being a man of 80 yeers old: Then they paſt to *Fawſide*, and took likewiſe *Thomas Scot*, and brought him to Saint *Andrewes*, where they, with the Laird of *Bazard*, and ſome others, were commanded to priſon. This manner of handling and uſage being onkend and ſtrange, were heavily ſpoken of, and a great terrour to others, who thought themſelves warned of greater ſeverity to come.

In the mean time the houſes of the Earles of *Murray*, *Rotheſſe*, and the houſes of divers Gentlemen, were given in keeping to ſuch as the Queen pleaſed, after that their children and ſervants had been caſt out.

Anno

At the ſame time the Duke, the Earls of *Glencarne* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Boyd* and *Uchiltrie*, with the Lord of *Cunningham-head*, and the reſt, were charged to come and preſent themſelves in S. *Andrews*, before the King and Queens Majeſties, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge, within ſix dayes, under the pain of Rebellion: And the day being expired, and they not appearing, were denounced Rebells, and put to the Horne.

As the Queen remained in Saint *Andrews*, the inhabitants of *Dundie*, being ſore afraid, becauſe of ſome evil report made of them to the Queen, as if they had troubled the Queen, in ſeeking men of War, and ſuffered ſome to be raiſed in their Town for the Lords; for there was nothing done in *Dundie*, but it was revealed to the Queen; eſpecially that the Miniſter had received a Letter from the Lords, and delivered the ſame to the Brethren, perſwading them to aſſiſt the Lords; which being granted by the Miniſter, the Queen remitted it. After great travell and ſupplication made by ſome Noble-men, at length, the King and Queen being in the Town, they agreed for two thouſand marks, five or ſix of the principall left out, with ſome others, that were put to their ſhift. After the King and Queen had remained two nights in the Towne of *Dundie*, they came to S. *Andrews*; and ſoon after, they came over *Forth*, and ſo to *Edinburgh*. During this time, the Maſter of *Maxwell* wrote to the King and Queen, making offers for and in the name of the Lords.

The next day after the King and Queens coming to *Edinburgh*, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Croſſe: And becauſe the ſame is very notable, I thought good to inſert it here word by word, albeit it be ſomewhat long.

HEnry and *Mary*, By the Grace of God, King and Queen of *Scots*; To all and ſundry Our Lieges and Subjects whom it may concerne, and to whoſe knowledge theſe Letters ſhall come, Greeting.

Foraſmuch as in this Uprore lately raiſed up againſt us, by certaine Rebels; and their aſſiſtants, the authors thereof (to blinde the eyes of the ſimple people) have given them to underſtand, That the quarrell they have in hand is onely Religion, thinking with that cloke to cover their ungodly deſignes, and ſo, under that plauſible argument, to draw after them a large train of ignorant perſons, eaſie to be ſeduced. Now for the preſervation of our good Subjects, whoſe caſe were to be pitied, if they blindely ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be induced and trapped in ſo dangerous a ſnare, it hath pleaſed the goodneſſe of God, by the utterance of their own mouthes and writings to us, to diſcover the poyſon that before lay hid in their hearts, albeit to all perſons of cleer judgment the ſame was evident enough before: For what other thing [*is this, but to diſſolve the whole Policy, and in a manner to invert the very order*] might move the principal raiſers of this tumult to put themſelves in Arms againſt us ſo unnaturally, upon whom we had beſtowed ſo many benefits; But that the great honor we did them, they being thereof unworthy, made them miſknow themſelves; and their ambition could not be ſatisfied with heaping riches upon riches, & honor upon honor, unleſſe they retain in their hands

Note how this agrees with our times.

us

us, and our whole Realme to be led, uſed, and diſpoſed at their pleaſure. But this could not the multitude have perceived, if God (for diſcloſing their Hypocriſie) had not compelled them to utter their unreaſonable deſire to Governe; for now by Letters ſent from themſelves to us, which make plain profeſſion, that the eſtabliſhing of Religion will not content them, but we muſt be forced to govern by Councell, ſuch, as it ſhall pleaſe them to appoint us; a thing ſo farre beyond all meaſure, that we thinke the onely mention of ſo unreaſonable a demand is ſufficient to make their neareſt Kinsfolks their moſt mortall enemies, and all men to run on them without further ſcruple, that are zealous to have their native Countrey to remain ſtill in the ſtate of a Kingdome: For what other thing is this, but to diſſolve the whole policie, and (in a manner) to invert the very order of nature, to make the Prince obey, and Subjects command. The like was never demanded by any of our moſt Noble Progenitors heretofore, yea, not of Governours and Regents; but the Prince and ſuch as have filled their place choſe their Councell of ſuch as they thought moſt fit for the purpoſe. When we our ſelves were of leſſe age, and at our firſt returning into this our Realme, we had free choice of our Councell at our pleaſure, and now when we are at our full maturity, ſhall we be brought back to the ſtate of Pupills, and be put under Tutory? So long as ſome of them bore the whole ſway with us, this matter was never called in queſtion; but now when they cannot be longer permitted to do and undoe all at their pleaſure, they will put a Bridle into our mouthes, and give us a Councell choſen after their fantaſie. This is the quarrell of Religion they made you beleeve they had in hand, This is the quarrell for which they would have you hazzard your Lands, Lives and goods, in the company of a certain number of Rebels againſt your naturall Prince. To ſpeak in good language, they would be Kings themſelves, or at the leaſt leaving to us the bare Name and Title, and take to themſelves the credit and whole adminiſtration of the Kingdome.

Anno

Let this be conferred with our times.

Note diligently

We have thought good to make publication hereof, to ſhew, that you ſuffer not your ſelves to be deceived under pretence of Religion, to follow them, who prefering their particular advancement to the publike tranquilitie; and having no care of you, in reſpect of themſelves, would (if you would hearken to their voice) draw you after them, to your utter deſtruction. Aſſuring you that you have heretofore good experience of our clemency, and under our Wings enjoyed in peace the poſſeſſion of your Goods, and lived at liberty of your Conſcience, ſo may you be in full aſſurance of the like hereafter, and have us alwayes your good and loving Princes to ſo many as ſhall continue your ſelves in due obedience, and do the office of faithfull and naturall Subjects.

Given under our Signet at Saint Andrews *the tenth of December, and of our Reignes the firſt and twentie three years.* 1565.

Now

Anno

NOw the Lords deſired, next the eſtabliſhing of Religion, That the Queens Majeſty, in all the Affairs of the Realme and Commonwealth, ſhould uſe the counſell and advice of the Nobility, and ancient blood of the ſame; whereas in the mean time the Councell of *David* and *Franciſco* the *Italians*, with *Fowler* the Engliſhman, and Maſter *James Balfour* Parſon of *Fliſk*, was preferred before all others, ſave onely the Earle of *Athole*, who was thought to be a man of groſſe judgement, but nevertheleſſe in all things given to pleaſe the Queen. It was now finally come to this point, that in ſtead of Law, Juſtice and equity, onely Will ruled in all things; there was thorow all the Countie ſet out a Proclamation in the King and Queens names, commanding all perſons to come and meet them at *Sterlin* the firſt day of *October* following, with twenty dayes proviſion, under pain of life, lands and goods. It was uncertain whether their Majeſties intended to paſſe from *Sterlin* or not, and I beleeve the principall men knew not well at that time; for a report was, That by reaſon the Caſtles of *Hamilton* and *Draffen* were kept Fortified and Victualled at the Dukes command, that they would paſſe to ſiege the ſaid houſes, & give them ſome ſhot of a Canon; others ſaid, They would paſſe towards my L. of *Argile*, who had his people alwayes armed, whereof his neighbours were afraid, eſpecially the Inhabitants of *Athole* and *Lenox*; but at length it was concluded that they ſhould paſſe to *Dumfreis*, as ſhall be declared.

During this time there were Propoſitions made continually to the King and Queen, by the Lords, deſiring alwayes their Majeſties moſt humbly to receive them into their hands: Their Articles tended continually to theſe two Heads, *viz.* To aboliſh the *Maſſe*, root out Idolatry, and Eſtabliſh the true Religion, And that they and the affaires of the Realm ſhould be governed by the advice and counſell of the true Nobility of the ſame; offering themſelves and their cauſe to be tried by the Lawes of the Countrey. Yet nothing could be accepted nor taken in good part, albeit the Maſter of *Maxwell* laboured by all meanes to redreſſe the matter, who alſo entertained the Lords moſt honourably in *Dumfreis*, for he had the government of all that Countrey. But he himſelf incurred the Queens wrath ſo, that he was ſummoned to preſent himſelf and appear before the King and Queens Majeſties, after the ſame form that the reſt of the Lords were charged with, and alſo commanded to give over the Houſe of *Lochmabben*, and the Caſtle which he had in keeping for the Queen. And albeit he obeyed not, yet was he not put to the Horne, as the reſt. Nevertheleſſe there was no man that doubted of his good will and partaking with the Lords, who in the mean time ſent *Robert Melvin* to the Queen of *England*, and declared their ſtate to her Majeſty, deſiring ſupport.

Now the chief care and ſolicitude that was in the Court, was, By what means they might come to have money, for notwithſtanding this great preparation for warre, and eminent appearance of trouble, yet were they deſtitute of the ſinewes of Warre; albeit the Treaſurers, and now Comptroller, to wit, the Laird of *Tilbardin*, had diſburſed many thouſands; yet there was no appearance of payment of ſouldiers, nor ſcarcely how the King and Queens Houſes and pompous Trains ſhould be upholden; there

was

was about 600. Horſmen, beſides the Guard and 3. Enſignes of footmen. The charge of the whole would amount to 1000. l. *ſter.* every moneth; a thing ſurpaſſing the uſuall manner of *Scotland.* At this time arrived the Earl of *Bothwell*, who was welcome, and graciouſly received by the Queen, and immediately placed in Councell, and made Lieutenant of the Weſt and middle Marches. Now as every one of the Barons compounded to be exempted from this meeting; the E. of *Athole* demanded of *Edinburgh* 200. l. *ſter.* but they refuſed to pay it; notwithſtanding *Octo.* 27. there was a certain number of the principall and rich perſons of the Town warned by a Macer to paſſe to the Palace of *Hallyrudhouſe* to the King and Queen, who declared to them by their own mouthes, ſpeaking that they had uſe for money, and therefore knowing them to be honeſt men and the inhabitants of the beſt Citie in their Countrey, they muſt needs charge them; and for ſecurity they ſhould have other men bound for pledges, or any Hand therefore. The ſum that they deſired was 1000 l. *ſterl.* and no leſſe. They being aſtoniſhed, made no anſwer; but Parſon *Fliſk* ſtanding by, ſaid, That ſeeing the King and Queens Majeſties deſired them ſo civilly, in a thing moſt lawfull in their neceſſitie, they did ſhew themſelves not honeſt to keepe ſilence and give no anſwer to their Majeſties, for that muſt needs be had of them which was required; and if they would not, they ſhould be conſtrained by the Laws, which they would not abide; for ſome of them had deſerved hanging (ſaid he) becauſe they had lent large ſumms of money to the King and Queens enemies, and Rebels; and therefore they muſt ſhortly ſuffer great puniſhment. Soon after they were called in one by one, and demanded how much they would lend? ſome made this excuſe, and ſome that, by reaſon there were that offered to lend money; amongſt whom there was one offered to lend 20 l. To him the Earle of *Athole* ſaid, Thou art worthy to be hanged that ſpeakeſt of 20 l. ſeeing the Princes charge thee ſo eaſily. Finally, they were all impriſoned, and ſouldiers ſet over them, having their Muskets ready charged, and their Match lighted, even in the houſe with them, where they remained all that night, and the next day till night; and then being changed from one priſon to another, there were ſix choſen out and ſent in the night to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, convoyed with Musketteers round about them, as if they had been Murtherers or moſt vile perſons. At length (the third day) by means of the Laird of *Craigmiller* Proveſt, and ſome others, the ſumme was made more eaſie, to wit, a 1000 Marks *ſterling*, to be paid immediately, and to have the ſuperioritie of *Leithin* in Pledge (to wit) upon condition of Redemption. And beſides the ſaid ſumme of 1000 Marks *ſterlin* they paid 1000 l. *ſterl.* For the meeting at *Dumfreis* at the day appointed, for electing the officers, the Queen ſent in a Ticket ſuch as ſhe would have them to chuſe for Proveſt, Bailiffs, and Councell, whereof there was a number of Papiſts, the reſt not worthy. Of the number given in by the Queen, they named ſuch as ſhould rule for that year; Notwithſtanding without free Election, the Laird *Craigmiller*, remained Proveſt, who ſhewed himſelf moſt willing to ſet forward Religion, to puniſh vice, and to maintain the Common-wealth. All this time the Miniſters cried out againſt the *Maſſe* and ſuch Idolatry, for it was more advanced by the Queen then before.

Anno

So was the Citie of *London* for warre againſt *Scotland*, vexed for the leavie of mony

Anno The firſt day of *October* met in *Edinburgh* the Superintendant of *Lothian*, with all the Miniſters under his charge, according to their ordinary cuſtome; for every Superintendant uſed to convene the whole Miniſtery, and there it was complained on, That they could get no payment of their ſtipends, not only about the City, but thorow the whole Realm. Therefore after reaſoning and conſultation taken, they framed a ſupplication directed to the King and Queen, and immediately preſented the ſame to their Majeſties by M. *John Spottſwood* Superintendant of *Lothian*, and Maſter *David Lindſey* Miniſter of *Leith*; it contained in effect, That foraſmuch as it had pleaſed the King and Queens Majeſties (with advice of the Privie Councell) to grant unto the Miniſters of the Word their ſtipends to be taken of the Thirds of the Benefices, which Stipends are now detained from the ſaid Miniſters by reaſon of the troubles and changing of the Comptroller, whereby they are not able to live; and therefore moſt humbly craved the King and Queens Majeſty to cauſe them to be paid. Their anſwer was, That they would cauſe order to be taken therin to their contentment. Soon after the Lord *Gordion* came to *Edinburgh*, and left the moſt part of his people at *Sterlin* with his carriage; the King and Queen for hope of his good ſervice to be done, reſtored him to his Fathers place, to the Earledome of *Hintley*, the Lands and Heritage thereof. *October* 8. the King and Queene marched forth of *Edinburgh* towards *Dumfreis*, and as they paſſed from the Pallace of *Hallyrud-houſe* all men were warned with Jack and Spear. The firſt night they came to *Sterlin*, and the next to *Craford*; the day after the Lairds of *Drunlaurick* and *Lochinvar*, met the Queen, albeit they had been with the Lords familiar enough. The Lords perceiving, that all hope of reconciliation was paſt, they rode to *Ednam*, where they remained till the Queen came to *Dumfreis*, and then they paſt to *Carlile*. Now the Maſter of *Maxwell*, who had entertained the Lords familiarly, and ſubſcribed with them, and had ſpoken as highly againſt their enemies as any of themſelves, and had received large mony by that means, to wit, 1000. l. to raiſe a Band or Troup of Horſmen; and that the ſame day the King and Queen came to *Dumfreis*; the third day after their coming he came to them, conveyed by the Earle *Bothwell*, with divers other Noblemen. At length the Earles of *Athole* and *Hintley* were Sureties for him, and all things paſt remitted, upon condition, that he ſhould be a faithfull and obedient ſubject hereafter. The ſame day they made Muſters, the next day the Army was diſperſed, being about 18000. men; the King and Queen paſt to *Lothinaben*, where the Maſter of *Maxwell* gave a Banquet, and then forthwith marched to *Tueddall*, ſo to *Peblis*, and then to *Edinburgh*.

The beſt and chief part of the Nobility of this Realme, who alſo were the principall Inſtruments of the Reformation of Religion, and therefore were called the Lords of the Congregation, in manner above rehearſed, were baniſhed and chaſed into *England*; they were courteouſly received and entertained by the Earle of *Bedford* Lieutenant, upon the Borders of *England*. Soon after the Earle of *Murray* took Poſt towards *London*, leaving the reſt of the Lords at *Newcaſtle*; every man ſuppoſed that the Earle of *Murray* ſhould have been graciouſly received of the Queen of *England*, and that he ſhould have gotten ſupport according to his hearts deſire; but farre beyond

Note diligently

beyond his expectation, he could get no audience of the Queen of *England*: But by means of the French Ambaſſadour, called Monſieur *de Four*, his true friend, he obtained audience. The Queen, with a fair countenance, demanded, How he, being a Rebell to her ſiſter of *Scotland*, durſt take the boldneſſe upon him to come within her Realm? Theſe and the like words got he, inſtead of the good and courteous entertainment expected. Finally, after private diſcourſe, the Ambaſſadour being abſent, ſhe refuſed to give the Lords any ſupport, denying plainly that ever ſhe had promiſed any ſuch thing as to ſupport them, ſaying, She never meant any ſuch thing in that way; albeit her greateſt familiars knew the contrary. In the end, the Earle of *Murray* ſaid to her, *Madame, whatſoever thing your Majeſtie meant in your heart, we are thereof ignorant; but thus much we know aſſuredly, That we had lately faithfull promiſes of ayd and ſupport by your Ambaſſadour, and familiar ſervants, in your name: And further, we have your owne hand-writing; confirming the ſaid promiſes.* And afterward he took his leave, and came North-ward from *London*, towards *Newcaſtle*.

Anno

Note diligently Qu. *Elizabeth.*

After the Earle of *Murray* his departure from the Court, the Queen ſent them ſome ayd, and writ unto the Queen of *Scotland* in their favour: Whether ſhe had promiſed it in private to the Earle of *Murray*, or whether ſhe repented her of the harſh reception of the Earle of *Murray*.

Here mark either deep diſſimulation, or a great inconſtancy.

At this time *David Rizio* Italian, began to be higher exalted, inſomuch as there was no matter or thing of importance done without his advice. And during this time, the faithfull within this Realme were in great fear, looking for nothing but great trouble and perſecution to be ſhortly. Yet Supplications and Interceſſions were made thorowout all the Congregations, eſpecially for ſuch as were afflicted and baniſhed, That it would pleaſe God to give them patience, comfort, and conſtancy; and this eſpecially was done at *Edinburgh*, where *John Knox* uſed to call them that were baniſhed, The beſt part of the Nobility, Chiefe Members of the Congregation: Whereof the Courtiers being advertiſed, they took occaſion to revile and bewray his ſayings, alleadging, He prayed for the Rebels, and deſired the people to pray for them likewiſe. The Laird of *Lethington* chief Secretary, in preſence of the King and Queens Majeſties and Councell, confeſſed that he heard the Sermons, and ſaid, There was nothing at that time ſpoken by the Miniſter, whereat any man need to be offended: And further, declared plainly, That by the Scripture it was lawfull to pray for all men.

In the end of *November*, the Lords with their complices, were ſummoned to appear the fourth day of *February*, for Treaſon, and *leſe Majeſtie*: But in the mean time, ſuch of the Nobility as had profeſſed the Evangell of Chriſt, and had communicate with the Brethren at the Lords Table, were ever longer the more ſuſpected by the Queen, who began to declare her ſelf in the Months of *November* and *December*, to be maintainer of the Papiſts; for at her pleaſure, the Earles of *Lenox*, *Athole*,

Anno *Athole*, and *Caſſels*, with divers others, without any diſſimulation known, went to the Maſſe openly in her Chappell: Yet nevertheleſſe the Earles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* went not to Maſſe, albeit they were in great favour with the Queen. As for the King, he paſt his time in Hunting and Hawking, and ſuch other pleaſures as were agreeable to his appetite, having in his company Gentlemen willing to ſatisfie his will and affections.

About this time, in the beginning of as the Court remained at *Edinburgh*, the baniſhed Lords by all means poſſible, by writings and their friends, made ſuit and means to the King and Queens Majeſties, to be received into favour.

At this time the Abbot of *Kylwinning* came from *Newcaſtle* to *Edinburgh*, and after he had gotten audience of the King and Queen, with great difficulty he got Pardon for the Duke, and his friends and ſervants, upon this Condition, That he ſhould paſſe into *France*; which he did ſoon after.

The five and twentieth of December convened in *Edinburgh* the Commiſſioners of the Churches within this Realme for the generall aſſemblie, There aſſiſted to them the Earles of *Morton* and *Marre*, the Lord *Lindſay*, and Secretary *Lethington*, with ſome Barons and Gentlemen. The principall things that were agreed and concluded, were, That foraſmuch as the Maſſe, with ſuch Idolatry, and Papiſticall Ceremonies, were ſtill maintained, expreſly againſt the Act of Parliament, and the Proclamations made at the Queens Arrivall; And that the Queen had promiſed that ſhe would hear Conference and Diſputation; That the Church therefore offered to prove by the Word of God, That the Doctrine preached within this Realme was according to the Scriptures; and that the Maſſe, with all the Papiſticall Doctrine, was but the invention of men, and meer Idolatry.

Secondly, That by reaſon of the change of the Comptroller, who had put in new Collectors, forbidding them to deliver any thing to the Miniſtry, and by theſe means the Miniſtry was like to decay and fail, contrary to the Ordinance made in the yeer of God 1562. in favour and ſupport of the Miniſtery. During this time, as the Papiſts flocked to *Edinburgh* for making Court, ſome of them that had been Friers, as black *Abercrommy* and *Roger*, preſented ſupplication to the Queens Majeſty, deſiring in effect, That they might be permitted to preach; which was eaſily granted. The noyſe was further, That they offered Diſputation: For as the Court ſtood, they thought they had a great advantage already, by reaſon they knew the King to be of their Religion, as well as the Queen, with ſome part of the Nobility, who with the King after declared themſelves openly: And eſpecially the Queen was governed by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Athole*; but in matters moſt weighty, and of greateſt importance, by *David Rizio* the Italian afore mentioned, who went under the name of the French Secretary; by whoſe means, all grave matters, of what weight ſoever, muſt paſſe; providing always, That his hands were anoynted. In the mean time he was a manifeſt enemy to the Evangell, and therefore a greater enemy to the baniſhed Lords. And at this time, the principall Lords that waited at Court were divided in opinions; For the Earle of *Morton* Chancellor, with the Earle of *Marr*,

Marr, and Secretary *Lethington*, were on the one part; and the Earles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* on the other part, ſo that a certain dryneſſe was amongſt them; nevertheleſſe, by means of the Earle of *Athole*, they were reconciled. Now as there was preparation made by the Papiſts for Chriſtmas, the Queen being then at Maſſe, the King came publikely, and bare company; and the Friers Preached the dayes following, alwayes uſing another ſtile then they had done ſeven yeers before, during which time they had not Preached publikely: they were ſo little eſteemed, that they continued not long in Preaching. Anno

At the ſame time convened in *Edinburgh* the generall Aſſembly of the Miniſters, and Commiſſioners of the Churches Reformed within this Realme: There aſſiſted them of the Nobility, the Earles of *Merton* and *Marr*, the Lord *Lindſay*, and Secretary *Lethington*, with others. The chief things that were concluded in this Aſſembly, were, That for the avoyding of the plagues and ſcourges of God which appeared to come upon the people for their ſins and ingratitude, there ſhould be proclaimed by the Miniſters a publike Faſt, to be Univerſally obſerved thorowout all the Reformed Churches; which manner of Faſting was ſoon after deviſed by *John Knox*, at the Command of the Church, and put in Print, wherefore needs not here to be recited in this place. What followed upon the ſaid Faſt, ſhall be plainly, God willing, declared. The ſecond thing that was ordained in this Aſſembly, was, concerning the Miniſters, who for want of payment of their ſtipends, were like to periſh, or elſe to leave their Miniſtry: wherefore it was found neceſſary, That ſupplication ſhould be made to the King and Queens Majeſties; And for the ſame purpoſe, a certain number of the moſt able men were elected to go to their Majeſties aforeſaid, to lament and bemone their caſe; Which perſons had Commiſſion to propoſe ſome other things, as ſhall be declared. The names of them that paſt from the Church to the King and Queens Majeſties, were, M. *John Spotſwood*, Superintendent of *Lowthian*; *John Winrame*, Superintendent of *Fyfe*; M. *John Row*, Miniſter of *Perth*; M. *David Lyndſay*, Miniſter of *Leith*, who eaſily obtained audience of the King and Queens Majeſties: And after their reverence done, M. *John Row*, in name of the reſt, opened the matter, lamenting & bewailing the miſerable ſtate of the poor Miniſters, who by publike command had been reaſonably ſatisfied three yeers or more, by vertue of the Act made with advice of the honorable Privie Councell, for the taking up of the Thirds of the Benefices, which was eſpecially made in their favours: Nevertheleſſe the Laird of *Tillibardin*, new Comptroller, would anſwer them nothing: Wherefore they beſought their Majeſties for relief. Secondly, ſeeing that in all Supplications made to the King and Queens Majeſties by the Church at all times, they deſired moſt earneſtly that all Idolatry and ſuperſtition, and eſpecially the Maſſe, ſhould be rooted out and aboliſhed quite out of this Realme; And that in the laſt generall Aſſembly of the Church, by their Commiſſioners, they had moſt earneſtly deſired the ſame; And that their anſwer was then, That they knew no impediment in the Maſſe; therefore the Aſſembly deſired, That it might pleaſe their Highneſſes to hear Diſputation, to the end that ſuch as now pretend to Preach in the Chappell Royall, and maintain

At the end of this Book you ſhall finde this.

Anno ſuch errours; the Truth being tryed by diſputation, that they might be known to be abuſers, ſubmitting themſelves alwayes to the Word of God written in the Scriptures. To this it was anſwered by the Queen, That ſhe was alwayes minded that the Miniſters ſhould be paid their Stipends; and if there was any fault therein, the ſame came by ſome of their own ſort, meaning the Comptroller *Pittarow*, who had the handling of the Thirds: Alwayes by the advice of her Councell ſhe ſhould cauſe ſuch order to be taken therein, that none ſhould have occaſion to complain. As to the ſecond, She would not jeopard her Religion upon ſuch as were there preſent; for ſhe knew well enough that the Proteſtants were more learned.

The Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Churches perceiving nothing but delay, and driving off time, in the old manner, went home every one to their own Churches, waiting upon the good providence of God, continually making Supplication unto Almighty God, that it would pleaſe him of his mercy to remove the apparant plague. And in the mean time the Queen was buſied with Banqueting about with ſome of the Lords of the Seſſion of *Edinburgh*, and after with all men of Law, having continually in her company *David Rizio*, who ſate at Table neer to her ſelf, ſometimes more privately then became a man of his Condition, for his over-great familiarity was already ſuſpected; and it was thought, That by his advice alone the Queens ſharpneſſe and extremity towards the Lords was maintained.

In the end of *January* arrived an Ambaſſadour from *France*, named Monſieur *Rambullet*, having with him about fourty Horſe in Trayn, who came thorow *England*: He brought with him the Order of the Cockle from the King of *France*, to the King, who received the ſame at the Maſſe, in the Chappell of the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*. There aſſiſted the Earles of *Lenox*, *Athole*, and *Eglington*, with divers ſuch other Papiſts as would pleaſe the Queen, who three dayes after cauſed the Herald to convene in Councell, and reaſoned what Armes ſhould be given to the King; ſome thought he ſhould have the Armes of *Scotland*; ſome others ſaid, Seeing it was not concluded in Parliament that he ſhould have the Crown Matrimoniall, he could have Armes but onely as Duke of *Rotheſay*, Earle of *Roſſe*, *&c.* The Queen bade give him onely his due; whereby it was perceived her love waxed cold towards him. Finally, his Arms were left blank; and the Queen cauſed put her own name before her huſbands in all Wrets; and thereafter ſhe cauſed to leave out his name wholly: And becauſe formerly he had ſigned every thing of any moment, ſhe cauſed to make a Seale like the Kings, and gave it to *David Rizio*, who made uſe of it by the Queens Command, alleadging, That the King being at his Paſtime, could not alwayes be preſent.

About the ſame time the Earle of *Glencarne* came from *Barwicke* to his owne Countrey. Soon after, the Earle of *Bothwell* was married unto the Earle of *Huntley* his ſiſter. The Queene deſired that the Marriage might be made in the Chappell at the Maſſe; which the Earle *Bothwell* would in no wiſe grant. Upon Sunday the third day of *March*, began the Faſting at *Edinburgh*. The ſeventh day of *March*, the Queen

Queen came from the Pallace of *Hallirud-houſe* to the Town in wondrous gorgious apparell, albeit the number of Lords and Train was not very great. In the mean time the King accompanied with ſeven or eight horſe, went to the *Leith* to paſſe his time there, for hee was not like to get the Crown Matrimôniall. Anno

In the Tolbooth was deviſed and named the Heads of the Articles that were drawn againſt the baniſhed Lords; Upon the morrow and Saturday following, there was great reaſoning concerning the Attainder; ſome alleadged, That the Summons was was not well Libelled or Dreſſed; others thought the matter of Treaſon was not ſufficiently proved; and indeed they were ſtill ſeeking proof, for there was no other way but the Queen would have them all attainted albeit the time was very ſhort; the twelfth day of *March* ſhould have been the day, which was the Tueſday following.

Now the matter was ſtayed by a marvellous Tragedy, for by the Lords (upon the Saturday before, which was the ninth of *March*, about Supper-time) *David Rizio* the *Italian*, named the *French Secretary*, was ſlain in the Gallery below Stairs (the King ſtaying in the room with the Queen, told her, That the Deſigne was onely to take order with that Villain) after that he had been taken violently from the Queens preſence, who requeſted moſt earneſtly for the ſaving of his life; which act was done by the Earle of *Morton*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Lord *Lindſay* the Maſter of *Ruthven*, with divers other Gentlemen. They firſt purpoſed to have hanged him, and had provided Cords for the ſame purpoſe; but the great haſte which they had, moved them to diſpatch him with Whingers or Daggers, wherewith they gave him three and fifty ſtrokes. They ſent away and put forth all ſuch perſons as they ſuſpected.

The Earles *Bothwell* and *Huntley* hearing the noiſe and clamour, came ſuddenly to the Cloſe, intending to have made work, if they had had a partie ſtrong enough; but the Earle *Morton* commanded them to paſſe to their Chamber, or elſe they ſhould doe worſe: At the which words they retyred immediately, and ſo paſt forth at a back Window, they two alone, and with great fear came forth of the Towne to *Edmiſtone*, on foot, and from thence to *Crichton*.

This *David Rizio* was ſo fooliſh, that not onely he had drawne unto him the managing of all Affaires, the King ſet aſide, but alſo his Equipage and Train did ſurpaſſe the Kings; and at the Parliament that was to be, he was ordained to be Chancellour; which made the Lords conſpire againſt him: They made a Bond to ſtand to the Religion and Liberties of the Countreys, and to free themſelves of the ſlavery of the Villain *David Rizio*: The King and his father ſubſcribed to the Bond, for they durſt not truſt the Kings word without his Signet.

There was a *French* Prieſt (called *John Daniot*) who adviſed *David Rizio* to make his fortune, and be gone, for the *Scots* would not ſuffer him long. His anſwer was, That the *Scots* would bragg but not fight; then he adviſed him to beware of the Baſtard. To this he anſwered, That the Baſtard ſhould never live in *Scotland*, in his time; (he meant the Earle *Murray*) but it happened, that one *George Dowlas* Baſtard ſon to the Earle of

Angus

Anno *Angus* gave him the firſt ſtroke. The Queen when ſhe heard he was dead, left weeping, and declared ſhe would ſtudy revenge, which ſhe did.

Immediatly it was noiſed in the Town of *Edinburgh*, that there was murther committed within the Kings Palace, wherefore the Proveſt cauſed to Ring the common Bell, or, *Sonner le tokſain*, (as the *French* ſpeaks) and ſtraightway paſt to the Palace, having about four or five hundred men in warlike manner; and as they ſtood in the utter Court, the King called to the Proveſt, commanding him to paſſe home with his company, ſaying, The Queen and he were merry. But the Proveſt deſired to hear the Queen ſpeak her ſelf; Whereunto it was anſwered by the King, Proveſt, know you not that I am King? I command you to paſſe home to your houſes; and immediately they retired.

The next day (which was the ſecond Sunday of our Faſt in *Edinburgh*) there was a Proclamation made in the Kings Name, ſubſcribed with his hand, That all Biſhops, Abbots, and other Papiſts ſhould avoid and depart the Town; which Proclamation was indeed obſerved, for they had a *Flea in their Hoſe*.

There were Letters ſent forth in the Kings Name, and ſubſcribed with his hand, to the Proveſt and Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, the Bailiffs of *Leith* and *Cannogate*, commanding them to be ready in Armour to aſſiſt the King and his Company, and likewiſe other private writings directed to divers Lords and Gentlemen, to come with all expedition.

In the mean time the Queen being above meaſure enraged, offended and troubled, as the iſſue of the matter declared, ſometime railing upon the King, and ſometime crying out at the Windows, deſired her ſervants to ſet her at libertie; for ſhe was highly offended and troubled.

This ſame tenth of *March* the Earle of *Murray*, with the reſt of the Lords and Noblemen that were with him, having received the Kings Letter, (for after the Bond, above named, was Subſcribed, the King Wrote unto the baniſhed Lords, to return into their Countrey, being one of the Articles of the ſaid Bond) came at night to the Abbey, being alſo convoyed by the Lord *Hume* and a great company of the borderers, to the nnmber of 1000 horſes. And firſt, after he had preſented himſelf to the King, the Queen was informed of his ſudden coming, and therefore ſent unto him, commanding him to come to her; and he obeying, went to her, who with a ſingular gravitie received him, after that he had made his purgation, and declared the over-great affection which he bore continually to her Majeſtie. The Earles of *Athole*, *Cathnes* and *Sutherland* departed out of the Town, with the Biſhops, upon the Munday, the third day after the ſlaughter of *David Rizio*. The Earles of *Lenox*, *Murray*, *Morton*, and *Rothes*, Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindſay*, *Boyd*, and *Ochiltrie*, ſitting in Councell, deſired the Queen, That foraſmuch as the thing which was done could not be undone, that ſhe would (for avoiding of greater inconveniences) forget the ſame, and take it as good ſervice, ſeeing there were ſo many Noblemen reſtored. The Queen diſſembling her diſpleaſure and indignation, gave good words, nevertheleſſe ſhe deſired, That all perſons armed or otherwiſe (being within the Palace at that time) ſhould remove, leaving the Palace void of all, ſaving onely her domeſtick ſervants.

The

The Lords being perſwaded by the uxorious King, and and the facile Earle of *Murray*, condeſcended to her deſire, who finally the next morning, two hours before day, paſt to *Seaton*, and then to *Dumbar*, having in her company the ſimple King, who was allured by her ſugred words; from *Dumbar* immediately were ſent Purſuivants with Letters thorowout the Countrey; and eſpecially Letters to the Noble-men and Barons, commanding them to come to *Dumbar*, to aſſiſt the King and Queen within five dayes: In the mean time the Lords being informed of the ſudden departure, they were aſtoniſhed, and knew not what were beſt for them to do: But becauſe it was the ſelf-ſame day (to wit, the twelfth day of *March*) that they were ſummoned unto; therefore having good opportunity, they paſt to the Tolbooth, which was richly hung with Tapiſtry, and orned (but not for them) and ſet themſelves, making Proteſtations, the Earle of *Glencarne*, and ſome others, being preſent. The Earle of *Argyle*, who was written for by the King, came to *Lithgow*; and being informed of the matter, he remained there. Anno

After this manner above ſpecified, to wit, by the death of *David Rizio*, the Noble-men were relieved of their trouble, and reſtored to their places and rooms: And likewiſe the Church Reformed, and all that profeſſed the Evangell within this Realm, after Faſting and Prayer, was delivered and freed from the apparant dangers which were like to have fallen upon them; For if the Parliament had taken effect, and proceeded, it was thought by all men of the beſt judgement, That the true Proteſtant Religion ſhould have been wrackt, and Popery erected; and for the ſame purpoſe, there were certain Woodden Altars made, to the number of twelve, found ready in the Chappell of the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*, which ſhould have been erected in Saint *Gyles* his Church.

The Earles *Bothwell* and *Huntley* being informed of the King and Queenes ſudden departure forth of *Edinburgh*, came to *Dumbar*, where they were moſt graciouſly received by the Queens Majeſty; who conſulting with them and the Maſter of *Maxwell*, together with Parſon *Owin*, and Parſon *Fluke*, chief Councellors, what was beſt to be done, and how ſhe ſhould be revenged upon the murtherers. At firſt they did intend to go forward, and leaving no manner of cruelty unpractiſed, putting to death all ſuch as were ſuſpected: This was the opinion of ſuch as would obey their Queens rage and fury for their own advantage; But in the end they concluded, That ſhe ſhould come to *Edinburgh* with all the force and power ſhe could make, and there proceed to Juſtice: And for the ſame purpoſe, ſhe cauſed to ſummon, by open Proclamation, all perſons of defence, and all Noble-men and Gentlemen, to come to her in *Dumbar* incontinent. In the mean time, the Captains laboured by all means to take up and enroll men and women. The Earles of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Glencarne*, *Rotheſſe*, with the reſt that were in *Edinburgh*, being informed of the Queens fury and anger towards the committers of the ſlaughter, and perceiving they were not able to make any Party, thought it beſt to give place to her fury for a time; for they were divided in opinions, and finally, departed out of *Edinburgh*, upon *Sunday* the ſeventeenth of *March*, every one a ſeverall way; for the Queens

Anno Majeſty was now bent onely againſt the ſlayers of *David Rizio*; and to the purpoſe ſhe might be the better revenged upon them, ſhe intended to give pardon to all ſuch as before had been attainted, for whatſoever crime.

The eighteenth day of *March*, the King and Queen came to *Edinburgh*, having in their company horſe and foot, to the number of 8000 men; whereof there were four Companies of Foot-men of War. The Town of *Edinburgh* went out to meet them, for fear of War. And finally, coming within the Town, in moſt awfull manner they cauſed to place their men of War within the Town, and likewiſe certain Field-Pieces againſt their Lodging, which was in the middle of the Town, over againſt the Salt Trove: Now a little before the Queenes entrance into the Towne, all that knew of her cruell pretence and hatred towards them, fled here and there; And amongſt others, Maſter *James Magill* the Clerk Regiſter, the Juſtice Clerk, and the common Clerk of the Towne: The chief Secretary *Lethington* was gone before; likewiſe *John Knox* paſt Weſt to *Kyle*: The men of War likewiſe kept the Ports or Gates. Within five days after their entry, there was a Proclamation made at the Market-Croſſe, for the purgation of the King from the aforeſaid ſlaughter; which made all underſtanding men laugh at the paſſages of things, ſince the King not onely had given his conſent, but alſo had ſubſcribed the Bond afore-named; and the buſineſſe was done in his name, and for his Honour, if he had had wiſedome to know it. After this Proclamation, the King loſt his credit among all men, and ſo his friends, by this his inconſtancy and weakneſſe.

And in the mean time the men of War committed great outrages in breaking up doors, thruſting themſelves into every houſe: And albeit the number of them were not great, yet the whole Town was too little for them. Soon after, the King and Queen paſt to the Caſtle, and cauſed to warne all ſuch as had abſented themſelves, by open Proclamation, to appear before their Majeſties and the Privy Councell within ſix dayes, under pain of Rebellion; which practice was deviſed in the Earle of *Huntleys* caſe, before the Battell of *Corrichy*: And becauſe they appeared not, they were denounced Rebells, and put to the Horne, and immediately thereafter, their Eſcheats given or taken up by the Treaſurer. There was a certain number of the Townſ-men charged to enter themſelves priſoners in the Tolbooth, and with them were put in certain Gentlemen: Where, after they had remained eight dayes, they were convoyed down to the Palace by the men of War, and then kept by them eight dayes more: And of that number was *Thomas Scot* Sheriff depute of S. *Johnſton*, who was condemned to death, and executed cruelly, to wit, hanged and quartered, for keeping the Queen in priſon, as was alleadged, although it was by the Kings command: And two men likewiſe were condemned to death, and carried likewiſe to the Ladder foot; But the E. *Bothwell* preſented the Queens Ring to the Proveſt, which then was Juſtice, for ſafety of their life. The names of thoſe two were *Fo. Mobray* Merchant, and *Will. Harlow* Sadler. About the ſame time, notwithſtanding all this hurliburly, the Miniſters of the Church, and profeſſors of Religion ceaſed not; for the people, they convened to publike prayers & preaching with boldneſſe; yea, a great number of Noble-men aſſiſted likewiſe. The E. *Bothwell* had

had now, of all men, greateſt acceſſe and familiarity with the Queen, ſo that nothing of any great importance was done without him; for he ſhewed favour to ſuch as liked him; and amongſt others, to the Lairds of *Ormeſton*, *Hawton*, and *Calder*, who was ſo reconciled unto him, that by his favour they were relieved of great trouble. Anno

The Earles of *Argyle* and *Murray*, at the Queens Command, paſt to *Argyle*, where, after they had remained about a Moneth, they were ſent for by the Queene; and coming to *Edinburgh*, they were received by the Queene into the Caſtle, and banquetted, the Earles of *Huntley* and *Bothwell* being preſent.

At this time the King grew to be contemned and diſeſteemed, ſo that ſcarcely any Honour was done to him; and his Father likewiſe.

About *Eaſter* the King paſt to *Sterlin*, where he was Shriven, after the Papiſt manner: And in the meane time, at the Palace of *Halyrudhouſe*, in the Chappell, there reſorted a great number to the Maſſe, albeit the Queen remained ſtill in the Caſtle, with her Prieſts of the Chappell Royall, where they uſed Ceremonies after the Popiſh manner.

At the ſame time departed this life Maſter *John Sinclar*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, and Dean of *Leſtarrig*, of whom hath been oft mention, Preſident of the Colledge of Juſtice, called the Seſſion; who alſo ſucceeded in the ſaid Office and Dignity after the deceaſe of his brother Maſter *John Sinclar*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, Dean of *Glaſgow*, who departed this life at *Paris*, about a yeer before: They were both learned in the Laws, and given to maintain the Popiſh Religion, and therefore great enemies to the Proteſtants. A little before died Maſter *Abraham Crithton*, who had been Preſident likewiſe now in their rooms.

The Queen placed ſuch as ſhe pleaſed, and had done her ſervice (alwayes very unfit) The Patrimony of the Kirk, Biſhopricks, Abbeyes, and ſuch other Benefices, were diſpoſed by the Queen to Courtiers, Dancers, and Flatterers. The Earle *Bothwell*, whom the Queen preferred above all others, after the deceaſe of *David Rizio*, had for his part *Melroſſe*, *Hadington*, and *New Bottell*; likewiſe the Caſtle of *Dumbar* was given to him, with the principall Lands of the Earldome of *Merche*, which were of the Patrimony of the Crown.

At the ſame time the Superintendents, with the other Miniſters of the Churches, perceiving the Miniſtery like to decay for lack of payment of Stipends to Miniſters, they gave this Supplication at *Edinburgh*.

The Supplication of the Miniſters to the Queene.

UNto your Majeſty, and your moſt honourable Councel, moſt humbly and lamentably complains your Highneſſe poor Orators, the Superintendents, and other Miniſters of the Reformed Church of God, travelling thorowout all your Highneſſe Realme, in teaching and inſtructing your Lieges in all Quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Chriſt Jeſus his Son; That where your Majeſtie, with the advice of the Councell and Nobility aforeſaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined, That the travelling Miniſtery thorowout this Realme, ſhould be maintained upon the Rents of the Benefices of this Realme of *Scotland*;

Anno and for that cauſe your Majeſty, with the advice of the Councell and Nobility aforeſaid, upon the 15 day of *December* 1562. in like manner concluded and determined, That if the ſaid part of the Rents of the whole Benefices Eccleſiaſticall within this Realme would be ſufficient to maintain the Miniſters thorowout the whole Realm, and to ſupport your Majeſtie in the ſetting forward of your common affairs, ſhould be employed accordingly: Failing thereof, the third part of the ſaid fruits, or more, to be taken up yeerly in time coming, untill a generall Order be taken therein; as the Act made thereupon at more length bears: Which being afterward conſidered by your Majeſty, the whole Thirds of the fruits aforeſaid were propounded to the uſes aforeſaid, by Act of Councell. And we your Majeſties poor Orators, put in peaceable poſſeſſion of the part aſſigned by your Majeſtie to us, by the ſpace of three yeers, or thereabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption; notwithſtanding all this, now of late, we your Majeſties poor Orators aforeſaid, are put wrongfully and unjuſtly from their aforeſaid part of the above ſpecified Thirds, by your Majeſties Officers, and thereby brought to ſuch extreme penury, and extreme diſtreſſe, as we are not able any longer to maintain our ſelves. And albeit we have given in divers and ſundry complaints to your Majeſtie herein, and have received divers promiſes of redreſſe; yet have we found no relief: Therefore we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to conſider our moſt grievous complaint, together with the right above ſpecified, whereon the ſame is grounded. And if your Majeſtie, with the advice of your Councell aforeſaid, findes our right ſufficient to continue us in poſſeſſion of our part aſſigned to us, while and untill a generall Order be taken; which poſſeſſion was ratified by the yeerly allowance of your Majeſties Exchequers accompt, That your Majeſty would grant us Letters upon the aforeſaid Act and Ordinance paſt thereupon, againſt all intromettors and medlers with the aforeſaid Thirds, to anſwer and obey, according to the aforeſaid Act and Ordinance of our poſſeſſion proceeding thereupon; And likewiſe that we may have Letters, if need be, to arreſt and ſtay the aforeſaid Thirds in the poſſeſſors hands, while and untill ſufficient caution be found to us, for our part aforeſaid. And your anſwer moſt humbly we beſeech.

This Supplication being preſented by the Superintendent of *Lowthian*, and M. *John Craig*, in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, was graciouſly received by the Queen, who promiſed that ſhe would take ſufficient order therein, ſo ſoon as the Nobility and Councell might convene.

The 19 of *June*, the Queen was delivered of a man-childe (the Prince in the aforeſaid Caſtle) and immediately ſent into *France* and *England* her Poſts, to advertiſe the neighbour Princes, and to deſire them to ſend Goſſips or Witneſſes of the Princes Baptiſme.

In the mean time there was joy and triumph made in *Edinburgh*, and ſuch other places where it was known, after thanks and praiſes given unto God, with Supplications for the godly Education of the Prince; and principally, wiſhing that he ſhould be Baptized according to the manner and forme obſerved in the Reformed Churches within this Realme.

Abour

About the ſame time, to wit, the 25 of *June*, the generall Aſſembly of the whole Church convened at *Edinburgh*: The Earles of *Argyle* and *Murray* aſſiſted at the Aſſembly: *Paul Methvin*, who before, as we heard, was excommunicate, gave in his Supplication, and deſired to be heard, as he had done divers times; for the ſaid *Paul* had written oft times out of *England* to the Laird of *Dun*, and to divers others, moſt earneſtly deſiring to be received again into the Fellowſhip of the Church. After reaſoning of the matter, it was finally granted, That he ſhould be heard; And ſo being before the Aſſembly, and falling upon his knees, burſt out with tears, and ſaid, He was not worthy to appear in their preſence; alwayes he deſired them, for the love of God, to receive him to the open expreſſion of his repentance. Shortly after, they appointed certain of the Miniſters to preſcribe to him the form of his declaration of Repentance, which was thus in effect, firſt, That he ſhould preſent himſelf bare-foot and bare-head, arayed in Sack-cloth, at the principall entry of Saint *Gyles* Kirk in *Edinburgh*, at ſeven hours in the morning upon the next *Wedneſday*, and there to remain the ſpace of an hour, the whole people beholding him, till the Prayer was made, Pſalmes ſung, and Text of Scripture was read, and then to come into into the place appointed, for expreſſion of repentance, and tarry the time of Sermon; and to do ſo likewiſe the next Friday following, and alſo upon the Sunday; and then, in the face of the whole Church, to declare his repentance with his owne mouth. The ſame form and manner he ſhould uſe in *Jedwart* and *Dundie*; And that being done, to preſent himſelf again at the next generall Aſſembly following in Winter, where he ſhould be received to the Communion of the Church. When the ſaid *Paul* had received the ſaid Ordinance, he took it very grievouſly, alleadging, They had uſed over-great ſeverity; Nevertheleſſe, being counſelled and perſwaded by divers notable Perſonages, he began well in *Edinburgh* to proceed, whereby a great number were moved with compaſſion of his ſtate; and likewiſe in *Jedwart*: but he left his duty in *Dundie*, and paſſing again into *England*, the matter, not without offence to many, ceaſed. Anno

The Miniſters complaining that they could not be paid their Stipends, were licenſed by the Aſſembly to paſſe to other Churches to Preach, but in no wiſe to leave the Miniſtery. And becauſe that the Queens Majeſty had promiſed often before to provide remedy, it was thought expedient that Supplication ſhould be yet made, as before, That the Queens Majeſty ſhould cauſe ſuch order to be taken, that the poor Miniſters might be paid their Stipends. The Biſhop of *Galloway*, who was brother to the Earle of *Huntley*, and now a great man in the Court, travelled much with the Queens Majeſty in that matter, and got of her a good anſwer, and fair promiſes. A few yeers before, the ſaid Biſhop of *Galloway* deſired of the generall Aſſembly to be made Superintendent of *Galloway*; but now being promoted to great Dignity, as to be of the number of the Lords of the Privy Councell, and likewiſe one of the Seſſion, he would no more be called Over-looker, or Over-ſeer of *Galloway*, but Biſhop: Alwayes truth it is, That he laboured much for his Nephew the Earle of *Huntley*, that he might be reſtored to his Lands and Honours; for the ſaid Earle

See in what ſenſe proud ambitious men takes the name of Biſhop.

Anno

was new Chancellor, ſince the ſlaughter of *David Rizio*, and had for his clawback the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, Maſter *John Leſley*, one of the chief Councellors to the Queen: But of all men the Earle *Bothwell* was moſt in the Queens favour, ſo far, that all things paſt by him; yea, by his means the moſt part of all thoſe that were partakers in the ſlaughter of *David Rizio* got remiſſion and relief. But from that day he was not preſent at any Sermon, albeit before he profeſſed the Evangell by outward ſpeaking, yet he never joyned to the Congregation. But this time the Earle of *Caſſells* was contracted with the Lord of *Glanes* ſiſter, by whoſe perſwaſion he became a Proteſtant, and cauſed, in the Moneth of *Auguſt*, to reform his Churches in *Carrick*, and promiſed to maintain the Doctrine of the Evangell.

As is ſaid before.

The Queen not yet ſatisfied with the death of her man *David*, cauſed in *Auguſt* to be apprehended a man called *Hary*, who ſometime had been of her Chappell Royall, but afterward became an exhorter in a Reformed Church; and for want of ſtipend, or other neceſſaries, paſt in ſervice to my Lord *Ruthuen*, and chanced that night to be preſent when the ſaid *David* was ſlaine; and ſo finally, he was condemned, and hanged, and quartered.

The King being now contemned of all men, becauſe the Queen cared not for him, he went ſometime to the *Lenox* to his father, and ſometime to *Sterlin*, whither the Prince was carried a little before: Alwayes he was deſtitute of ſuch things as were neceſſary for him, having ſcarcely ſix horſes in Trayn. And being thus deſolate, and half deſperate, he ſought means to go out of the Countrey: And about the ſame time, by the advice of *Forliſh Cagets*, he wrote to the *Pope*, to the King of *Spain*, and to the King of *France*, complaining of the ſtate of the Countrey, which was all out of order, all becauſe that Maſſe and Popery were not againe erected, giving the whole blame thereof to the Queen, as not managing the Catholike Cauſe aright: By ſome knave this poor Prince was betrayed, and the Queen got a Copie of theſe Letters into her hands, and therefore threatned him ſore; and there was never after that, any appearance of love betwixt them.

This inconſtant yongman ſometimes declared himſelf for the Proteſtant; witneſſe his laſt Band: And now for the Papiſt. And as he left God, ſo he was left by him.

The Churches of *Geneva*, *Berne* and *Baſill*, with other Reformed Churches of *Germany* and *France*, ſent to the whole Church of *Scotland*, the ſum of the Confeſſion of their Faith, deſiring to know if they agreed in Uniformity of Doctrine, alleadging, That the Church of *Scotland* was diſſonant in ſome Articles from them: Wherefore the Superintendents, with a great part of the other moſt qualified Miniſters, convened in *September* in S. *Andrews*; and reading the ſaid Letters, made anſwer, and ſent word again, That they agreed in all points with thoſe Churches, and differed in nothing from them: Albeit in the keeping of ſome Feſtivall days our Church aſſented not; for onely the Sabbath day was kept in *Scotland*.

In the end of this Month the Earl *Bothwell* riding in purſuit of the theeves in *Liddiſdale*, was ill hurt, and worſe terrified, by a thief; for he believed ſurely to have departed forth of this life, and ſent word thereof to the Queens Majeſty, who ſoon after paſt forth of *Jedwart* to the *Hermitage*, to viſite him, and give him comfort: And within a few dayes after,

after ſhe took ſickneſſe in a moſt extreme manner, for ſhe lay two houres long, cold dead, as it were without breath, or any ſigne of life, at length ſhe revived, by reaſon they had bound ſmall Cords about her ſhackle bones, her knees and great toes, and ſpeaking very ſoftly, ſhe deſired the Lords to pray for her to God, ſhe ſaid the Creed in Engliſh, and deſired my Lord of *Murray*, if ſhe ſhould chance to depart that he would not be over extreme ſuch as was of her Religion; the Duke and he ſhould have been Regents. The bruit went from *Jedwart* in the month of *October*, 1565. that the Queen was departed this life, or at leaſt ſhe could not live any time, wherefore there was continually prayers publikely made at the Church of *Edinburgh*, and divers other places for her converſion towards God, and amendment. Many were of opinion, That ſhe ſhould come to the Preaching, and renounce Popery; But all in vain, for God had ſome other thing to doe by her. The King being advertiſed, rid Poſt from *Sterlin* to *Jedburgh*, where he found the Queen ſomewhat convaleſced, but ſhe would ſcarce ſpeak to him, and hardly give him preſence or a good word; wherfore he returned immediately to *Sterlin*, where the Prince was, and after to *Glaſcow* to his Father. Anno

There appeared great trouble over the whole Realm, and eſpecially in the Countreys neer the borders, if the Queen had departed at that time. as ſhe began to recover, the Earle *Bothwell* was brought in a Charriot from the Hermitage to *Jedburgh*, where he was cured of his wounds; in whoſe preſence the Queen took more pleaſure then in all the reſt of the world; alwayes by his meanes moſt part of all that were out-lawed for the ſlaughter of *David Rizio* got reliefe, for there was no other meanes, but all things muſt needs paſſe by him; wherefore every man ſought to him, where immediately favour was to be had, as before to *David Rizio*.

Soon after, the Queen paſſing along the borders, ſhe came within the bounds of *Barwick*, where ſhe viewed the Town at her pleaſure a far off, being within half a Mile and leſſe; all the Ordnance within *Barwick* were Diſcharged: The Captain came forth with fourſcore Horſes bravely arrayed, to do her honour, and offer her lawfull ſervice. Then ſhe came to *Craigmiller*, where ſhe remained in *November* till ſhe was advertiſed of the coming of the Ambaſſadors to the Baptiſme of the Prince; and for that purpoſe there was great preparation made, not without the trouble of ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have money in ſtore, eſpecially of *Edinburgh*; for there was borrowed a good round ſumme of money for the ſame buſineſſe. All her care and ſolicitude was for that triumph. At the ſame time arrived the *Counte de Briance*, Embaſſadour of the King of *France*, who had a great Train. Soon after the Earle of *Bedford* went forth of *England* with a very gorgious company to the number of fourſcore Horſes, and paſſing to *Sterlin* he was humanly received of the Queens Majeſtie, and every day banquetted. The exceſſive expences and ſuperfluous apparell, which was prepared at that time, exceeded farre all the preparation that ever had been deviſed or ſet forth afore that time in this Countrey. The 17 of *December*, 1566. in the great Hall of the Caſtle of *Sterlin* was the Prince baptized by the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, at five a Clock at Even, with great Pompe, albeit with great paine could they finde men to beare the Torches,

Anno Torches, wherefore they took Boyes. The Queen laboured much with the Noblemen to bear the Salt, Greaſe and Candle, and ſuch other things, but all refuſed; ſhe found at laſt the Earls of *Eglington*, *Athole*, and the Lord *Seaton*, who aſſiſted at the Baptiſme, and brought in the ſaid Traſh. The *Counte de Briance* (being the *French* Ambaſſadour) aſſiſted likewiſe. The Earle of *Bedford* brought for a Preſent from the Queen of *England* a Font of Gold, valued to be worth three thouſand Crownes. Soon after the ſaid Baptiſme, as the Earle was in communing with the Queen, who entertained him moſt reverently, he began to ſay merrily to her, amongſt other talking, Madame, I rejoyce very greatly at this time, ſeeing your Majeſtie hath here to ſerve you ſo many Noblemen, eſpecially twelve Earles, whereof two onely aſſiſt at this Baptiſme to the Superſtition of Popery. At the which ſaying the Queen kept good countenance. Soon after they banquetted in the ſaid great Hall, where they wanted no prodigality. During the time of the Earle of *Bedfords* remaining at *Sterlin*, the Lords for the moſt part waited upon him, and conveyed him every day to the Sermon, and after to Banquetting.

The King remained in *Sterlin* all that time (never being preſent) kept his Chamber: his father hearing how he was uſed, writ to him to repaire unto him; who ſoon after went (without good-night) toward *Glaſgow* to his Father; he was hardly a Mile out of *Sterlin* when the poyſon (which had been given him) wroght ſo upon him, that he had very great pain and dolour in every part of his body. At length, being arrived at *Glaſgow*, the Bliſters brake out, of a blewiſh colour, ſo the Phyſitians preſently knew the Diſeaſe to come by poyſon; he was brought ſo low that nothing but death was expected; yet the ſtrength of his youth at laſt did ſurmount the poiſon.

During the time of this Triumph the Queen was moſt liberall in all things that were demanded of her; amongſt other things, ſhe ſubſcribed a writing for the maintenance of the Miniſters in a reaſonable proportion, which was to be taken up of the Thirds of Benefices: which writing being purchaſed by the Biſhop of *Galloway*, was preſented at the generall Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*, the five and twentieth day of *December*, 1566. where were conveened the Superintendents and other Miniſters in reaſonable number, but very few Commiſſioners. The firſt matter that was there propoſed, was concerning the ſaid Writing lately obtained; and the moſt part of the Miniſters being demanded their opinions in the matter, after advice, and paſſing a little aſide, they anſwered very gravely, That it was their duty to preach to the people the Word of God truly and and ſincerely, and to crave of the Auditors the things that were neceſſary for their ſuſtentation, as of duty the Paſtour might juſtly crave of their Flock; and further it became them not to have any care. Nevertheleſſe the Aſſembly taking in conſideration, that the ſaid Gifts granted by the Queens Majeſtie, was not to be refuſed; they ordained, That certaine faithfull men of every Shire ſhould meet, and do their utmoſt diligence for gathering and receiving the ſaid Corne and money, and likewiſe appointed the Superintendent of *Lowthian*, and Maſter *John Row* to waite upon the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and concurre and aſſiſt him for further expedition

pedition in the Court, that the ſaid Guift miſt be diſpatched through the Seales. Anno

In the ſame Aſſembly there was preſented a Remonſtrance by Writ by ſome Gentlemen of *Kyle*, containing in effect, That in aſmuch as the Tythes ought to be given onely to the Miniſters and Schooles of the Word, and for maintenance of the poor, that therefore the Aſſembly would Statute and Ordain, That all the Profeſſors of the Evangell ſhould keep the ſame in their own hands to the effects aforeſaid, and no way permit the Papiſts to meddle therewith. This Writing took no effect at that time, for there was none elſe but the Gentlemen of *Kyle* of that opinion. It was Statuted in the ſaid Aſſembly, That ſuch publike Fornicators, and ſcandalous livers as would not confeſſe their offences, nor come to declare their repentance, ſhould be declared by the Miniſter to be out of the Church, and not of the body thereof, and their names to be declared publikely upon the Sunday. After this Aſſembly, the Biſhop of *Galloway* (with the Superintendent of *Lowthian* and M. *John Row*) paſſing to *Sterlin*, obtained their Demands in an ample manner at the Queens Majeſties hand, according to their deſire; and likewiſe they obtained for every Borough, a Guift or Donation of the Altarages, Annuals, and Obites, which before were given to the Papiſts, now to be diſpoſed for the maintenance of the Miniſters and Schooles within the Boroughs, and the reſt to the poor or Hoſpitall. Notwithſtanding the Domeſtick troubles that the Church of God in *Scotland* ſuffered in the time of theſe hurliburlies within the Kingdom, yet they were not unmindefull of the affliction of *Jacob* every where upon the face of the Earth; namely, they had before their Eyes the State and condition of the Church of God in *England*, witneſſe this Letter from the Generall Aſſembly to the Rulers of the Church of God in *England*.

The Queen intending vengeance upon the poor King, and being in love with the Earle *Bothwell*, grants to the Proteſtants their Petitions, that they may be quiet, and not trouble her Plots.

The Superintendents, with other Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church of God in the Kingdome of Scotland, *to their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtours of Gods Church in* England, *who profeſſe with us in* Scotland *the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt.*

BY Word and Letters it is come to our knowledge (Reverent Brethren, Paſtors of Gods Word in the Church of England) *that divers of our Brethren (of whom ſome be of the moſt learned in* England) *are deprived from all Eccleſiaſticall Function, namely, Are forbidden to Preach, and ſo by you are ſtopped to promote the Kingdom of God, becauſe they have a ſcruple of Conſcience to uſe at the command of Authoritie ſuch Garments as Idolaters in time of greateſt darkneſſe, did uſe in their Superſtitious and Idolatrous Service; which Report cannot but be very grievous to our hearts, conſidering the ſentence of the Apoſtle,* If ye bite and devour one another, take heed ye be not conſumed one of another. *We intend not at this preſent to enter into the Queſtion, which we hear is agitated and handled with greater vehemency by either partie, then well liketh us, to wit, Whether ſuch apparell be accounted amongſt things indifferent, or not; Wherefore (through the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt) we crave that Chriſtian Charitie may ſo farre prevaile with you, who are the Paſtors and Guides of Chriſts Flock in* England, *that ye doe one to another as ye deſire others to do to you. You*

Anno

cannot be ignorant what tenderneſſe is in a ſcrupulous Conſcience, and all that have knowledge are not alike perſwaded; the Conſciences of ſome of you ſtirres not, with the wearing of ſuch things, on the other ſide many thouſands (both godly and learned) are otherwayes perſwaded, whoſe Conſciences are continually ſtrucken with theſe ſentences, What hath Chriſt to doe with Beliall? What felloſhip is there betwixt Light and darkneſſe? *If Surplice, Corner-Cap and Tippet have been the Badges of Idolaters in the very act of their Idolatry, what hath the Preachers of Chriſtian libertie, and the Rebukers of Superſtition with the dregs of that Romiſh Beaſt? yea, What is he that ought not to fear,* either to take in his hand, or on his forehead the Prints and Mark of that odious Beaſt: *The Brethren that refuſe ſuch unprofitable apparell do neither condemne nor moleſt you who uſe ſuch Triſles. On the other ſide, if ye that uſe theſe things, will do the like to your Brethren, we doubt nor but therein you ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the Hearts of many, which are wounded to ſee extremitie uſed againſt theſe godly Brethren: Humane arguments or coloured Rhetoricke, we uſe none to perſwade you, onely in Charity we deſire you to minde the ſentence of* Peter, *Feed the Flock of Chriſt which is committed to your charge, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not being as Lords of Gods Heritages, but being examples to the Flock. We further deſire you to meditate upon that ſentence of* Paul, *Give no offence neither, to Jewes, nor Gentiles, nor to the Church of God; in what condition you and we both travell, at leaſt are bound to travell for the promoting of Chriſts Kingdom, you are not ignorant; therefore we are the more bold to exhort you to deale more wiſely, then to trouble the godly for ſuch vanities, for all things which ſeem lawfull, edifie not; if Authority urge you farther then your Conſciences can bear, I pray you remember, that the Miniſters of the Church are called the* Light of the World, *and* Salt of the Earth; *all Civill Authority hath not alwayes the Light of God ſhining before their eyes, in Statutes and Commands, for their affections ſavour too much of the earth and wordly wiſdome: therefore we tell you, That ye ought to oppoſe your ſelves boldly, not onely to all power that dare extoll it ſelfe againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as dare burthen the Conſciences of the faithfull, farther then God chargeth them in his own Word. But we hope you will excuſe our freedom in that we have entred in reaſoning farther then we intended in the beginning; now againe we return to our former requeſt, which is, That the Brethren among you who refuſe the Romiſh Rags, may finde of you who uſe and urge them, ſuch favour as our Head and Maſter commandeth each one of his Members to ſhew to another, which we look to receive of your courteſie, not onely becauſe you will not offend God in troubling your brethren for ſuch vain Triſles, but alſo becauſe you will not refuſe the earneſt requeſt of us your Brethren and fellow Miniſters, in whom although there appear no worldly pompe; yet we are aſſured you will eſteem us as Gods ſervants, travelling to ſet forth his glory againſt the Roman Antichriſt; the dayes are evill, iniquitie aboundeth, and Charitie (alas) waxeth cold, wherefore we ought to walk diligently, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord ſhall come, before whom we muſt all give an account of our adminiſtration. In concluſion, yet once more we deſire you to be favourable one to another, Lord Jeſus rule your hearts in his fear unto the end, and give to you and us victorie over that conjured Enemy of true Religion,* (the Pope) *whoſe wounded head Sathan by all means ſtrives to cure againe; but to deſtruction ſhall he go, and all his maintainers, by the power of our Lord Jeſus, to whoſe mighty protection we commit you.* From our Generall Aſſembly, *Decemb.* 27. 1566.

At

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At the ſame time the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, by means of the Earle *Bothwell*, procured a writing from the Queens Majeſty, to be obeyed within the Dioceſſe of his Juriſdiction, in all ſuch cauſes as before in time of Popery were uſed in the Conſiſtory, and therefore to diſcharge the new Commiſſioners; and for the ſame purpoſe came to *Edinburgh* in *January*, having a Company of one hundred horſes, or more, intending to take poſſeſſion, according to his gift lately obtained. The Proveſt being advertiſed thereof, by the Earle of *Murray* they ſent to the Biſhop three or foure of the Councell, deſiring him to deſiſt from the ſaid matter, for fear of trouble and ſedition that might riſe thereupon; whereby he was perſwaded to deſiſt at that time. Soon after, the Queen came to *Edinburgh*, where ſhe remained a few dayes. In the moneth of *January* ſhe was informed that the King was recovered of the poyſon given him at *Sterlin*, and therefore ſhe paſt to *Glaſgow* to viſite him, and there tarried with him ſix dayes, uſing him wonderfully kindely, with many gracious and good words; and likewiſe his father the Earle of *Lenox*; inſomuch that all men marvelled whereto it ſhould turn, conſidering the great contempt and dryneſſe that had been before ſo long together: the Queen notwithſtanding all the contempt that was given him, with a known deſigne to take away his life, yet by her ſweet words gains ſo far upon the uxorious husband, and his facile father, that he went in company with her to *Edinburgh*, where ſhe had cauſed to lodge him at the Church of *Field*, in a lodging lately bought by Maſter *James Balfour* Clerk Regiſter, truely very unmeet for a King. The Queen reſorted often to viſite him, and lay in the houſe two nights by him (although her lodging was in the Palace of *Halyrud-houſe*.) Every man marvelled at this reconciliation and ſudden change. The ninth of *February* the King was murthered, and the houſe where he lay burned with Powder. About twelve of the clock in the night; his body was caſt forth in a yard without the Town wall adjoyning cloſe by. There was a ſervant likewiſe murthered beſide him, who had been alſo in the chamber with him. The people ran to behold this ſpectacle; and wondring thereat, ſome judged one thing, ſome another.

As ſhe had lately gratified the Proteſtants by granting their Petition, ſo at this time ſhe yeelds unto the Papiſts their demands alſo, that ſhe might be ſtopped by neither of them in her deſigne of vengeance and new love.

Shortly therefater, *Bothwell* came from the Abbey with a company of men of War, and cauſed the body of the King to be carryed to the next houſe; where, after a little, the Chirurgions being convened at the Queens command, to view and conſider the manner of his death; moſt part gave out, to pleaſe the Queen, That he was blown in the Ayre, albeit he had no mark of fire; and truely he was ſtrangled. Soon after, he was carryed to the Abbey, and there buryed.

This tragicall end had *Henry Steward*, after he had been King eighteen moneths. A Prince of great Linage, both by mother and father: He was of a comely ſtature, and none was like unto him within this Iſland; he died under the age of one and twenty yeers; prompt and ready for all Games and Sports much given to Hawking and Hunting, and running of horſes, and likewiſe to playing on the Lute, and alſo to *Venus* Chamber; he was liberall enough: He could write and dictate well; but he was ſomewhat

Anno given to wine and much feeding, and likewiſe to inconſtancy; and proud beyond meaſure, and therefore contemned all others: He had learned to diſſemble well enough, being from his youth miſled up in Popery. Thus within two yeers after his arriving in this Realme, he was highly by the Queen alone extolled; and finally, had this infortunate end by her procurement and conſent. To lay all other proofs aſide, her Marriage with *Bothwell*, who was the main executioner of the King, notwithſtanding all the advices and counſells that the King of *France* and Queene of *England* did earneſtly & carefully give her, as other friends did likewiſe, witneſſe anent their guilt. Thoſe that laid hands on the King to kill him, by *Bothwels* direction, was Sir *James Balfour*, *Gilbert Balfour*, *David Chalmers*, black *John Spenſe*, *Francis Sebaſtien*, *Jo. de Bourdeau*, and *Joſeph* the brother of *David Rizio*: Theſe laſt four were the Queens domeſticks and ſtrangers. Thereaſon why the Kings death was ſo haſtened, becauſe the affection or paſſion of the Earl *Bothwell* could not bear ſo long a delay, as the procurement of a Bill of Divorce required, although the Romiſh Clergie offered their ſervice willingly to the buſineſſe, namely, Biſhop *Hamilton*, and ſo he came great again at Court; and he for the advancement of the buſineſſe, did good Offices to increaſe the hatred betwixt the King and Queen; yea, ſome that had been the chief inſtruments of the Marriage of the King and Queen, offered the ſervice for the Divorce, ſeeing how the Queens inclination lay: So unhappy are Princes, that men, for their own ends, further them in all their inclinations and undertakings, be they never ſo bad or deſtructive to themſelves.

The Earle of *Lenox* in the mean time wrote to the Queen, to cauſe to puniſh *Bothwell*, with his other complices, for murthering the King. The Queen not daring openly to reject the Earle of *Lenox* his ſolicitation, did appoint a day for the Triall of *Bothwell* by an Aſſize; the members whereof, was the Earle of *Cathnes* Preſident, the Earle of *Caſſels*, (who at the firſt refuſed, but thereafter, being threatned to be put in priſon, and under the pain of Treaſon, was preſent by the Queens command) *John Hamilton* Commendator of *Aberbrothok*, Lord *Roſſe*, Lord *Semple*, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Hereis*, Lord *Olyphant*; the Maſter of *Forbes*, the Lairds of *Lochinnar*, *Langton*, *Cambuſidentham*, *Barnbougel* and *Boyne*: They, to pleaſe the Queen, and for fear, did pronounce *Bothwell* not guilty, notwithſtanding the manifeſt evidences of the cruell fact committed by *Bothwell*, who before the Tryall, did make himſelf ſtrong by divers means; namely, by the poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, ſo that the accuſers durſt not appear, not being ſtrong enough. The Earle of *Marre* did retire to *Sterlin*, and had committed to his charge the young Prince. All this was done in *Februaty*.

In *April*, *Bothwell* called together ſundry of the Lords who had come to *Edinburgh*, to a meeting that was there; and having gained ſome before, made them all, what by fear, what by fair promiſes, firſt of their private State, and then of advancing the Papiſts Religion, to conſent by their ſubſcriptions to the Marriage with the Queen. Then the Queen goes to *Sterlin* to ſee her ſon; *Bothwell* makes a ſhew as if he were going to the Borders to ſuppreſſe Robbers, and ſo he raiſeth ſome men of War; which when

when he had done, he turneth towards the way to *Sterlin*, where he meets the Queen, according to appointment betwixt them, and carrieth her to *Dumbar*, as it had been by force, although every one knew it was with the Queens liking. The prime Nobility convened at *Sterlin*, and from thence ſent to her, to know whether or not ſhe was taken againſt her will: She anſwered, That it was true ſhe was taken againſt her will, but ſince her taking, ſhe had no occaſion to complain; yea, the courteous entertainment ſhe had, made her forget and forgive all former offences. Theſe expreſſions were uſed by way of preface to the Pardon, which was granted immediately thereafter to *Bothwell*; for by Letters Patents he was pardoned by the Queen, for laying violently hands upon her Majeſtie, and for all other crimes: So by this, &c. the murther of the King was pardoned. During the Queens abode in *Dumbar*, there was Letters of Divorce demanded and granted unto *Bothwell* from his Lady (who afterward was married to the Earle *Sutherland*) ſhe was ſiſter to the Earle of. *Huntley*. The ground of the Divorce was, The parties being within the degrees prohibited, could not be lawfully joyned: Next, becauſe *Bothwell* was an Adulterer, the Marriage was voyd. The Bill of Divorce was granted by the Papiſticall Court of the Archbiſhop of Saint *Androes*. And here mark how they juggle in ſacred things; for when it pleaſeth them, they untie the Bond of Marriage, as now, and as we have ſeen in the firſt Book of this Hiſtory. When the Queen fell in diſtaſte of the late King her husband, it was propoſed unto her to have Divorce upon the ſame ground from the King: To which, firſt ear was given, but after ſecond thoughts, a Bill of Divorce was too tedious (as we have now ſaid) and could not be ſtayed for, therefore the King muſt be diſpatched. Anno

The Queen, when *Bothwell* had obtained by the Archbiſhop a Letter of Divorce from his lawfull wife, ſent a Letter ſigned with her own hand, to M. *Jo. Craig*, Miniſter of *Edinburgh*, commanding him to publiſh the Band of Matrimony betwixt her and *Bothwell*. M. *Jo. Craig*, the next Sermon day thereafter, declared in full Congregation, That he had received ſuch a Command, but in conſcience he could not obey it; the Marriage was altogether unlawfull; and of that he would declare the reaſons to the parties, if he had audience of them, otherwiſe he would make known his juſt reaſons in the hearing of the people. Immediately thereafter, *Bothwell* ſends for Maſter *Craig* to the Councell, where M. *Craig* told, firſt, That by an Act of the Aſſembly it was forbidden to allow the Marriage of any divorced for adultery: The Divorce of *Bothwell* from his lawfull wife, was by colluſion, witneſſe the quick diſpatch thereof; for it was ſought and had within ten dayes, and his contracting with the Queen inſtantly thereafter; then his rapt of the Queen, and the guilt of the Kings death, which was confirmed by this Marriage: Withall, he deſired the Lords to ſtop the Queen from that infamous Marriage. The Sunday after, he told publikely to the people, what he had ſaid to the Councell; and he took heaven and earth to witneſſe, That he deteſted that ſcandalous and infamous Marriage; and that he diſcharged his conſcience unto the Lords, who ſeemed unto him, as ſo many ſlaves, what by flattery, what by ſilence, to give way to that abomination. Upon this, he was called

Anno to the Councel again, and was reproved, as if he had exceeded the bounds of his Calling. Whereunto he anſwered, That the bounds of his Commiſſion was the Word of God, right reaſon, and good Laws, againſt which he had ſaid nothing; and by all theſe offered to prove this Marriage to be ſcandalous and infamous. At this he was ſtopped by *Bothwell*, and ſent from the Councell. Notwithſtanding all this done and ſaid by M. *Craig*, and the oppoſition of many that wiſhed well to the Queen, and were jealous of her Honour, the Marriage went on, and they were married the 15 of *May*. This makes good the Latine Proverb, *Mala nubunt menſe Maio*; and a Biſhop muſt bleſſe the Marriage: The good Prelat was Biſhop of *Orkney*: If there be a good work to be done, a Biſhop muſt do it. Here mark the difference betwixt this worthy Miniſter Maſter *Craig*, and this baſe Biſhop.

Note.

The Earle of *Athole*, immediately after the murther of the King, had tetired home, waiting for the occaſion to revenge the Kings death: But ſeeing this abominable Marriage, he went to *Sterlin*, where other honeſt Lords with him had a Meeting, and made a Bond, To defend the young Prince from the murtherers of his father: As already they had had one Plot to cut him off, which God in his mercy did prevent. The Nobles that entred in this Bond, were the Earles of *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Marr*, and *Glencarne*; the Lords *Lindſey* and *Boyd*. *Argyle* thereafter, ſeduced by ſome fair words, fell off; and *Boyd* became a great Factionary for *Bothwell* in all things.

The Queen, ſoon after the Marriage, was adviſed to ſend abroad an Ambaſſadour to acquaint her forraigne friends and kindred; And this muſt be a Biſhop: It is pity that any good work ſhould be done without a Biſhop: Was not this a worthy employment for a Paſtor in Gods Church?

Bothwell ſeeing the Bond made at *Sterlin*, cauſeth the Queen to write to ſundry of the Nobility: Divers repaired unto her, where they found a Bond tendred unto them, by which they were to binde themſelves to defend the Queen and *Bothwell*. Some that were corrupt, did willingly ſubſcribe; others for fear did the ſame: And there was not one that went to Court that did refuſe, but the Earle of *Murray*; who refuſing abſolutely to enter into a Bond with *Bothwell*, ſaid, It was not the part of a good ſubject; Yet ſince he had been made friends with him ſome time before, he would keep his promiſe unto the Queen: And to enter into a Bond with the Queen, it was needleſſe and unfit, ſince he was to obey her in all lawfull and juſt things. Upon this, he gat leave, although with great difficulty, to go into *France*.

The Queen receives now *Hamilton* Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, into favour ſince theſe changes; who was no leſſe a faithfull Councellor to her, then he was a good Paſtor of Chriſts Flock; that is, He betrayed her, and diſobeyed God. With this a Proclamation comes out in favour of the poor Proteſtants; whereby the Queen declares, That ſhe will keep and confirm all that ſhe had promiſed at her Arrivall into *Scotland*: This was done to ſtop the peoples mouthes; but all in vain, for the people were univerſally againſt the abomination of the Court.

Within

Within few dayes, *Bothwell* and the Queen, were raiſing men, under pretext to go to the Borders to repreſſe the Robbers there; but in effect, to go to *Sterlin*, to have the Prince in their cuſtody, that they might diſpoſe of him according to their minde. Then a new Proclamation came out, That the Queen hereafter would rule onely by the advice of the Nobles of the Land, as her beſt Predeceſſors had done. The Lords at *Sterlin* hearing of this plot, ſtrives to prevent it, and to this purpoſe they appointed with the Lord *Humes* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Borthwike*, where the Queen and *Bothwell* was: But becauſe the Earl of *Athole* did not come at the hour appointed, they had not men enough to environ and compaſſe the Caſtle; ſo that *Bothwel* having notice given him of the buſineſſe, eſcaped to *Dunbar*, and the Queen after him, in mans clothes. The Lords failing of their deſigne at *Borthwike* Caſtle, went to *Edinburgh*, whereof they made themſelves Maſters eaſily, having the affections of the people, notwithſtanding the Earle *Huntley*, and the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrees* perſwaſion to the contrary: Theſe two, with their aſſociates, were conſtrained to retire to the Caſtle, where they were received by Sir *Jam. Balfour*, left there by *Bothwel*. Anno

The twelfth of *June*, which was the next day following, the Lords at *Edinburgh* cauſed to publiſh a Proclamation, whereby they declared, That the Earl *Bothwell*, who had been the principall author, deviſer, and actor of the cruell murther of the late King, had ſince laid hand upon the Queens perſon, and had her for the preſent in *Dunbar* in his power; and finding her utterly deſtitute of all good counſell, had ſeduced her to a diſhoneſt and unlawfull marriage with himſelf; yea, that now he was gathering Forces, and ſtirring himſelf to get the young Prince in his hands, that he might murther the Childe, as he had murthered the Father. This wicked man the Nobles of the Land reſolved to withſtand, and deliver the Queen out of his bondage; wherefore they did charge all Lieges within the Kingdom that could come to them, to be in readineſſe at 3 hours warning to aſſiſt them, the Nobles, for the freeing of the Queen from captivity, and bringing the ſaid Earle *Bothwell* to a Legall Triall, and condigne puniſhment for the aforeſaid murther and other Crimes. All ſuch that would not ſyde with the Lords were by this Proclamation commanded to depart from *Edinburgh* within four hours, under the pain of being accounted enemies, &c.

Notwithſtanding this Proclamation, the people did not joyn unto theſe Lords as was expected, for ſundry of the Nobles were adverſaries to the buſineſſe, other ſtood as Neuters; and withall, thoſe that were convened together were not well provided of Armes and Munition for exploits of warre; ſo that they were even thinking to diſſolve and leave off their Enterprize till another time, and had abſolutely done ſo; but God had ordained other wayes, as the event did ſhew (if the Queen and *Bothwell* could have had patience to ſtay at *Dunbar* for three or four dayes without any ſtirre) but the Queen and *Bothwell* having gathered together about four or five thouſand men, truſting in their Force (the Queen being puft up by Flatterers) ſet forth and Marched towards *Leith*: being come forward as farre as *Glaidſmure*, ſhe cauſed publike Proclamation againſt the aforeſaid Lords, calling them a number of Conſpirators, and that ſhe now diſcerned

their

Anno their inward malice againſt her and her husband, the Duke of *Orkney* (for ſo now they called *Bothwell*:) After they had endeavoured to apprehend her and her Husband at *Brothwick*, and had made a ſeditious Proclamation, under pretence of ſeeking the revenge of the King her late husband, and to free her from Captivity, giving out, That the Duke her husband had a minde to invade the Prince her Sonne; all which was falſe, for the Duke her Husband had uſed all means to clear himſelf, both by a Legall way, and by the offer of a Combate to any that did accuſe him, as they knew well enough: As touching her captivity, ſhe was in none, but was in company with her Husband, unto whom ſhe was publikely married in the view of the world, and many of the Nobles had given their conſent unto this her marriage: As for the Prince her Sonne, it was but a ſpecious pretence to the Treaſon and Rebellion againſt her their naturall Soveraign, and her Poſterity, which they intended to overthrow; wherefore ſhe declared her ſelf neceſſitated to take Arms, hoping that all her faithfull Subjects would adhere unto her, and that thoſe who were already aſſembled with her, would with good hearts and hands ſtand to her defence; and for the recompence of their valour they ſhould have the Lands and goods of theſe unnaturall Rebels. After this Proclamation the Army went on, and the Queen that night came to *Seaton*, where ſhe lay.

About Midnight the Lords of *Edinburgh* were advertiſed of the Queens approach, preſently they took Arms, and at the Sun riſing they were at *Muſelburgh*, where they refreſhed themſelves with meat and reſt. The Queens Camp was not yet ſtirring. About Midday the Scouts that the Lords had ſent out, brought word that the Enemy was Marching towards them; preſently they put themſelves in two Battalia's, the firſt was conducted by the Earle *Morton*, and the Lord *Hume*; the ſecond by the Earls *Athole*, *Glencarne*, the Lords *Lindſey*, *Ruthuen*, *Semple* and *Sancharmar*, with the Lairds *Drumlanrick*, *Tullibardin*, *Ceſfoord*, and *Graunge*, with divers others, their number was almoſt as great as the Queens, their men better, being many of them expert men, that I ſay nothing of the Cauſe. The Queen had gained a Hill, called *Carbarry*, which the Lords (by reaſon of the ſteepneſſe of the aſcent) could not well come at; wherefore they wheeled about to get a more convenient place to go to the Hill, where the Enemy was, and to have the Sunne behinde them in the time of the fight. At the firſt the Queen ſeeing their thus going about, did imagine they were fleeing away to *Dalkeith*, but when ſhe ſaw them come directly towards her, ſhe found her ſelfe deceived.

The *French* Ambaſſadour ſeeing them ready to fight, ſtrived to take up the buſineſſe, and having ſpoken with the Queen, went to the Lords, telling them, that the Queene was diſpoſed to peace, and to forgive and pardon this Inſurrection; wherefore it was very fit to ſpare blood, to agree in a peaceable way. The Earle of *Morton* (in the name of all reſt) anſwered, That they had taken up Armes, not againſt the Queen, but againſt the murtherer of the King; whom if ſhe would deliver to be puniſhed, or at leaſt put from her company, ſhe ſhould finde a continuation of dutifull obedience by them, and all other good ſubjects; otherwiſe no peace: Beſides, we are not to ask pardon for any offence done by us. The Ambaſſadour

Ambaſſadour ſeeing their reſolution to ſtand to the right of their Cauſe, withdrew, and went to *Edinburgh*. Anno

While the *French* Ambaſſadour was thus labouring for Accommodation, *Bothwell* came out of the Camp (which was in the Trench that the Engliſhmen had left at their laſt being in theſe places, as was we have ſaid in the former Books) well mounted, with a defie to any that would fight with him. *James Murray*, brother to the Laird of *Tullibardin*, who before had accepted of *Bothwells* challenge, when he made the Rodomontade at *Edinburgh*, immediately after the Kings death; but then *James Murray* did not make knowne his name. *Bothwell* refuſed to fight with *James Murray*, alleadging he was not his equall. Upon this the Elder Brother *William Murrey*, Laird of *Tullibardin*, anſwered, That he would fight with him, as being his Better in Eſtate, and in Antiquitie of Houſe many degrees above him; yet *Bothwell* refuſed him, ſaying, That he was not a Peer of the Kingdome, as he was; then ſundry Lords would have gone to fight with *Bothwell*; but the Lord *Lindſey* namely, who ſaid to the reſt of the Lords and Gentlemen, That he would take it as a ſingular favour of them, and as a recompence of his ſervice done to the State, if they would ſuffer him to fight with the Braggadocio. *Bothwell* ſeeing that there was no more ſubterfuge nor excuſe, under-hand made the Queen to forbid him. After this challenge and anſwers, *Bothwells* Complices and Followers were very earneſt to fight, but others that had come only for the Queens ſake, became little cold, ſaying, That *Bothwell* would do well to fight himſelf, and ſpare the blood of divers Gentlemen that were there. Some counſelled to delay the Battell till the *Hamiltons* came, whom they did expect. All this the Queen heard with anger; and riding up and down, burſt out in tears, and ſaid, They were all cowards and traytors that would not fight. Immediately after, thus vapouring, the Queen pereceiving ſundry to leave her, ſhe adviſed *Bothwell* to look unto himſelf, for ſhe ſaid to him, She would render her ſelf unto the Noble-men. Upon this ſhe ſent for *James Kirkaldie* of *Grange*, with whom ſhe kept diſcourſe for a while, till that ſhe was aſſured that *Bothwell* was out of danger. Then ſhe went to the Lords, whom ſhe did entertain with many fair words, telling them, That it was neither fear, nor want of hope of victory, that made her come unto them, but a meer deſire to ſpare ſhedding of innocent blood: Withall ſhe promiſed to be ruled and adviſed by them. With this ſhe was received with all reſpect: But ſhortly after, declaring that ſhe would go to the *Hamiltons*, with promiſe to return, they reſtrained her liberty, and brought her along with them to *Edinburgh* at night: She was very ſlow in marching, looking to be reſcued by the *Hamiltons*; but in vain: She lay that night in the Proveſt his houſe. The next day, the Lords ſent the Queen to the Caſtle that is within an Iſle of *Lochlevin*. Sir *James Balfour* ſeeing the Queen committed, and *Bothwell* conſequently defeated, he capitulated with the Lords for the delivery of the Caſtle. *Bothwell* finding himſelf thus in diſorder, ſent a ſervant to Sir *James Balfour*, to ſave a little ſilver Cabinet, which the Queen had given him. Sir *James Balfour* delivers the Cabinet to the meſſenger, and under-hand giveth advice of it to the Lords. In this Cabinet had *Bothwell* kept the Letters of privacy he had from the

Note how God changeth things in a moment.

Anno Queen: Thus he kept her Letters, to be an awe-bond npon her, in caſe her affection ſhould change. By the taking of this Cabinet, many particulars betwixt the Queen and *Bothwell* were cleerly diſcovered. Theſe Letters were after printed: They were in French; with ſome Sonnets of her own making.

Few dayes after the commitment of the Queen, the Earle of *Glencarne* with his domeſticks, went to the Chappell of *Halyrud-houſe*, where he brake down the Altars and the Images: Which fact, as it did content the zealous Proteſtants, ſo it did highly offend the popiſhly affected. The Nobles, who had ſo proceeded againſt *Bothwell*, and dealt ſo with the Queen, hearing that the *Hamiltons* had a great number of men, and had drawn the Earls of *Argyle* and *Huntley* totheir ſide, ſent to *Hamilton*, deſiring thoſe that were there to joyn with them, for the redreſſe of the diſorders of Church and State: But the *Hamiltons* thinking now they had a fair occaſion fallen unto them to have all again in their hands, and to diſpoſe of all according to their own minde, did refuſe audience to the Meſſage ſent by the Lords,

Upon this, the Lords moved the generall Aſſembly then met in *Edinburgh*, in the moneth of *June*, to write to the Lords that either were actually declared for the *Hamiltons*, or were neuters: And ſo ſeverall Letters were directed to the Earles of *Argyle*, *Huntley*, *Cathnes*, *Rotheſſe*, *Cranford*, and *Menteth*; to the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummens*, *Grame*, *Cathcart*, *Teſter*, *Fleming*, *Levinſton*, *Seaton*, *Glamnis*, *Uthiltrie*, *Gray*, *Olyphant*, *Methven*, *Inderneth*, and *Somervile*; as alſoto divers other men of note. Beſides the Letters of the Aſſembly, Commiſſioners were ſent from the Aſſembly, to the Lords above-named; to wit, *John Knox*, *John Dowglas*, *John Row*, and *John Craig*, who had inſtructions conforme to the tenour of the Letters, to deſire theſe Lords and others, to come to *Edinburgh*, and joyn with the Lords there, for the ſetling of Gods true Worſhip in the Church, and policy reformed according to Gods Word, a maintenance for the Miniſters, and ſupport for the poor: But neither the Commiſſioners nor the Letters did prevail with theſe men; they excuſed, That they could not repair to *Edinburgh* with freedome, where there was ſo many armed men, and a Garriſon ſo ſtrong: But for the Church-affairs, they would not be any wayes wanting, to do what lay in them.

The Lords at *Edinburgh* ſeeing this, joyneth abſolutely with the Aſſembly (which had been prorogated to the 20 of *July*, upon the occaſion of theſe Letters and Commiſſioners aforeſaid) and promiſeth to make good all the Articles they thought fit to reſolve upon in the Aſſembly: But how they performed their promiſes, God knows alwayes. The Articles they agreed upon were theſe:

1. *THat the Acts of Parliament holden at* Edinburgh *the* 24 *of Auguſt* 1560. *touching Religion, and aboliſhing the Popes Authority, ſhould have the force of a publike Law; and conſequently this Parliament defended, as a lawfull Parliament, and confirmed by the firſt Parliament that ſhould be kept next.*

2. *That*

2. *That the Thirds of the Tythes, or any more reaſonable proportion of Beneſices, ſhould be allowed towards the maintenance of the Miniſtery; and that there ſhould be a charitable courſe taken concerning the exacting of the Tythes of the poor Labourers.* Anno

3. *That none ſhould be received in the Univerſities, Colledges, or Schools, for inſtruction of the youth, but after due tryall both of capacity and probitie.*

4. *That all crimes and offences againſt God, ſhould be puniſhed according to Gods Word; and that there ſhould be a Law made there-anent, at the firſt Parliament to be holden.*

5. *As for the horrible murther of the late King, husband to the Queen, which was ſo haynous before God and man, all true profeſſors, in whatſoever rank or condition, did promiſe to ſtrive that all perſons ſhould be brought to condigne puniſhment, who are found guilty of the ſame crime.*

6. *They all promiſed to protect the young Prince againſt all violence, leſt he ſhould be murthered as his father was; And that the Prince ſhould be committed to the care of four wiſe and godly men, that by a good Education, he might be fitted for that high Calling he was to execute one day.*

7. *The Nobles, Barons, and others, doth promiſe to beat down and aboliſh Popery, Idolatry and Superſtition, with any thing that may contribute unto it; As alſo to ſet up and further the true Worſhip of God, his Government, the Church, and all that may concerne the purity of Religion and life; And for this to convene and take Arms, if need require.*

8. *That all Princes and Kings hereafter in this Realm, before their Coronation, ſhall take Oath to maintain the true Religion now profeſſed in the Church of* Scotland, *and ſuppreſſe all things contrary to it, and that are not agreeing with it.*

To theſe Articles ſubſcribed the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and *Marre*, the Lords *Hume*, *Ruthen*, *Sanchar*, *Lindſey*, *Grame*, *Inermeth*, and *Uchiltrie*, with many other Barons, beſides the Commiſſioners of the Burroughs.

This being agreed upon, the Aſſembly diſſolved. Thereafter the Lords *Lindſey* and *Ruthuen* were ſent to *Lochlevin* to the Queen, to preſent unto her two Writs; the one contained a Renounciation of the Crowne and Royall Dignity, in favour of the Prince her ſon; with a Commiſſion to inveſt him into the Kingdome, according to the manner accuſtomed: Which, after ſome reluctancy with tears, ſhe ſubſcribed, by the advice of

Anno the Earle of *Athole*, who had ſent to her; and of Secretary *Lethington*, who had ſent to her *Robert Melvill* for that purpoſe: So there was a Procuration given to the Lords *Lindſay* and *Ruthuen*, by the Queen, to give up and reſigne the Rule of the Realme, in preſence of the States.

The ſecond Writ was, To ordain the Earle of *Murray* Regent, during the Princes minority, if he would accept the Charge: And in caſe he refuſed, the Duke *Chattellarault*, the Earles of *Lenox*, *Argyle*, *Athole*, *Morton*, *Glencarne* and *Marre*, ſhould governe conjoyntly.

Theſe Writs were publiſhed the 29 of *July*, 1567. at the Market-Croſſe of *Edinburgh*: Then at *Sterlin* was the Prince Crowned King, where *Iohn Knox* made the Sermon: The Earl *Morton* and the Lord *Hume*, took the Oath for the King, That he ſhould conſtantly live in the Profeſſion of the true Religion, and maintain it; And that he ſhould governe the Kingdom according to Law thereof, and do Juſtice equally to all.

In the beginning of *Auguſt*, the Earle *Murray* being ſent for, cometh home; in all haſte he viſites the Queen at *Lochlevin*, ſtrives to draw the Lords that had taken part with the *Hamiltons*, or were neuters, to joyne with thoſe that had bound themſelves to ſtand for the Kings Authority: He wasvery earneſt with divers, by reaſon of their old friendſhip; but to little purpoſe. The twentinth of *Auguſt*, he received the Regencie, after mature and ripe deliberation, at the deſire of the Queen, and Lords that were for the King, and ſo was publikely proclaimed Regent, and Obedience ſhewed unto him by all that ſtood for the young King.

The end of the Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*, till the yeer 1567. and Moneth of *Auguſt*.

THE

Anno

THE

APPELLATION

OF

JOHN KNOX,

From the cruell and moſt unjuſt Sentence pronounced againſt him, by the falſe Biſhops and Clergie of *Scotland*: With his Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, States, and Communalty of the ſame Realme.

To the Nobility and States of SCOTLAND:

JOHN KNOX *wiſheth Grace, Mercy and Peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the Spirit of righteous Judgement.*

IT is not onely the love of this Temporall life (Right Honourable) neither yet the fear of Corporal death, that moveth me at this preſent to expoſe unto you the injuries done againſt me; and to crave of you, as of lawfull Powers by God appointed, redreſſe of the ſame; But partly it proceedeth from that reverence which every man oweth to Gods Eeternall Truth: And partly, from a love which I bear to your Salvation, and to the Salvation of my Brethren abuſed in that Realme, by ſuch as have no fear of God before their eyes. It hath pleaſed God of his infinite mercy, not onely to illuminate the eyes of my minde, and ſo to touch my dull heart, that cleerly I ſee, and by his grace unfainedly believe, That there is no other name given to men under the heaven in which Salvation conſiſteth,

Anno

ſave the Name of JESUS alone, *Who by that Sacrifice which he did once offer upon the Croſſe, hath ſanctified for ever all thoſe that ſhall inherite the Kingdom promiſed:* But alſo it hath pleaſed him of his ſuperaboundant grace, to make and appoint me, moſt wretched of many thouſands, a Witneſſe, Miniſter and Preacher of the ſame Doctrine; the ſum whereof, I did not ſpare to communicate with my Brethren, being with them in the Realme of *Scotland*, in the yeer 1556, becauſe I know my ſelf to be a Steward, and that accounts of the Talent committed to my charge, ſhall be required of me by him, who will admit no vain excuſe which fearfull men pretend: I did therefore (as God his miniſter) during the time I was converſant with them (God is record and witneſſe) truely and ſincerely, according to the gift granted unto me, divide the Word of Salvation, teaching all men to hate ſin, which before God was and is ſo odious, that none other Sacrifice would ſatisfie his Juſtice, except the death of his onely Son; and to magnifie the mercies of our heavenly Father, who did not ſpare the ſubſtance of his own glory, but did give him to the world, to ſuffer the ignominious and cruell death of the Croſſe, by that means to reconcile his choſen children to himſelf: teaching further, what is the duty of ſuch as do believe themſelves purged by ſuch a Price, from their former filthineſſe; to wit, That they are bound to walk in the newneſſe of life, fighting againſt the luſts of the fleſh, and ſtudying at all times to glorifie God by ſuch good works as he hath prepared his people to walk in.

Heb. 10.
1 Cor. 3.
Mat. 25.
John 3.
Rom 5 8.
2 Cor. 5.
Rom. 6.
Epheſ 4 5.
Epheſ. 2.

In Doctrine I did further affirm (ſo taught by my Maſter Chriſt Jeſus) That whoſoever denieth him, yea, or is aſhamed of him before this wicked Generation, him ſhall Chriſt Jeſus deny, and of him ſhall he be aſhamed, when he ſhall appear in his Majeſty: And therefore I feared not to affirm, That of neceſſity it is, that ſuch as hope for life everlaſting, avoid all Superſtition, vain Religion and Idolatry: Vain Religion and Idolatry, I call whatſoever is done in Gods Service or Honour, without the expreſſe Commandment of his own Word.

Matth. 10.

Vain Religion, or Idolatry.

This Doctrine I did believe to be ſo conformable to Gods holy Scriptures, that I thought no creature could have been ſo impudent, as to have condemned any Point or Article of the ſame: Yet nevertheleſſe me, as an heretick, and this Doctrine, as hereticall, have your falſe Biſhops and ungodly Clergie condemned, pronouncing againſt me a Sentence of death; in teſtification whereof, they have burned a Picture. From which falſe and cruell Sentence, and from all judgement of that wicked Generation, I make it known unto your Honours, That I appeal to a Lawfull and Generall Councell, to ſuch, I mean, as the moſt ancient Laws and Cannons do approve, to be holden by ſuch, as whoſe manifeſt impiety is not to be reformed in the ſame: Moſt humbly requiring of your Honours, That as God hath appointed you Princes in that People, and by reaſon thereof, requireth of your hands the defence of Innocents troubled in your Dominion, in the mean time, and till the controverſies that this day be in Religion, be lawfully decided, ye receive me, and ſuch others as moſt unjuſtly by thoſe cruell Beaſts are perſecuted, in your defence and Protection.

A Sentence pronounced.

Appellation from the ſame.

The requeſt of Iohn Knox.

Your Honours are not ignorant, That it is not I alone, who doth ſuſtain

ſuſtain this Cauſe againſt the peſtilent Generation of Papiſts, but that the moſt part of *Germany*, the Countrey of *Helvetia*, the King of *Denmarke*, the Nobility of *Polonia*, together with many other Cities and Churches Reformed, appeal from the Tyrannie of that Antichriſt, and moſt earneſtly call for a Lawfull and Generall Councell, wherein may all Controverſies in Religion be decided, by the Authority of Gods moſt ſacred Word. Anno The Petition of Proteſtants.

And unto this ſame, as ſaid is, do I appeal yet once again, requiring of your Honours to hold my ſimple and plain Appellation of no leſſe value nor effect, then if it had been made with greater circumſtance, ſolemnity, and ceremony; and that you receive me calling unto you, as to the Powers of God ordained, in your protection and defence, againſt the rage of Tyrants; not to maintain me in any iniquity, errour, or falſe opinion, but to let me have ſuch equity, as God by his Word, ancient Laws and Determinations of moſt godly Councells, grant to men accuſed or infamed.

The Word of God wills, That no man ſhall die, except he be found criminall and worthy of death for offence committed, of which he muſt be manifeſtly convinced by two or three witneſſes. Ancient Law do permit juſt defences to ſnch as be accuſed (be their crimes never ſo horrible.) And godly Councells wills, That neither Biſhop nor perſon Eccleſiaſticall whatſoever, accuſed of any crime, ſhall ſit in Judgement, Conſultation, or Councell, where the cauſe of ſuch men as do accuſe them is to be tried. Deut. 17.

Theſe things require I of your Honours to be granted unto me, to wit; That the Doctrine which our adverſaries condemn for hereſie, may be tried by the ſimple and plain Word of God; That juſt Defences be admitted to us that ſuſtain the Battell againſt this peſtilent Generation of Antichriſt; And that they be removed from judgement in our Cauſe, ſeeing that our accuſation is not intended againſt any one particular perſon, but againſt that whole kingdom, which we doubt not to prove to be a power uſurped againſt God, againſt his Commandment, and againſt the Ordinance of Chriſt Jeſus eſtabliſhed in his Church by his chief Apoſtles; Yea, we doubt not to prove the kingdom of the Pope, to be the kingdom and power of Antichriſt. And therefore, my Lords, I cannot ceaſe in the Name of Chriſt Jeſus, to require of you, That the matter may come to examination, and that ye the States of the Realme, by your Authority, compell ſuch as will be called Biſhops, not onely to deſiſt from their cruell murthering of ſuch as do ſtudy to promote Gods glory, in detecting and diſcloſing the damnable impiety of that Man of Sin the Romane Antichriſt; but alſo that ye compell them to anſwer to ſuch crimes as ſhall be laid to their charge, for not righteouſly inſtructing the Flock committed to their cares. The Petition of Iohn Knox. Note well.

But here I know two things ſhall be doubted: The former, Whether that my Appellation is lawfull, and to be admitted, ſeeing that I am condemned as an heretick: And ſecondly, Whether your Honours are bound to defend ſuch as call for your ſupport in that caſe, ſeeing that your Biſhops (who in matters of Religion claim all Authority to appertain to them) have by their ſentence already condemned me. Anſwer: 1. To Objections.

The one and the other I nothing doubt moſt cleerly to prove: Firſt, That

Anno

Note.

That my Appellation is moſt lawfull and juſt: And ſecondly, That your Honours cannot refuſe to defend me thus calling for your ayd; for in refuſing, ye declare your ſelves rebellious to God, maintainers of murtherers, and ſhedders of innocent blood.

The Appellation is juſt and lawfull.

How juſt cauſe I have by the Civill Law (as for their Canon, it is accurſed of God) to appeal from their unjuſt ſentence, my purpoſe is not to make long diſcourſe; Onely I will touch the points which all men confeſſe to be the juſt cauſes of Appellation: firſt, Lawfully could I not be ſummoned by them, being for that time abſent from their Juriſdiction, charged with the Preaching of Chriſts Evangell in a free City, not ſubject to their Tyranny.

Secondly, To me was no intimation made of their ſummons, but ſo ſecret was their ſurmiſed malice, that the Copie of ſummons being required, was denyed.

Thirdly, To the Realme of *Scotland* could I have had no free nor ſure acceſſe, being before compelled to quit the ſame by their unjuſt Tyranny.

And laſtly, To me they neither could nor can be competent and indifferent Judges, for that, before any ſummons were raiſed againſt me, I had accuſed them by Letters publiſhed to the Queen *Dowager*, and had intended againſt them all crimes, offering my ſelf, with hazard of life, to prove the ſame, for the which they are not onely unworthy of Eccleſiaſticall Authority, but alſo of any ſufferance within a Common-wealth profeſſing Chriſt. This my accuſation preceding their ſummons, neither by the Law of God, neither yet by the law of man, can they be to me competent Judges, till place be granted unto me openly to prove my accuſation intended againſt them, and they be compelled to make anſwer, as criminalls: For I will plainly prove, That not onely Biſhops, but alſo Popes, have been removed from all Authority, and pronouncing of judgment, till they have purged themſelves of accuſations laid againſt them. Yea, further I will prove, That Biſhops and Popes have moſt juſtly been deprived from all Honours and adminiſtration, for ſmaller crimes then I have to charge the whole rabble of your Biſhops.

Gods Meſſengers may appeal from unjuſt ſentences, and Civill powers are bound to admit them.

But becauſe this is not my chief ground, I will ſtand content for this preſent to ſhew, That it is lawfull to Gods Prophets, and to Preachers of Chriſt Jeſus, to appeal from the ſentence and judgement of the viſible Church, to the knowledge of the Temporall Magiſtrate, who by Gods Law is bound to hear their cauſes, and to defend them from Tyranny.

Jer. 26.

The Prophet *Jeremy* was commanded by God to ſtand in the court of the Houſe of the Lord, and to preach this Sermon, in effect; That *Jeruſalem* ſhould be deſtroyed, and be expoſed in opprobrie to all Nations of the earth; And that alſo that famous Temple of God ſhould be made deſolate, like unto *Sylo*, becauſe the Prieſts, the Prophets, and the people, did not walk in the Law which God hath propoſed unto them, neither would they obey the voyces of the Prophets whom God ſent to call them to repentance.

For this Sermon, was *Jeremy* apprehended, and a ſentence of death pronounced againſt him, and that by the Prieſts, by the Prophets, and by the People: which things being bruted in the ears of the Princes of *Juda*, they

they paſſed up from the Kings Houſe, to the Temple of the Lord, and ſate downe in Judgement for further knowledge of the cauſe: But the Prieſts and Prophets continued in their cruell ſentence which before they had pronounced, ſaying, *This man is worthy of death; for he hath propheſied againſt this City, as your ears have heard.* But *Jeremy*, ſo moved by the holy Ghoſt, began his defence againſt that their tyrannous ſentence, in theſe words; *The Lord* (ſaith he) *hath ſent me to propheſie againſt this Houſe, and againſt this City, all the words which you have heard. Now therefore make good your wayes, and hear the voyce of the Lord your God, and then ſhall he repent of the evil which he hath ſpoken againſt you. And as for me, behold, I am in your hands* (ſo doth he ſpeak to the Princes) *do to me as you think good and right: Nevertheleſſe, know you this moſt aſſuredly, That if ye murther or ſlay me, ye ſhall make your ſelves, this City, and the inhabitants of the ſame, criminall and guilty of innocent blood; for of a truth the Lord hath ſent me to ſpeak in your ears all theſe words.* Anno Advert.

Then the Princes and the people (ſaith the Text) *ſaid, This man is not worthy of death, for he hath ſpoken to us in the Name of the Lord our God.* And ſo, after ſome contention, was the Prophet delivered from that danger. This fact and hiſtory manifeſtly proveth whatſoever before I have affirmed; to wit, That it is lawfull for the ſervants of God to call for the help of the Civill Magiſtrate, againſt the ſentence of death, if it be unjuſt, by whomſoever it is pronounced; And alſo that the Civill Sword hath power to repreſſe the fury of the Prieſts, and to abſolve whom they have condemned: For the Prophet of God was condemned by thoſe, who then onely in earth were known to be the viſible Church; to wit, the Prieſts and Prophets who were in *Jeruſalem*, the ſucceſſors of *Aaron*, to whom was given a charge to ſpeak to the people in the Name of God, and a Precept given to the people to hear the Law from their mouthes; to the which if any ſhould be rebellious or inobedient, he ſhould die the death without mercy. Theſe men, I ſay, thus authorized by God, firſt did excommunicate *Jeremy*, for that he did Preach otherwiſe then did the common ſort of Prophets in *Jeruſalem*: And laſt, apprehended him, as you have heard, pronouncing againſt him this ſentence afore-written; from the which nevertheleſſe the Prophet appealed, that is, Sought helpe and defence againſt the ſame, and that moſt earneſtly did he crave of the Princes: For albeit he ſaith, *I am in your hands, do with me as ye think righteous*, he doth not contemne or neglect his life, as though he regarded not what ſhould become of him, but in thoſe his words moſt vehemently did he admoniſh the Princes and Rulers of the people, giving them to underſtand what God ſhould require of them; as if he ſhould ſay, Ye Princes of *Juda*, and Rulers of the people, to whom appertaineth indifferently to judge betwixt party and party, to juſtifie the juſt man, and to condemne the malefactor, you have heard a ſentence of death pronounced againſt me, by thoſe whoſe lips ought not to ſpeak deceit, becauſe they are ſanctified and appointed by God himſelf, to ſpeak his Law, and to pronounce judgement with equity; but as they have left the living God, and have taught the people vanity, ſo are they become mortall enemies to all Gods true ſervants, of whom I am one, rebuking their iniquity, apoſtaſie and

The Princes did abſolve the Propher, whom the Prieſts had condemned.

Deut. 17.

The meaning of theſe words, *I am in your hands, &c.* Deut 17. Jerem 1. Deut 1 10.

Anno defection from God, which is the onely cauſe they ſeek my life. But a thing moſt contrary to all equity, law and juſtice it is, that I, a man ſent of God, to call them, his people, and you again to the true ſervice of God, from the which you are all declined, ſhall ſuffer the death, becauſe that my enemies do ſo pronounce ſentence. I ſtand in your preſence, whom God hath made Princes, your power is above their Tyranny, before you do I expoſe my cauſe, I am in your hands, and cannot reſiſt to ſuffer what ye think juſt: But leſt that my lenity and patience ſhould either make you negligent in the defence of me in my juſt cauſe, appealing to your judgement, either yet encourage my enemies in ſeeking my blood, this one thing I dare not conceal, That if you murther me (which thing ye do, if ye defend me not) ye make not onely my enemies guilty of my blood, but alſo your ſelves, and this whole City. By theſe words, I ſay, it is evident, That the Prophet of God, being condemned by the Prieſts, and by the Prophets of the viſible Church, did ſeek ayd, ſupport and defence at the Princes and temporall Magiſtrates, threatning his blood to be required at their hands, if they, by their Authority, did not defend him from the fury of his enemies; alleadging alſo juſt cauſes of his Appellation, and why he ought to have been defended; to wit, That he was ſent of God to rebuke their vices and defection from God; That he taught no Doctrine which God before had not pronounced in his Law; That he deſired their converſion to God, continually calling upon them to walke in the wayes which God had approved; and therefore doth he boldly crave of the Princes, as of Gods Lievtenants, to be defended from the blinde rage and tyranny of the Prieſts, notwithſtanding that they claimed to themſelves Authority to judge all matters of Religion. And the ſame did he when he was caſt in priſon, and thereafter was brought to the preſence of King *Zedechias*. After, I ſay, he had defended his innocency, affirming, That he neither had offended againſt the King, againſt his ſervants, nor againſt the people, at laſt he made interceſſion to the King for his life, ſaying, *But now, my Lord the King, take heed, I beſeech thee, let my prayer fall into thy preſence, command me not to be carried again into the houſe of* Jonathan *the Scribe, that I die not there.*

The cauſes of his Appellation, and why he ought to have been defended.

Jerem. 38.

And the Text witneſſeth, That the King commanded the place of his impriſonment to be changed. Whereof it is evident, That the Prophet did ofter then once ſeek help at the Civill power; and that firſt the Princes, and thereafter the King did acknowledge, That it appertained to their Office to deliver him from the unjuſt ſentence which was pronounced againſt him. If any man think that *Jeremy* did not appeal, becauſe he onely declared the wrong done unto him, and did but crave defence according to his innocency, let the ſame man underſtand, That none otherwiſe do I appeal from that falſe and cruell ſentence which your Biſhops pronounced againſt me; Neither yet can there be any juſt cauſe of Appellation, but innocency, or ſuſpition to be hurt, whether it be by ignorance of a Judge, or by malice and corruption of thoſe, who under the title of Juſtice, do exerciſe Tyranny. If I were a thief, murtherer, blaſphemer, open adulterer, or any offender whom Gods Word commandeth to ſuffer for a crime committed, my Appellation were vain, and to be

Juſt cauſe of Appellation.

be rejected: But I being innocent, yea, the Doctrine which your Biſhops have condemned in me being Gods Eternall Verity, have no leſſe liberty to crave your defence againſt that cruelty, then had the Prophet *Jeremy* to ſeek ayd of the Princes and King of *Juda*. But this ſhall more plainly appear in the fact of Saint *Paul*, who after that he was apprehended in *Jeruſalem*, did firſt claim the liberty of the Romane Citizens, for avoyding torment, when the Captain would have examined him by queſtions: Thereafter in the Councell, where no righteous judgement was to be hoped for, he affirmed that he was a Phariſee, and that he was accuſed of the Reſurrection of the dead, and laſt, in the preſence of *Feſtus*, he appealed from all knowledge and judgement of the Prieſts at *Jeruſalem*, to the Emperour: Of which laſt Point, becauſe it doth chiefly appertain to this my cauſe, I will ſomewhat ſpeak. Anno Act. 22, 23, 24, & 25.

After that *Paul* had divers times been accuſed, as in the Acts of the Apoſtles is manifeſt, at the laſt the chief Prieſts and their faction came to *Ceſarea*, with *Feſtus* the Preſident, who preſented unto them *Paul* in Judgement, whom they accuſed of horrible crimes, which nevertheleſſe they could not prove, the Apoſtle maintaining, That he had offended neither againſt the Law, neither againſt the Temple, neither yet againſt the Emperour.

But Feſtus *willing to gratifie the Jews, ſaid to* Paul, *Wilt thou go up to* Jeruſalem, *and there be judged of theſe things in my preſence? But* Paul *ſaid, I ſtand at the Juſtice Seat of the Emperour, where it behoveth me to be judged; I have done no wrong to the Jews, as thou better knoweſt: If I have done any thing unjuſtly, or yet committed crime worthy of death, I refuſe not to die: But if there be nothing of theſe things true whereof they accuſe me, no man may give me to them: I appeal to* Cæſar. It may appear at the firſt ſight, That *Paul* did great injury to *Feſtus* the Judge, and to the whole Order of the Prieſthood, who did hope greater equity in a cruell tyrant, then in all that Seſſion, and learned company: which thing, no doubt, *Feſtus* did underſtand, pronouncing theſe words, *Haſt thou appealed to* Cæſar? *Thou ſhalt go to* Cæſar. As if he would ſay, I, as a man willing to underſtand the truth, before I pronounce ſentence, have required of thee to go to *Jeruſalem*, where the learned of thine own Nation may hear thy Cauſe, and diſcern in the ſame. The controverſie ſtandeth in matters of Religion; thou art accuſed as an apoſtate from the Law, as a violator of the Temple, and a tranſgreſſor of the Traditions of their Fathers; in which matters I am ignorant, and therefore deſire information by thoſe that be learned in the ſame Religion whereof the queſtion is; and yet doſt thou refuſe ſo many godly Fathers to hear thy cauſe, and doſt appeal to the Emperor, preferring him to all our judgments, of no purpoſe, belike, but to delay time. Thus, I ſay, it might have appeared that *Paul* did not onely injury to the Judge and to the Prieſts, but alſo that his cauſe was greatly to be ſuſpected, partly for that he did refuſe the judgement of thoſe that had moſt knowledge (as all men ſuppoſed) of Gods Will and Religion; and partly, becauſe he appealed to the Emperour, who then was at *Rome*, far abſent from *Jeruſalem*, a man ignorant of God, and enemy to all vertue. But the Apoſtle conſidering the nature of his enemies, and what things they had intended againſt him, even from Act. 25.

Anno the first day he began freely to speak in the Name of Christ, did not fear to appeal from them, and from the Judge that would have gratified them. They had professed themselves plain enemies to Christ Jesus, and to his blessed Evangell, and sought the death of *Paul*, yea, even by factions and treasonable conspiracy, and therefore by no means would he admit them either as Judges in his cause, or auditors of the same, as *Festus* required; But grounding himself upon strong reasons, to wit, That he had not offended the Jews, neither against the Law, but that he was innocent, therefore that no Judge ought to give him into the hands of his enemies: grounding, I say, his Appellation upon these reasons, he neither regarded the displeasure of *Festus*, neither yet the brute of the ignorant multitude, but boldly did appeal from all cognoscance of them, to the judgement of the Emperour, as said is. By these two examples, I doubt not but your Honours do understand, That it is lawfull to the servants of God, oppressed by tyrannts, to seek remedy against the same, be it by appellation from their sentence, or by imploring the help of Civill Magistrates: For what God hath approved in *Jeremy* and *Paul*, he can condemne in none that are so dealt withall. I might alleadge some History of the primitive Church serving to the same purpose; as of *Ambrose* and *Athanasius*, of whom, the one would not be judged but at *Millan*, where that his Doctrine was heard of all his Church, and received and approved by many: And the other would in no wise give place to those Councells, where he knew that men conspiring against the Truth of God, should sit in Judgement and Consultation: But becaus the Scriptures of God are my onely foundation and assurance in all matters of weight and importance, I have thought the two former testimonies sufficient, as well to approve my Appellation reasonable and just, as to declare to your Honours, That with safe conscience ye cannot refuse to admit the same. If any think it arrogancy or foolishnesse in me to compare my self with *Jeremy* and *Paul*, let the same man understand, That as God is immutable, so is the Verity of his glorious Evangell of equall dignity, whensoever it is impugned, be the members suffering never so weak. What I think touching mine owne person, God will reveal, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed: and such as with whom I have been conversant, can witnesse what arrogancy or pride they espie in me. But touching the Doctrine and cause which that adulterous and pestilent Generation of Antichrists servants (who will be called Bishops amongst you) have condemned me, I neither fear nor shame to confesse and avow before man and Angel, to be the Eternall Truth of the Eternall God. And in that case I doubt not to compare my self with any member in whom the Truth hath been impugned, since the beginning: For as it was the Truth which *Ieremy* did Preach, in these words; *The Priests have not known me (saith the Lord) but the Pastors have treacherously declined and fallen back from me. The Prophets have Prophesied in* Baal, *and have gone after those things which cannot helpe. My people have left the fountain of living Water, and have digged to themselves pits, which can contain no water.*

As it was a truth, That the Pastors and Watch-men in the dayes of *Isaiah*, were become dumb dogs, blinde, ignorant, proud and avaricious.

And

Why *Paul* would admit none of the Leuticall order to judge in his cause.

Upon what reasons the Appellation of *Paul* was grounded.

The cause is to be regarded, and not the persons.

Jerem. 2.

Jerem. 1.

Isai. 56.

And finally, as it was a truth, That the Princes and the Prieſts were murtherers of Chriſt Jeſus, and cruell perſecutors of his Apoſtles, ſo likewiſe it is a truth (and that moſt infallible) That thoſe who have condemned me (the whole rabble of the Papiſticall Clergie) have declined from the true Faith, have given ear to deceivable ſpirits, and to doctrine of devils; are the ſtars fallen from the heaven to the earth, are fountains without water; and finally, are enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, denyers of his vertue, and horrible blaſphemers of his death and paſſion. And further, As that viſible Church had no crime, whereof juſtly they could accuſe either Prophets or the Apoſtles, except their Doctrine onely; ſo have not ſuch as ſeek my blood other crime to lay to my charge, except, That I affirm, as alwayes I offer to prove, That the Religion which now is maintained by fire and ſword, is no leſſe contrarious to the true Religion taught and eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles, then is darkneſſe to light, or the devill to God; And alſo, That ſuch as now do claim the title and name of Church, are no more the elect Spouſe of Chriſt Jeſus, then was the Synagogue of the Jews the true Church of God, when it crucified Chriſt Jeſus, condemned his Doctrine, and perſecuted his Apoſtles. And therefore ſeeing that my Battell is againſt the proud and cruell hypocrites of this age, as that Battell of thoſe moſt excellent inſtruments was againſt the falſe Prophets and malignant Church of their ages: Neither ought any man to thinke it ſtrange that I compare my ſelf with them, with whom I ſuſtain a common cauſe; Neither ought your Lordſhips judge your ſelves leſſe addebted and bound to me, calling for your ſupport, then did the Princes of *Iuda* think themſelves bound to *Jeremy*, whom for that time they delivered, notwithſtanding the ſentence of death pronounced againſt him by the viſible Church.

Anno

Act. 3 & 4.

Jude 12
2 Pet. 2.

Let the cauſe be noted.

And thus much for the right of my Appellation, which in the bowells of Chriſt Jeſus I require your Honours not to eſteem as a thing ſuperfluous and vain, but that ye admit it, and alſo accept me in your protection and defence, that by you aſſured, I may have acceſſe to my native Countrey, which I never offended; to the end that freely and openly, in the preſence of the whole Realm, I may give my confeſſion of all ſuch Points as this day be in controverſie; And alſo that you, by your authority which ye have of God, compell ſuch as of long time have blinded and deceived both your ſelves and the people, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhall be laid to their charge.

But leſt that ſome doubt remain, That I require more of you, then you of conſcience are bound to grant; in few words, I hope my Petition to be ſuch, as without Gods heavy diſpleaſure ye cannot deny. My Petition is, That ye, whom God hath appointed Heads in your Commonwealth, with ſingle eye do ſtudy to promote the glory of God, To provide that your ſubjects be rightly inſtructed in his true Religion, That they be defended from all oppreſſion and tyranny, That true Preachers may be maintained, and ſuch as blinde and deceive the people, together alſo with all idle bellies, which do rob and oppreſſe the Flock, may be removed and puniſhed, as Gods Law preſcribeth. And to the performance of every one of theſe, do your Offices and Names, the Honours and

Anſwer to an objection or doubt.

The Petition of Iohn Knox.

Anno Benefits which ye receive, the Law of God univerſally given to all men and the examples of moſt godly Princes, binde and oblige you.

My purpoſe is not to labour greatly to prove, That your whole ſtudie ought to be, To promote the glory of God; Neither yet will I ſtudie to alleadge all reaſons that juſtly may be brought to prove, That ye are not exalted to raign above your brethren as men without care and ſolicitude; for theſe be principles ſo grafted in Nature, that very Ethnicks have confeſſed the ſame: For ſeeing that God onely hath placed you in his Chayr, hath appointed you to be his Lieutenants, and by his own Seal hath marked you to be Magiſtrates, and to rule above your brethren, to whom Nature nevertheleſſe hath made you like in all points (for in conception, birth, life and death ye differ nothing from the common ſort of men, but God onely as ſaid is, hath promoted you, and of his ſpeciall favour hath given you this Prerogative, to be called Gods) How horrible ingratitude were it then, that you ſhould be found unfaithfull to him, that hath thus honoured you? And further, What a monſter were it that you ſhould be proved unmercifull to them, above whom ye are appointed to raigne, as fathers above their children? Becauſe, I ſay, that the very Ethnicks have granted, That the chief and firſt care of Princes, and of ſuch as be appointed to rule above others, ought to be, To promote the glory and honour of their Gods, and to maintain that Religion which they ſuppoſed to have been true; And that their ſecond care was, To maintain and defend the ſubjects committed to their charge in all equity and juſtice: I will not labour to ſhew unto you what ought to be your ſtudie in maintaining Gods true honour, leſt that in ſo doing I ſhould ſeem to make you leſſe carefull to Gods true Religion, then were the Ethnicks over their Idolatry.

The ſingular honours which Magiſtrates receive of God, ought to move them with all diligence to promote his Religion.

The duty of Magiſtrates.

But becauſe other Petitions may appear more hard and difficile to be granted, I purpoſe briefly, but yet freely, to ſpeak what God by his Word doth aſſure me to be true: to wit, firſt, That in conſcience you are bound to puniſh malefactors, and to defend innocents imploring your help. Secondly, That God requireth of you to provide that your ſubjects be rightly inſtructed in his true Religion; and that the ſame be by you reformed, whenſoever abuſes do creep in by the malice of Satan and negligence of men. And laſtly, That ye are bonnd to remove from Honour, and to puniſh with death (if the crime ſo require) ſuch as deceive the people, or defraud them of that food of their ſouls, I mean, Gods lively Word. The firſt and ſecond are moſt plain by the words of S. *Paul*, thus ſpeaking of lawfull powers.

1.

2.

3.

Rom. 13. *Let every ſoul* (ſaith he) *ſubmit himſelf unto the higher Powers; for there is no power but of God: Whoſoever reſiſteth therefore the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation: For Rulers are not to be feared of thoſe that do well, but of thoſe that do evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the Power? Do that which is good, and ſo ſhalt thou be praiſed of the ſame: For he is the Miniſter of God for thy weal: But if thou do that which is evil, fear; for he beareth not the Sword for nought; for he is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil.*

As the Apoſtle in theſe words moſt ſtraitly commandeth Obedience to be

be given to lawfull powers, pronouncing Gods wrath and vengeance againſt ſuch as ſhall reſiſt the Ordinance of God; ſo doth he aſſigne to the powers their Offices, which be, To take vengeance upon evil doers, To maintain the well doers, and ſo to miniſter and rule in their Office, that the ſubjects by them may have a Benefit, and be praiſed in well doing. Now if you be powers ordained by God, (and that I hope all men will grant) then by the plain words of the Apoſtle is the Sword given unto you by God, for maintenance of the innocent, and for puniſhment of malefactors: But I, and my brethren with me accuſed, do offer not onely to prove our ſelves innocents in all things laid to our charge, but alſo we offer moſt evidently to prove your Biſhops to be the very peſtilence, who have infected all Chriſtianity: And therefore by the plain Doctrine of the Apoſtle, you are bound to maintain us, and puniſh the other, being evidently convinced, and proved criminall. Moreover, the former words of the Apoſtle do teach, How far high powers are bound to their ſubjects; to wit, That becauſe they be Gods Miniſters, by him ordained for the profit and utility of others, moſt diligently ought they to attend upon the ſame. For that cauſe aſſigneth the holy Ghoſt, commanding ſubjects to obey, and to pay Tribute, ſaying, *For this do you pay Tribute and Toll*; that is, Becauſe they are Gods Miniſters, bearing the Sword for your utility. Whereof it is plain, That there is no honour, without a charge annexed. And this one point I wiſh your wiſedoms deeply to conſider, That God hath not placed you above your Brethren, to raigne as Tyrants, without reſpect of either profit or commodity. You hear the holy Ghoſt witneſſe the contrary, affirming, That all powers be Gods Miniſters, ordained for the weal, profit, and ſalvation of their ſubjects, and not for their deſtruction. Could it be ſaid (I beſeech you) That Magiſtrates incloſing their ſubjects in a City without all victualls, or giving unto them no other victualls but ſuch as were poyſoned, did rule for the profit of their ſubjects? I truſt that none would be ſo fooliſh as ſo to affirm; but that rather every diſcreet perſon would boldly affirm, That ſuch as ſo did, were unworthy of Regiment. If we will not deny that which Chriſt Jeſus affirmeth to be a truth infallible; to wit, That the ſoul is greater and more precious then is the body, then ſhall we eaſily eſpie how unworthy of Authority be thoſe that this day debar their ſubjects from hearing of Gods Word, and by fire and ſword compell them to feed upon the very poyſon of their ſouls, the damnable Doctrine of Antichriſt. And therefore in this point, I ſay, I cannot ceaſe to admoniſh your Honors diligently to take heed over your charge, which is greater then the moſt part of men ſuppoſe. It is not enough that you abſtain from violent wrong and oppreſſion which ungodly men exerciſe againſt their ſubjects; but ye are further bound, to wit, That ye rule above them for their weal; which we cannot do, if that ye either by negligence not providing true Paſtors, or yet by your maintenance of ſuch as be ravening Wolves, ſuffer their ſouls to ſtarve and periſh for lack of the true food, which is Chriſts Evangell ſincerely preached: It will not excuſe you in his preſence who will require account of every Talent committed to your charge, to ſay, That ye ſuppoſed that the charge of the ſouls had been com-

Anno

In what Points powers are bound to their ſubjects.

Rom. 13.

Let the ſimiliſtude be noted.

It is not enough that Rulers do not oppreſſe their ſubjects.

Anno committed to your Biſhops. No no, my Lords, ſo ye cannot eſcape Gods judgement; for if your Biſhops be proved to be no Biſhops, but deceivable theeves, and ravening wolves (which I offer my ſelf to prove by Gods Word, by Law and Councells, yea, by the judgement of all the godly learned, from the primitive Church to this day) then ſhall your permiſſion and defence, be reputed before God a participation with their theft and murther: For thus accuſed the Prophet *Iſaiah* the Princes of *Jeruſalem*: *Thy Princes* (ſaith he) *are apoſtates*, (that is, obſtinate refuſers of God) *and they are companions of theeves.* This grievous accuſation was laid againſt them, albeit that they ruled in that City, which ſometime was called Holy, where then were the Temple, Rites, and Ordinances of God; becauſe that not onely they were wicked themſelves, but chiefly becauſe they maintained wicked men, their Prieſts and falſe Prophets, in honours and authority: If they did not eſcape this accuſation of the holy Ghoſt in that age, look ye neither to ſcape the accuſation nor the judgement of wicked men; to wit, That the one and the other ſhall drink the Cup of Gods wrath and vengeance together. And leſt ye ſhould deceive your ſelves, eſteeming your Biſhops to be vertuous and godly, this do I affirm, and offer my ſelf to prove the ſame, That more wicked men then be the whole rabble of your Clergie, were never from the beginning univerſally known in any age; yea, *Sodome* and *Gomorra* may be juſtified in reſpect of them; for they permitted juſt *Lot* to dwell amongſt them without any violence done to his body, which that peſtilent Generation of your ſhaven ſort doth not, but moſt cruelly perſecute by fire and ſword the true members of Chriſts Body, for no other cauſe, but for the true ſervice and honouring of God. And therefore I fear not to affirm that, which God will one day juſtifie, That by your Offices ye are bound, not onely to repreſſe their tyranny, but alſo to puniſh them as theeves and murtherers, as Idolaters, and blaſphemers of God; and in their rooms ye are bound to place true Preachers of Chriſts Evangell, for the inſtruction, comfort, and ſalvation of your ſubjects, above whom elſe ſhall never the holy Ghoſt acknowledge, That you rule in juſtice for their profit. If ye pretend to poſſeſſe the Kingdom with Chriſt Jeſus, ye may not take example neither by the ignorant multitude of Princes, neither by the ungodly and cruell Rulers of the earth, of whom ſome paſſe their time in ſloth, inſolency and riot, without reſpect had to Gods honour, or to the ſalvation of of their brethren; and others moſt cruelly oppreſſe, with proud *Nimrod*, ſuch as be ſubject to them. But your pattern and example muſt be the practice of thoſe whom God hath approved by the teſtimony of his Word, as after ſhall be declared.

The offer of *John Knox*, and his accuſation intended againſt the Papiſticall Biſhops.

Iſaiah 1.

Jerem 23. & 27.

Ezech. 13.

Hoſa 4.

Note. If Powers provide not for inſtruction of their ſubjects, they do never rule above them for their Profit.

Of the premiſes it is evident, That to lawfull powers is given the Sword, for puniſhment of malefactors, for maintenance of innocents, and for the profit and utility of their ſubjects. Now let us conſider, Whether the Reformation of Religion fallen in decay, and puniſhment of falſe Teachers, do appertain to the Civill Magiſtrate and Nobility of any Realme. I am not ignorant that Satan of old time, for maintenance of his darkneſſe, hath obtained of the blinde world two chief points: The former, He hath perſwaded to Princes, Rulers, and Magiſtrates, That the

What Satan hath obtained of the blinde world.

the feeding of Chriſts Flock appertaineth nothing to their charge, but that it is rejected upon the Biſhops, and State Eccleſiaſticall. And ſecondly, That the Reformation of Religion, be it never ſo corrupt, and the puniſhment of ſuch as be ſworn Souldiers in their kingdom, are exempted from all Civill power, and are reſerved to themſelves, and to their cognizance. But that no offender may juſtly be exempted from puniſhment; and that the ordering and reformation of Religion, with the inſtruction of ſubjects, doth eſpecially appertain to the Civill Magiſtrate, ſhall Gods perfect Ordinance, his plain Word, and the facts and examples of thoſe that of God are highly praiſed, moſt evidently declare. Anno

When God did eſtabliſh his Law, Statutes and Ceremonies in the midſt of *Iſrael*, he did not exempt the matters of Religion from the power of *Moſes*, but as he gave him charge over the Civill policie, ſo he put in his mouth and his hand; that is, he firſt revealed to him, and thereafter commanded to put in practice whatſoever was to be taught or done in matters of Religion. Nothing did God reveal particularly to *Aaron*, but altogether was he commanded to depend from the mouth of *Moſes*: Yea, nothing was he permitted to do to himſelf, or to his children, either in his or their Inauguration and Sanctification to the Prieſthood, but all was committed to the care of *Moſes*, and therefore were theſe words ſo frequently repeated to *Moſes*, *Thou ſhalt ſeparate* Aaron *and his ſons from the midſt of the people of* Iſrael, *that they may execute the Office of the Prieſthood; thou ſhalt make them Garments, thou ſhalt anoynt them, thou ſhalt waſh them, thou ſhalt fill their hands with Sacrifice.* And ſo forth of every Rite and Ceremony that was to be done unto them, eſpeciall commandment was given unto *Moſes*, That he ſhould do it. Now if *Aaron* and his ſons were ſubject to *Moſes*, that they did nothing but at his commandment, Who dare be ſo bold as to affirm, That the Civill Magiſtrate hath nothing to do in matters of Religion? For ſeeing that then God did ſo ſtraitly require, That even thoſe who did bear the figure of Chriſt, ſhould receive from the Civill power as it were their Sanctification, and entrance into their Office: And ſeeing alſo that *Moſes* was ſo far preferred to *Aaron*, that the one commanded, and the other did obey, Who dare eſteem that the Civill power is now become ſo profane in Gods eyes, that it is ſequeſtred from all intromiſſion with the matters of Religion. The holy Ghoſt in divers places declareth the contrary. For one of the chief Precepts commanded to the King, when that he ſhould be placed in his Throne, was to write the example of the Book of the Lords Law, that it ſhould be with him, that he might reade in it all the dayes of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of his Law and his Statutes to do them. This Precept he requireth, not onely that the King ſhould himſelf fear God, keep his Law and Statutes, but that alſo he, as the chief Ruler, ſhould provide that Gods true Religion ſhould be kept inviolated of the people and flock which by God was committed to his charge. And this did not onely *David* and *Solomon* perfectly underſtand, but alſo ſome godly Kings in *Juda*, after the apoſtaſie and idolatry that infected *Iſrael* by the means of *Jeroboam*, did employ their underſtanding, and execute their power in ſome notable Reformations: For *Aſa* and

The matters and Reformation of Religion appertain to the care of the Civill power. Exod. 21, 24, 25, &c.

Note.

Exod. 28.

The facts of godly Kings are an interpretation of the Law, and declaration of their power.

Anno

Josaphat Kings in *Juda*, finding the Religion altogether corrupt, did apply their hearts (saith the holy Ghost) to serve the Lord, and to walk in his wayes: And thereafter doth witnesse, That *Asa* removed from Honours his mother (some say grand-mother) because she had committed, and laboured to maintain Idolatry. And *Josaphat* did not onely refuse strange gods himself, but also destroying the chief Monuments of Idolatry, did send forth the Levites to instruct the people. Whereof it is plain, That the one and the other did understand such Reformations to appertain to their duties. But the facts of *Ezechias* and of *Josias* do more cleerly prove the power and duty of the Civill Magistrate in Reformation of Religion: Before the Raign of *Ezechias* Religion was so corrupt, that the doors of the House of the Lord were shut up, the Lamps were extinguished, no Sacrifice was orderly made: But in the first yeer of his Raigne, in the first moneth of the same, did the King open the doors of the Temple, bring in the Priests and Levites, and assembling them together, did speak unto them as followeth: *Hear me, O ye Levites, and be ye sanctified now, and sanctifie also the House of the Lord God of your fathers, and carry forth all filthinesse* (he meaneth, All monuments and vessels of Idolatry) *for our fathers have transgressed, and have committed wickednesse in the eyes of the Eternall our God, they have left him, and turned their faces from the Tabernacle of the Lord; and therefore is the wrath of the Lord come upon* Juda *and* Jerusalem: *Behold, our fathers have fallen by the sword, our sons, daughters, and wives are led into Captivity: But now have I purposed in my heart to make a Covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that he may turne the wrath of his fury from us. And therefore my sons* (he sweetly exhorteth) *be not faint, for the Lord hath chosen you to stand in his presence, and to serve him.*

2 Paral. 14. & 17

Note.

2 Paralip 19.

Advert that the King taketh upon him to command the Priests.

Such as be not more then blinde, cleerly may perceive that the King doth acknowledge, That it appertained to his charge, To reforme the Religion, To appoint the Levites to their charges, and To admonish them of their Duty and Office: Which thing he most evidently declareth, writing his Letters to all *Israel*, to *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, and sent the same by the hands of Messengers, having this tenour:

You sons of Israel, *return to the Lord God of* Abraham, Isaac, *and* Israel, *and he shall turn to the residue that resteth from the hands of* Assur: *Be not as your fathers and as your brethren were, who have transgressed against the Lord God of their fathers, who hath made them desolate, as you see. Hold not your heart therefore, but give your hand unto the Lord, return unto his Sanctuary, serve him, and he shall shew mercy unto you, to your sons and daughters that be in Bondage; for he is pitifull, and easie to be intreated.*

2 Paral. 30.

Thus far did *Ezechias* by Letters and Messengers provoke the people, declined from God, to repentance; not onely in *Juda* where he raigned lawfull King, but also in *Israel*, subject then to another King. And albeit that by some wicked men his Messengers were mocked, yet as they lacked not their just punishment (for within six dayes after *Samaria* was destroyed, and *Israel* led captive by *Salmanazar*) so did not the zealous King *Ezechias* desist to prosecute his duty in restoring the Religion to Gods perfect Ordinance, removing all abominations.

Note.

The same is to be read of *Josias*, who did not onely restore the Religion,

2 Paral 35.

but

but did further deſtroy all Monuments of Idolatry which of long time had remained: For it is written of him, That after that the Book of the Law was found, and that he asked counſell at the Propheteſſe *Hulda*, he ſent and gathered all the Elders of *Juda* and *Jeruſalem*, and ſtanding in the Temple of the Lord, he made a Covenant, That all the people, from the great to the ſmall, ſhould walk after the Lord, ſhould obſerve his Law, Statutes, and Teſtimonies, with all their heart, and with all their ſoul; and that they ſhould ratifie and confirm whatſoever was written in the Booke of God. He further commanded *Hilkias* the high Prieſt, and the Prieſts of the inferiour Order, That they ſhould carry forth of the Temple of the Lord all the veſſels that were made to *Baal*, which he burnt, and did carry their powder to *Bethel*. He did further deſtroy all Monuments of Idolatry, yea, even thoſe that had remained from the dayes of *Solomon*; he did burn them, ſtamp them to Powder, whereof one part he ſcattered in the brook *Kidron*, and the other part upon the Sepulchres and Graves of the Idolaters, whoſe bones he did burn upon the Altars where before they made Sacrifice not onely in *Juda*, but alſo in *Bethel*, where *Jeroboam* had erected his Idolatry: yea, he further proceeded, and did kill the Prieſts of the high places, who were Idolaters, and had deceived the people; he did kill them, I ſay, and burnt their bones upon their own Altars, and ſo returned to *Jeruſalem*. This Reformation made *Joſias*, and for the ſame obtained this Teſtimony of the holy Ghoſt, That neither before him nor after him was there any ſuch King, who returned to God with his whole ſoul, and with all his ſtrength, according to all the Law of *Moſes*.

Anno

2 Reg. 23.

The King commanded the Prieſts.

Of which Hiſtories it is evident, That the Reformation of Religion in all points, together with the puniſhment of falſe Teachers, doth appertain to the power of the Civill Magiſtrate: For what God required of them, his juſtice muſt require of others having the like charge and Authority; what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others who with like zeal and ſincerity do enterpriſe to purge the Lords Temple and Sanctuary. What God required of them, it is before declared; to wit, That moſt diligently they ſhould obſerve his Law, Statutes and Ceremonies. And how acceptable were their facts to God, doth he himſelf witneſſe; For to ſome he gave moſt notable Victories without the hand of man; and in their moſt deſperate dangers, did declare his eſpeciall favour towards them by ſignes ſupernaturall: To other he ſo eſtabliſhed the Kingdom, that their enemies were compelled to ſtoup under their feet. And the names of all he hath regiſtred not onely in the Book of life, but alſo in the bleſſed remembrance of all poſterities ſince their dayes, which alſo ſhall continue till the coming of the Lord Jeſus, who ſhall reward with the Crown of Immortality not onely them, but alſo ſuch as unfainedly ſtudy to do the will, and to promote the glory of his heavenly father in the midſt of this corrupted Generation. In conſideration whereof ought you, my Lords, all delay ſet apart, to provide for the Reformation of Religion in your Dominions and Bounds, which now is ſo corrupt, that no part of Chriſts Inſtitution remaineth in the Originall purity; and therefore of neceſſity it is, That ſpeedily ye provide for Reformation, or elſe ye declare your ſelves

2 Par. 32.

Anno not onely voyd of love towards your ſubjects, but alſo to live without care of your own ſalvation, yea, without all fear and true reverence of God. Two things perchance may move you to eſteem theſe hiſtories before briefly touched, to appertain nothing to you: Firſt, Becauſe you are no Jews, but Gentiles. And ſecondly, Becauſe you are no Kings, but Nobles in your Realm. But be not deceived; for neither of both can excuſe you in Gods preſence from doing his duty, for it is a thing more then certain, That whatſoever God required of the Civill Magiſtrate in *Iſrael* or *Juda* concerning the obſervation of true Religion during the time of the Law, the ſame doth he require of lawfull Magiſtrates profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus in the time of the Goſpel, as the holy Ghoſt hath taught us by the mouth of *David* (*Pſal.* 2.) ſaying, *Be learned, you that judge the earth, kiſſe the Son, leſt that the Lord wax angry, and that ye periſh away.* This Admonition doth not extend to the Judges under the Law onely, but doth alſo include all ſuch as be promoted to Honours in the time of the Goſpel, when Chriſt Jeſus doth raigne and fight in his Spirituall Kingdom, whoſe enemies in that Pſalme be firſt moſt ſharply taxed, their fury expreſſed, and vanity mocked; and then are Kings and Judges, who think themſelves free from all Law and Obedience, commanded to repent their former blinde rage; and Judges are charged to be learned; and laſt, are commanded to ſerve the Eternall God in feare, to rejoyce before him in trembling, to kiſſe the Son, that is, To give him moſt humble Obedience: Whereof it is evident, That the Rulers, Magiſtrates, and Judges now in Chriſts Kingdom, are no leſſe bound to Obedience unto God, then were thoſe under the Law? And how is it poſſible that any ſhould be obedient, who deſpiſeth his Religion, in which ſtandeth the chief glory that man can give to God, and is a ſervice which God eſpecially requireth of Kings and Rulers? Which thing Saint *Auguſtine* plainly did note, writing to one *Bonifacius* a man of Warre, according to the ſame argument and purpoſe which I labour to perſwade your Honours: For after that he hath in that his Epiſtle declared the difference betwixt the hereſie of the *Donatiſts* and *Arrians*, and hath ſomewhat ſpoken of their cruelty, he ſheweth the way how their fury ſhould and ought to be repreſſed, and that it is lawfull for the unjuſtly afflicted to ſeek ſupport and defence at godly Magiſtrates; for thus he writeth, *Either muſt the Verity be kept cloſe, or elſe muſt their cruelty be ſuſtained.* But if the Verity ſhould be concealed, not onely ſhould none be ſaved, but alſo ſhould many be loſt through their deceit. But if by Preaching of the Verity their fury ſhould be provoked more to rage, and by that means yet ſome were delivered, and made ſtrong, yet ſhould fear hinder many weaklings to follow the Verity, if their rage be not ſtayed. In theſe firſt words *Auguſtine* ſheweth three reaſons why the afflicted Church in thoſe dayes called for the help of the Emperour, and of godly Magiſtrates, againſt the fury of the perſecuters. The firſt, *The Verity muſt be ſpoken, or elſe mankinde ſhall periſh in errour.* The ſecond, The Verity being plainly ſpoken, provoketh the adverſaries to rage. And becauſe that ſome did alleadge, That rather we ought to ſuffer all injury, then to ſeek ſupport by man, he addeth,

The facts of the godly Kings in *Iuda*, do appertain to the powers amongſt the Gentiles profeſſing Chriſt.

Epiſt. 50

Advert.

Note well.

addeth the third reaſon; to wit, That many weak ones be not able to ſuffer perſecution and death for the Truths ſake, to whom not the leſſe reſpect ought to be had, that they may be won from their errour, and ſo be brought to greater ſtrength. Anno

Oh that the Rulers of this age would ponder and weigh the reaſons of this godly Writer, and provide the remedy, which he requireth in theſe words following; *Now when the Church was thus afflicted, if any thinke, That rather they ſhould have ſuſtained all calamity, then that help ſhould have been asked of Chriſtian Emperours by the godly, he doth not well to advert, That of ſuch negligence no good counts nor reaſon could be given: For where ſuch as would that no juſt Laws ſhould be made againſt their impiety, alleadge, That the Apoſtles ſought no ſuch things of the Kings of the earth, they do not conſider, That the time was other then it is now, and that all things are done in their owne time. What Emperour then believed in Chriſt, that he ſhould ſerve him in making Laws for godlineſſe againſt impiety? While that ſaying of the Prophet was compleat, Why hath* Nations raged, and people have imagined vanity? The Kings of the earth have ſtood up, and Princes have convened together againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anoynted. *That which is after in the ſame Pſalme, was not yet come to paſſe:* And now underſtand, O ye Kings, be learned you that judge the earth, ſerve the Lord in fear, and rejoyce to him with trembling. *How do Kings ſerve the Lord in feare, but in puniſhing, and by a godly ſeverity forbidding thoſe things which are done againſt the Commandment of the Lord? For otherwiſe doth he ſerve the Lord in ſo farre as he is man, otherwiſe in ſo farre as he is King. In ſo farre as he is a man, he ſerveth him by living faithfully; but becauſe he is alſo King, he ſerveth eſtabliſhing Laws that command the things that be juſt, and that with a convenient rigour forbid things contrary. As* Ezechias *ſerved deſtroying the Groves, the Temples of Idolls, and the places which were builded againſt Gods Commandment. So ſerved alſo* Joſias, *doing the ſame. So the King of the* Ninivites *compelling the whole City to mitigate the fury of the Lord. So ſerved* Darius, *giving into the power of* Daniel *the Idol to be broken, and his enemies to be caſt to the Lions. So ſerved* Nebuchad-nezzar, *by a terrible Law forbidding all that were in his Realme to blaſpheme God. Herein therefore do Kings ſerve the Lord, in ſo farre as they are Kings, when they do thoſe things to ſerve him, which none except Kings be able to doe.* He further proceedeth, and concludeth, That *as when wicked Kings do raigne, impiety cannot be bridled by Laws, but rather is tyranny exerciſed under the title of the ſame; So is it a thing without all reaſon, That Kings profeſsing the knowledge and honour of God, ſhould not regard nor care who did defend nor who did oppugne the Church of God in their Dominions.*

Auguſtines words.

Advert the minde of *Auguſtine.*

In two ſorts ought Kings to ſerve God.

Note.

O that the world would underſtand!

By theſe words of this ancient and godly Writer, your Honours may perceive what I require of you, to wit, To repreſſe the tyranny of your Biſhops, and to defend the innocents profeſſing the Truth. He did require of the Emperour and Kings in his dayes profeſſing Chriſt, and manifeſtly concludeth, That *they cannot ſerve Chriſt, except that ſo they doe.* Let not your Biſhops think that *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh for them, becauſe he nameth the Church: Let them reade and underſtand, That *Auguſtine*

Anno writeth for that Church which profeſſeth the Truth, and doth ſuffer perſecution for the defence of the ſame, which your Biſhops do not, but rather with the Donatiſts and Arrians do cruelly perſecute all ſuch as boldly ſpeak Chriſts Eternall Verity, to manifeſt their impiety and abomination. But thus much we have of *Auguſtine*, That it appertaineth to the obedience and ſervice which Kings owe to God, as well now in the time of the Goſpel, as before under the Law, to defend the afflicted for matters of Religion, and to repreſſe the fury of the perſecuters by the rigour and ſeverity of godly Laws. For which cauſe, no doubt, *Iſaiah* the Prophet ſaith, That Kings ſhould be nouriſhers of the Church of God, that they ſhould abaſe their heads, and lovingly embrace the children of God. And thus, I ſay, your Honours may evidently ſee, That the ſame Obedience doth God require of Rulers and Princes in the time of the Goſpel, that he required in the time of the Law.

Note.

Iſai. 49.

An anſwer to the ſecond Objection.

If you do think that the Reformation of Religion, and defence of the afflicted doth not appertain to you, becauſe you are no Kings, but Nobles and States of a Realme, in two things you are deceived: Firſt, In that you do not advert, That *David* requireth as well that the Princes and Judges of the earth to be learned, and that they ſerve and fear God, as that he requireth that Kings repent. If you therefore be Judges and Princes (as no man can deny you to be) then by the plain words of *David* you are charged to be learned, to ſerve and fear God; which ye cannot do, if ye deſpiſe the Reformation of his Religion. And this is your firſt errour.

The ſecond is, That ye neither know your duty which ye owe to God, neither yet your Authority which of him ye have received, if ye for pleaſure or fear of any earthly man deſpiſe Gods true Religion, and contemn your brethren that in his Name call for your ſupport. Your duty is to hear the voyce of the Eternall your God, and unfainedly to ſtudie to follow his Precepts; who, as is before ſaid, of ſpeciall mercy hath promoted you to Honours and Dignity. His chief and principall Precept is, That with reverence ye receive and embrace his onely beloved Son Jeſus; That ye promote to the uttermoſt of your powers his true Religion; and That ye defend your brethren and ſubjects, whom he hath put under your charge and care. Now if your King be a man ignorant of God, enemy to his true Religion, blinded by Superſtition, and a perſecuter of Chriſts members, Shall ye be excuſed, if with ſilence ye paſſe over his iniquity? Be not deceived, my Lords, ye are placed in Authority for another purpoſe then to flatter your King in his folly and blinde rage; to wit, That as with your bodies, ſtrength, riches and wiſedom ye are bound to aſſiſt and defend him in all things which by your advice he ſhall take in hand for Gods glory, and for the preſervation of his Common-wealth and ſubjects; ſo by your authorities, counſell, and admonition, ye are bound to correct and repreſſe whatſoever ye know him to attempt expreſſely repugning to Gods Word, Honour and glory, or what ye ſhall eſpie him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, againſt his ſubjects, great or ſmall: Of which laſt part of your obedience if you defraud your King, ye commit againſt him no leſſe Treaſon, then if ye did extract from him your due and promiſed ſupport, when by his enemies unjuſtly he were purſued.

Note.

Note diligently

Note.

By

But this part of their duty, I fear, do a ſmall number of the Nobility of this age rightly conſider; neither yet will they underſtand that for that purpoſe hath God promoted them: For now the common ſong of all men is, *We muſt obey our Kings, be they good or bad, For God hath commanded it.* But horrible ſhall the vengeance be, that ſhall be poured forth upon ſuch blaſphemers of God his holy Name and Ordinance; For it is no leſſe blaſphemy to ſay, That God hath commanded Kings to be obeyed, when they command impiety, then to ſay, That God by his Precept is author and maintainer of all iniquity. True it is, God hath commanded Kings to be obeyed; but like true it is, That in things which they commit againſt his glory, or when cruelly without cauſe they rage againſt their brethren the members of Chriſts body, he hath commanded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea and greatly rewarded ſuch as have oppoſed themſelves to their ungodly commandments and blinde rage; as in the examples of the three Children, of *Daniel* and *Abdemelech* it is evident. The three Children would neither bow nor ſtoup before the golden Image at the commandment of the great King *Nebuchadnezar*. *Daniel* did openly pray, his windows being open, againſt the eſtabliſhed Law of *Darius* and of his Councell. And *Abdemelech* feared not to enter in before the preſence of *Zedechias*, and boldly to defend the cauſe and innocency of *Jeremy* the Prophet, whom the King and his Councell had condemned to death. Every one of theſe facts ſhould this day be judged fooliſh, by ſuch as will not underſtand what God doth require of his children, when his Verity is oppugned, or his glory called in doubt: ſuch men, I ſay, as prefer man to God, and things preſent, to the heavenly inheritance, ſhould have judged every one of theſe ſtubborn inobedience, fooliſh preſumption and ſingularity, or elſe bold controlling of the King and his wiſe Councell. But how acceptable in Gods preſence was this reſiſtance to the ungodly commandments and determinations of their King, the end did witneſſe; for the three children were delivered from the Furnace of fire, and *Daniel* from the Den of Lions, To the confuſion of their enemies, To the better inſtruction of the ignorant Kings, and To the perpetuall comfort of Gods afflicted children. And *Abdemelech*, in the day of the Lords Viſitation, when the King and his Councell did drink the bitter cup of Gods Vengeance, did finde his life for a prey, and did not fall by the edge of the ſword, when many thouſands did periſh: And this was ſignified unto them by the Prophet himſelf, at the commandment of God, before that *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed. This promiſe and cauſe were recited unto him in theſe words, *I will bring my words upon this City unto evil, and not unto good; but moſt aſſuredly I ſhall deliver thee, becauſe thou haſt truſted in me, ſaith the Lord.* The truſt and hope which *Abdemelech* had in God, made himſelf bold to oppoſe himſelf, being but one, to the King and to his whole Councell, who had condemned to death the Prophet, whom his conſcience did acknowledge to be innocent: for thus did he ſpeak in preſence of the King, ſitting in the Port of *Benjamin*; *My Lord the King*, (ſaith *Abdemelech*) *theſe men do wickedly in all things that they have done to* Jeremy *the Prophet.* Advert and take heed, my Lords, that the men who had condemned the Prophet, were the King, his

Anno

Note diligently

Jerem 38.

Jerem. 39.

Anno his Princes and Councell, and yet did one man accuſe them all of iniquity, and did boldly ſpeak in the defence of him, of whoſe innocency he was perſwaded: And the ſame, I ſay, is the duty of every man in his Vocation, but chiefly of the Nobility, which is joyned with their kings, to bridle and repreſſe their folly and blinde rage: Which thing if the Nobility do not, neither yet labour to doe, as they are Traitours to their Kings, ſo do they provoke the wrath of God againſt themſelves, and againſt the Realme, in which they abuſe the Authoritie which they have received of God, to maintaine Vertue, and to ſuppreſſe Vice. And hereof I would your Honours were moſt certainly perſwaded, That God will neither excuſe Nobilitie nor people, but the Nobility leaſt of all that obey and follow their Kings in manifeſt iniquity; but with the ſame vengeance will God puniſh the Prince, People, and Nobility conſpiring together againſt him and his Holy Ordinances; as in the puniſhment upon *Pharaoh*, *Iſrael*, *Juda*, and *Babylon*, is evidently to be ſeene; for *Pharaoh* was not drowned alone, but his Captains, Charets, and great Army drank the ſame Cup with him. The Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* were not puniſhed without company, but with them were murthered the Counſellors, their Princes impriſoned, and their people led Captive: And why? becauſe none was found ſo faithfull to God, that he durſt enterpriſe to reſiſt, nor gainſtand the manifeſt impietie of their Princes. And therefore was Gods wrath powred forth upon the one and the other. But the more ample diſcourſe of this argument I deferre to better opportunity; onely at this time I thought expedient to admoniſh you, That before God it ſhall not excuſe you to alleadge, We are no Kings and therefore neither can we reforme Religion, nor yet defend ſuch as be perſecuted. Conſider, my Lords, that ye are powers ordained of God (as before is declared) and therefore doth the Reformation of Religion, and the defence of ſuch as unjuſtly are oppreſſed, appertaine to your charge and care; which thing ſhall the Law of God (univerſally given to be kept of all men) moſt evidently declare; which is my laſt and moſt aſſured reaſon, why (I ſay) ye ought to remove from your Honours, and to puniſh with death ſuch as God hath condemned by his own mouth.

Note diligently.

Deut. 12. After that *Moſes* had declared what was true Religion, to wit, To honour God as he commanded, adding nothing to his Word, neither yet diminiſhing any thing from it; and after alſo that vehemently he had exhort the ſame Law to be obſerved, he denounced the puniſhment againſt the Deut 13. & 27. Tranſgreſſors, in theſe words, *If thy brother, ſonne, daughter, wife or neighbour, whom thou loveſt as thine own life, ſolicitate thee ſecretly, ſaying, Let us go ſerve other gods, whom neither thou, nor thy fathers have knowne, conſent not to him, hear him not, let not thine eye ſpare him, ſhew him no indulgency or favour, hide him not, but utterly kill him, let thy hand be the firſt upon him, that he may be ſlaine, and after the hand of the whole people.* Of theſe words of *Moſes* are two things appertaining to our purpoſe, to be noted; The firſt is, that ſuch as ſolicitate only to Idolatry, ought to be puniſhed to death, without favour or reſpect of perſon; For he that will not ſuffer man to ſpare his ſonne, his daughter, nor his wife, but ſtraitly commandeth puniſhment to be taken upon the idolatours (have they never ſo nigh

Idolatry ought to be puniſhed without reſpect of perſon.

conjunction

conjunction with us) will not wink at the Idolatry of others, of what ſtate or condition ſoever they be. Anno

It is not unknown, That the Prophets had Revelations of God, which were not common to the people; as *Samuel* had the Revelation that *Eli* and his poſterity ſhould be deſtroyed, That *Saul* ſhould firſt be King, and thereafter, That he ſhould be rejected; That *David* ſhould raign for him. *Michaiah* underſtood by Viſion, That *Achab* ſhould be killed in the Battell againſt the *Syrians*. *Elias* ſaw that dogs ſhould eat *Jezabel* in the Forts of *Jezreel*. *Eliſha* did ſee hunger come upon *Iſrael* by the ſpace of ſeven yeers. *Jeremiah* did foreſee the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the time of their Captivity. And ſo divers other Prophets had divers Revelations of God, which the people did not otherwiſe underſtand, but by their affirmation; and therefore in thoſe dayes were the Prophets named Seers, becauſe that God did open unto them that which was hid from the multitude. Now if any man might have claimed any priviledge from the rigour of the Law, or might have juſtified his fact, it ſhould have been the Prophet: For he might have alleadged for himſelf his ſingular Prerogative that he had above other men, to have Gods Will revealed unto him by Viſion or by Dream; or, That God had declared particularly unto him, that his pleaſure was, To be honoured in that manner, in ſuch a place, and by ſuch means. But all ſuch excuſes doth God remove, commanding, That the Prophet that ſhall ſo ſolicitate the people to ſerve ſtrange Gods, ſhall die the death, notwithſtanding that he alleadge for himſelf Dream, Viſion, or Revelation; yea, although he promiſe miracles; and although that ſuch things as he promiſed ſhould come to paſſe, yet I ſay commandeth God that no credit be given to him, but that he die the death, becauſe he teacheth apoſtaſie and defection from God. Hereby your Honours may eaſily ſee, That none provoking the people to Idolatry, ought to be exempted from the puniſhment of death: For if neither that inſeparable Conjunction which God himſelf hath ſanctified betwixt man and wife, neither that unſpeakable love grafted in nature, which is betwixt the father and the ſon, neither yet that reverence which Gods people ought to bear to the Prophets, can excuſe any man to ſpare the offender, or to conceal his offence: What excuſe can man pretend, which God will accept? Evident it is, That no ſtate, condition, nor honour can exempt the Idolater from the hands of God, when he ſhall call him to account, or ſhall inflict puniſhment upon him for his offence: How ſhall it then excuſe the people, that they, according to Gods Commandment, puniſh not to death ſuch as ſhall ſolicitate, or violently draw the people to Idolatry?

If any ſtate might have claimed priviledge, it was the Prophets.
1 Sam. 3.
1 Sam. 9. 15.
1 King. 22.
1 Kings 21.
2 Kings 1.

And this is the firſt which I would your Honours ſhould note of the former words, to wit, That no perſon is exempted from puniſhment, if he can be manifeſtly convinced to have provoked or led the people to Idolatry: And this is moſt evidently declared in that ſolemn Oath and Covenant which *Aſa* made with the people, To ſerve God, and to maintain his Religion, adding this penalty to the tranſgreſſors of it; to wit, That whoſoever ſhould not ſeek the God of *Iſrael* ſhould be killed, were he great, or were he ſmall, were it man, or were it woman. And of this

2 Par. 15.

Anno Oath was the Lord well pleaſed, he was found of them, and gave them reſt on every part, becauſe they ſought him with their whole heart, and did ſwear to puniſh the offenders according to the Precept of his Law, without reſpect of perſons. And this is it which I ſay I would your Honours ſhould note for the firſt, That no Idolater can be exempted from puniſhment by Gods Law.

The ſecond is, That the puniſhment of ſuch crimes as are Idolatry, Blaſphemy, and others that touch the Majeſty of God, doth not appertain to the Kings and chief Rulers onely, but alſo to the whole Body of the people, and to every member of the ſame, according to the Vocation of every man, and according to that poſſibility and occaſion which God doth miniſter, to revenge the injury done againſt his glory, when that impiety is manifeſtly known: And that doth *Moſes* more plainly ſpeak, in theſe words; *If in any Cities* (ſaith he) *which the Lord thy God giveth to thee to dwell in them thou ſhalt hear this brute, There are ſome men the ſons of* Belial *paſſed from thee, and have ſolicited the Citizens out of their Cities by theſe words, Let us go and ſerve ſtrange gods which you have not known; ſearch and enquire diligently, and if it be true that ſuch abomination is done in the midſt of thee, thou ſhalt utterly ſtrike the Inhabitants of that City with the Sword, thou ſhalt deſtroy it, and whatſoever is within it; thou ſhalt gather the ſpoyl of it into the midſt of the Market-place, thou ſhalt burn that City with fire, and the ſpoyl of it to the Lord thy God, that it may be a heap of ſtones for ever; neither ſhall it be any more builded. Let nothing of that execration cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may turn from thee the fury of his wrath, and be moved towards thee with inward affection.*

Deut. 13.

Plain it is, That *Moſes* ſpeaketh not, nor giveth charge to Kings Rulers and Judges onely, but he commandeth the whole Body of the people, yea, and every member of the ſame, according to their poſſibility; And who dare be ſo impudent, as to deny this to be moſt reaſonable and juſt? For ſeeing that God had delivered the whole Body from Bondage, and to the whole multitude had given his Law, and to the twelve Tribes had he ſo diſtributed the inheritance of the Land of *Canaan*, that no family could complain that it was neglected. Was not the whole and every member addebted to confeſſe and acknowledge the benefits of God? yea, had it not been the part of every man to have ſtudied to keep the poſſeſſion which he had received? Which thing God did plainly pronounce they ſhould not do, except that in their hearts they did ſanctifie the Lord God, That they embraced and inviolably kept his Religion eſtabliſhed, and finally, except they did cut out iniquity from amongſt them, declaring themſelves earneſt enemies to thoſe abominations, which God declared himſelf ſo vehemently to hate, that firſt he commanded the whole inhabitants of that Countrey to be deſtroyed, and all Monuments of ther Idolatry to be broken down: And thereafter he alſo ſtraitly commandeth, That a City declining to Idolatry, ſhould fall by the edge of the ſword, and that the whole ſpoyl of the ſame ſhould be burned, no portion of it reſerved. To the carnall man this may appear a rigorous and ſevere judgement; yea, it may rather ſeem to be pronounced in a rage, then in wiſedom: For what City was ever yet, in which to mans judgement

Why every man in *Iſrael* was bound to obey Gods Commandment.

Deut 28 & 30.

Deut. 7.

Gods judgements to the carnall man appear rigorous.

ment were not to be found many innocent perſons, as infants, children, and ſome ſimple and ignorant ſouls, who neither did nor could conſent to ſuch impiety? And yet we finde no exception, but all are appointed to the cruell death. And as concerning the City, and the ſpoyl of the ſame, mans reaſon cannot think, but that it might have been better beſtowed, then to be conſumed with fire, and ſo to profit no man: But in ſuch caſes Gods will is, That all creatures ſtoup, cover their faces, & deſiſt from reaſoning, when commandment is given to execute his judgement. Albeit I could adduce divers cauſes of ſuch ſeverity, yet will I ſearch none other then the holy Ghoſt hath aſſigned: Firſt, That all *Iſrael*, hearing the judgement, ſhould fear to commit the like abomination. And ſecondly, That the Lord might turn from the fury of his anger, might be moved towards the people with inward affection, be mercifull unto them, and multiply them, according to his Oath made unto their fathers. Which reaſons, as they are ſufficient in Gods children to correct the murmuring of the grudging fleſh, ſo ought they to provoke every man, as before I have ſaid, to declare himſelf enemy to that which ſo highly provoketh the wrath of God againſt the whole people: For where *Moſes* ſaith, *Let the City be burned, and let no part of the ſpoyl cleave to thy hand, that the Lord may return from the fury of his wrath, &c.* he plainly doth ſignifie, That by the defection and Idolatry of a few, Gods wrath is kindled againſt the whole, which is never quenched, till ſuch puniſhment be taken upon the offenders, that whatſoever ſerved them in their Idolatry, be brought to deſtruction, becauſe that it is execrable and accurſed before God, and therefore he will not that it be reſerved for any uſe of his people. I am not ignorant that this Law was not put in execution, as God commanded; But what did thereof enſue and follow, hiſtories declare; to wit, Plague after plague, till *Iſrael* and *Iuda* were led in Captivity, as the Books of the Kings do witneſſe. The conſideration whereof maketh me more bold to affirm, That it is the duty of every man who deſireth to eſcape the plague and puniſhment of God, To declare himſelf enemy to Idolatry, not onely in heart, hating the ſame, but alſo in externall geſture, declaring that he lamenteth, if he can do no more, for ſuch abominations. Which thing was ſhewed to the Prophet *Ezekiel*, when he gave him to underſtand why he would deſtroy *Iuda* with *Iſrael*; and that he would remove his glory from the Temple and place that he had choſen, and ſo pour forth his wrath and indignation upon the City that was full of blood and apoſtaſie, which became ſo impudent, that it durſt be bold to ſay, *The Lord hath left the earth, and ſeeth not.* At this time, I ſay, the Lord revealed in viſion to his Prophet, who they were that ſhould finde favour in that miſerable deſtruction; to wit, That thoſe that did mourn and lament for all the abominations done in the City, in whoſe foreheads did God command to Print and Seal *Tau*, to the end that the deſtroyer, who was commanded to ſtrike the reſt without mercy, ſhould not hurt them in whom that ſigne was found. Of theſe premiſes, I ſuppoſe it be evident, That the puniſhment of Idolatry doth not appertain to Kings onely, but alſo to the whole people; yea, to every member of the ſame, according to his poſſibility: For that is a thing moſt aſſured, That no man

Anno

For the Idolatry of a ſmall number, is Gods wrath kindled againſt the multitude not puniſhing the offenders.

Ezek 9.

Ezek 8. & 9.

Note.

Anno *Note.* can mourn, lament, and bewail, for thoſe things which will not remove to the uttermoſt of his power. If this be required of the whole people, and of every man in his Vocation, What ſhall be required of you, my Lords, whom God hath raiſed up to be Princes and Rulers above your Brethren, whoſe hands he hath armed with the ſword of Juſtice, yea, whom he hath appointed to be as Bridles to repreſſe the rage and inſolency of your Kings, whenſoever they pretend manifeſtly to tranſgreſſe Gods bleſſed Ordinance? If any think that this my affirmation touching the puniſhment of Idolaters be contrary to the practice of the Apoſtles, who finding the Gentiles in Idolatry, did call them to repentance, requiring no ſuch puniſhment; let the ſame man underſtand, That the Gentiles, before the preaching of Chriſt, lived, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, Without God in the World, drowned in Idolatry, according to the blindneſſe and ignorance, in which they were holden as a prophane Nation, whom God had never openly avowed to be his people, had never received in his houſhold, neither given unto them his Laws to be kept in Religion nor Policy, and therefore did not the holy Ghoſt, calling them to repentance, require of them any corporall puniſhment, according to the rigour of the Law, unto the which they were never ſubjects, as they that were ſtrangers from the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*. But if any think, That after that the Gentiles were called from their vain converſation, and by embracing Chriſt Jeſus, were received in the number of *Abrahams* children, and ſo made one people with the Jews believing: If any think, I ſay, That then they were not bound to the ſame obedience which God required of his people *Iſrael*, when he confirmed his League and Covenant with them; the ſame appeareth to make Chriſt inferiour to *Moſes*, and contrarious to the Law of his heavenly Father: For if the contempt or tranſgreſſion of *Moſes* Law was worthy of death, What ſhould we judge the contempt of Chriſts Ordinance to be? (I mean, after they be once received.) And if Chriſt be not come to diſſolve, but to fulfill the Law of his heavenly Father, Shall the liberty of his Goſpel be an occaſion that the eſpeciall glory of his Father be trodden under foot, and regarded of no man? God forbid. The eſpeciall glory of God is, That ſuch as profeſſe themſelves to be his people, ſhould hearken to his voice: And amongſt all the voices of God revealed to the world, touching puniſhment of vices, is none more evident, neither more ſevere, then is that which is pronounced againſt Idolatry, the teachers and maintainers of the ſame: And therefore I fear not to affirm, That the Gentiles (I mean, every City, Realm, Province, or Nation amongſt the Gentiles, embracing Chriſt Jeſus, and his true Religion) be bound to the ſame League and Covenant that God made with his people *Iſrael*, when he promiſed to root out the Nations before them, in theſe words, *Beware that thou make not any Covenant with the Inhabitants of the Land, to the which thou comeſt, leſt perchance that this come in ruine, that is, be deſtruction to thee; but thou ſhalt deſtroy their Altars, break their Idols, and cut down their Groves: Fear no ſtrange Gods, nor worſhip them, neither yet make you ſacrifice to them: But the Lord, who in his great power, and out-ſtretched arm hath brought you out of the Land of* Egypt, *ſhall you fear, him ſhall you honour, him ſhall you worſhip, to him ſhall*

An anſwer to an Objection.

Why no Law was executed againſt the Gentiles being Idolaters.

Eph. 2.

The eſpeciall honour which God requireth of his people. 1 Sam. 15.

Exod. 34

ſhall you make Sacrifice, his Statutes, Judgements, Laws, and Commandments you ſhall keep and obſerve. This is the Covenant which I have made with you, ſaith the Eternall, forget it not, neither yet fear ye other gods; but fear you the Lord your God, and he ſhall deliver you from the hands of all your enemies. To this ſame Law and Covenant are the Gentiles no leſſe bound, then ſometime were the Jews, whenſoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude, Province, people, or Citie, and putteth the ſword in their own hand to remove ſuch enormities from amongſt them, as before they knew to be abominable; then (I ſay) are they no leſſe bound to purge their Dominions, Cities, and Countries from Idolatry, then were the *Iſraelites*, what time they received the Poſſeſſion of the Land of *Canaan*. And moreover, I ſay, If any go about to erect and ſet up Idolatry, or to teach defection from God, after that the verity hath been received and approved, that then not onely the Magiſtrates, to whom the ſword is committed; but alſo the people are bound by that Oath, which they have made to God, to revenge to the utmoſt of their power, the injury done againſt his Majeſty. Anno *Note.*

In univerſall deſections, and in a generall revolt, ſuch as was in *Iſrael* after *Jeroboam*, there is a divers conſideration; for then, becauſe the whole people were together conſpired againſt God, there could none be found that would execute the puniſhment which God had commanded, till God raiſed up *Jehu*, whom he appointed for that purpoſe. And the ſame is to be conſidered in all other generall defections, ſuch as this day be in the Papiſtry, where all are blinded, and all are declined from God, and that of long continuance, ſo that no ordinary Juſtice can be executed, but the puniſhment muſt be reſerved to God, and unto all ſuch means as he ſhall appoint: But I ſpeak of ſuch a number as after they have received Gods perfect Religion, do boldly profeſſe the ſame, notwithſtanding, that ſome, or the moſt part fall back (as of late dayes was in *England*) unto ſuch a number, I ſay, it is lawfull to puniſh the Idolators with death, if by any means God give them power: For ſo did *Joſhua* and *Iſrael* determine to have done againſt the children of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſes*, for their ſuſpected Apoſtaſie and defection from God. And the whole Tribes did in very deed execute that ſharp judgement againſt the Tribe of *Benjamin* for a leſſe offence then for Idolatry. And the ſame ought to be done whereſoever Chriſt Jeſus and his Evangell is ſo received in any Realm, Province, or Citie, that the Magiſtrates and people have ſolemnly avowed and promiſed to defend the ſame, as under King *Edward* of late dayes was done in *England*. In ſuch places, it is not onely lawfull to puniſh to the death, ſuch as labour to ſubvert the true Religion, but the Magiſtrates and people are bound ſo to, unleſſe they will provoke the wrath of God againſt themſelves. And therefore, I fear not to affirm, That it had been the duty of the Nobilitie, Judges, Rulers, and people of *England*, to have reſiſted and gain-ſtanded *Mary* their Queen, with all the ſort of her Idolatrous Prieſts, together with all ſuch as ſhould have aſſiſted her, when that ſhe and they openly began to ſuppreſſe Chriſts Evangell, to ſhed the blood of the Saints of God, and to erect that moſt devilliſh *Note.*

Anno Idolatry, the Papiſticall abominations, and his uſurped tyranny, which once moſt juſtly by common Oath was baniſhed from that Realm. But becauſe I cannot at this preſent diſcuſſe this argument as it appertaineth, I am compelled to omit it to better opportunity; and ſo returning to your Honours, I ſay, That if ye confeſſe your ſelves baptized in the Lord Jeſus, as of neceſſity ye muſt confeſſe, That the care of Religion doth appertain to your charge: And if ye know that in your hands God hath put the ſword, for the cauſes above expreſſed, then can ye not deny, but that the puniſhment of obſtinate and malapert Idolaters (ſuch as all your Biſhops be) doth appertain to your Office, if after admonition they continue obſtinate. I am not ignorant what be the vain defences of your proud Prelats; they claim, firſt, A prerogative and priviledge, That they are exempted, and that by conſent of Councells and Emperours, from all Juriſdiction of the Temporalty. And ſecondly, when they are convinced of manifeſt impiety, abuſes and enormities, as well in their manners, as in Religion; neither fear nor ſhame they to affirm, That things ſo long eſtabliſhed, cannot ſuddenly be reformed, although they be corrupted; but with proceſſe of time they promiſe to take order. But in few words, I *Note.* anſwer, That no priviledge granted againſt the Ordinance and Statutes of God is to be obſerved, although all Councells and men on the earth have appointed the ſame: But againſt Gods Ordinance it is, That Idolaters, murtherers, falſe Teachers, and Blaſphemers, ſhall be exempted from puniſhment, as before is declared; and therefore in vain it is, that they claim for priviledge, when God ſaith, The murtherer ſhalt thou drive from my Altar, that he may die the death. And as to the Order and Reformation which they promiſe, that is to be looked or hoped for, when Satan, whoſe children and ſlaves they are, can change his nature. This anſwer, I doubt not, ſhall ſuffice the ſober and godly reader: But yet, to the end that they may further ſee their own confuſion, and that your Honours may the better underſtand what ye ought to do in ſo manifeſt a corruption and defection from God, I ask of them, What aſſurance they have of this their immunity, exemption or priviledge? Who is the author of it? And what fruit it hath produced? And firſt I ſay, That of God they have no aſſurance, neither yet can he be proved to be author of any ſuch priviledge. But the contrary is eaſie to be ſeen; for God in eſtabliſhing his Orders in *Iſrael*, did ſo ſubject *Aaron* (in his Prieſthood being the figure of Chriſt) to *Moſes*, that he feared not to call him in judgement, and to conſtrain him to give accounts of his wicked deed in conſenting to Idolatry, as the Hiſtory doth plainly witneſſe; for thus it is written; *Then* Moſes *took the Calfe which they had made, and burned it with fire, and did grinde it to powder; and ſcattering it in the water, gave it to drink to the children of Iſrael*, declaring thereby the vanity of their Idol, and the abomination of the ſame: And thereafter *Moſes* ſaid to *Aaron*, *What hath this people done to thee, that thou ſhouldeſt bring upon it ſo a great ſin?*

God is not author of any priviledge granted to the Papiſticall Biſhops, that they be exempted from the power of the civill ſword. Exod. 32.

Thus, I ſay, doth *Moſes* call *Aaron*, and accuſe him of the deſtruction of the whole people; and yet he perfectly underſtood that God had appointed him to be the high Prieſt, That he ſhould bear upon his ſhoulders and upon his breſt the names of the twelve Tribes of *Iſrael*, for whom he

he was appointed to make ſacrifice, prayers, and ſupplications. He knew his dignitie was ſo great, that onely he might enter within the moſt holy place; but neither could his Office nor dignitie exempt him from judgement, when he had offended. If any object, *Aaron* at that time was not anointed, and therefore was he ſubject to *Moſes*; I have anſwered, That *Moſes* being taught by the mouth of God did perfectly underſtand to what dignitie *Aaron* was appointed, and yet he feared not to call him in judgement, and to compell him to make anſwer for his wicked fact. But if this anſwer doth not ſuffice, yet ſhall the Holy Ghoſt witneſſe further in the matter. *Salomon* removed from honour *Abiathar* being the High Prieſt, and commanded him to ceaſe from all function, and to live as a private man. Now if the Unction did exempt the Prieſt from Juriſdiction of the Civill Magiſtrate, *Solomon* did offend and injured *Abiathar*; for he was Anointed, and had carried the Arke before *David*; But God doth not reprove the fact of *Solomon*, neither yet doth *Abiathar* claime any prerogative by the reaſon of his Office, but rather doth the Holy Ghoſt approve the fact of *Solomon*, ſaying, Solomon *ejected forth* Abiathar, *that he ſhould not be the Prieſt of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be performed which he ſpake upon the houſe of* Eli. And *Abiathar* did thinke that hee obtained great favour, in that hee did eſcape the preſent death, which by his Conſpiracie he had deſerved. If any yet reaſon, That *Abiathar* was no otherwiſe ſubject to the judgement of the King, but as he was appointed to be the executor of that ſentence, which GOD before had pronounced, as I will not greatly denie that reaſon, ſo require I that every man conſider, That the ſame God who pronounced ſentence againſt *Eli* and his houſe, hath pronounced alſo, That Idolaters, Whore-mongers, Murtherers and Blaſphemers, ſhall neither have portion in the Kingdom of God, neither ought to be permitted to bear any Rule in his Church and Congregation. Now if the Unction and Office ſaved not *Abiathar*, becauſe that Gods ſentence muſt needs be performed, Can any priviledge granted by man be a Buckler to malefactors, that they ſhall not be ſubject to the puniſhments pronounced by God? I think no man will be ſo fooliſh as ſo to affirm; for a thing more then evident it is, That the whole Prieſthood in the time of the Law was bound to give obedience to the Civill Powers; and if any member of the ſame was found criminall, the ſame was ſubject to the puniſhment of the Sword which God had put into the hand of the Magiſtrate. And this Ordinance of his Father did not Chriſt diſannull, but rather did confirm the ſame, commanding Tribute to be paid for himſelf and for *Peter*; who perfectly knowing the minde of his Maſter, writeth thus in his Epiſtle; *Submit your ſelves to all manner of Ordinance of man* (he excepteth ſuch as be expreſſely repugning to Gods Commandment) *for the Lords ſake, whether it be to the King, as to the chief Head, or unto Rulers, as unto them that are ſent by him for puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* The ſame doth the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* moſt plainly command in theſe words; *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the Superiour Powers.* Which places make evident, That neither Chriſt, neither his Apoſtles, hath given any aſſurance of this immunity and priviledge which men

Anno

The dignity of *Aaron* did not exempt him from judgment

1 King 2.
1 Sam 3.

Notewell.

Gal. 4.
1 Tim. 3.

Math. 17.

1 Pet. 2.
Acts 4 and 5.

Rom. 13.

Anno men of Church (as they will be termed) do this day claim: Yea, it was a thing unknown to the Primitive Church many yeers after the dayes of the Apoſtles: For *Chryſoſtome*, who ſerved in the Church at *Conſtantinople* four hundreth yeers after Chriſts Aſcenſion, and after that corruption was greatly increaſed, doth yet thus write upon the foreſaid words of the Apoſtle, *This precept* (ſaith he) *doth not appertain to ſuch as be called ſeculars onely, but even to thoſe that be Prieſts and religious men:* And after he addeth, *Whether thou be Apoſtle, Evangeliſt, Prophet, or whoſoever thou be, thou canſt not be excepted from this ſubjection.* Hereof it is plain *Chryſoſtome* did not underſtand that God had exempted any perſon from obedience and ſubjection of the Civill Power, neither yet that he was Authour of ſuch exemption and priviledge, as Papiſts do this day claim. And the ſame was the judgement and uniforme Doctrine of the Primitive Church for many yeers after Chriſt.

Chryſoſtome up. on Rom. 13.

Let Papiſts anſwer *Chryſoſtome.*

Your Honours do wonder, I doubt not, from what Fountain then did this their immunitie (as they term it) and ſingular priviledge ſpring; I ſhall ſhortly touch that, which is evident in their owne Law and Hiſtories. When the Biſhops of *Rome*, the very Antichriſts had partly by fraud, and partly by violence uſurped the ſuperiortie of ſome places in *Italy*, and moſt unjuſtly had ſpoiled the Emperours of their Rents and poſſeſſions, and had alſo murthered ſome of their Officers, as Hiſtories do witneſſe, then began Pope after Pope to practiſe and deviſe, how they ſhould be exempted from the judgment of Princes, and from the equity of Laws; and in this point they were moſt vigilant, till at length iniquity did ſo prevaile in their hands, according as *Daniel* had before propheſied of them, that this ſentence was pronounced, *Neither by the Emperour, neither by the Clergie, neither yet by the people ſhall the Judge be judged. God will* (ſaith *Symmachus*) *that the cauſes of others be determined by men, but without all queſtion he hath reſerved the Biſhop of this Seat* (underſtanding *Rome*) *to his own judgement.* And hereof diverſe Popes, and Expoſitours of their Laws would ſeeme to give reaſons; for ſaith *Agatho*, *All the Precepts of the Apoſtolike Seat are aſſured, as by the voyce of God himſelf.* The Author of the gloſſe upon this Canon, affirmeth, That if all the world would pronounce ſentence againſt the Pope, yet ſhould his ſentence prevail; *For* (ſaith he) *the Pope hath a Heavenly will, and therefore he may change the nature of things, he may apply the ſubſtance of one thing to another, and of nothing he may make ſomewhat; and that ſentence, which was nothing* (*that is*) *by his minde falſe and unjuſt, he may make ſomewhat that is true and juſt; for* (ſaith he) *in all things that pleaſe him his will is for reaſon; neither is there any man that may aske of him, Why doeſt thou ſo? for he may diſpence above Law, and of injuſtice he may make juſtice; for he hath the fulneſſe of all power.* And many other blaſphemous ſentences did they pronounce every one after other, which for ſhortneſſe ſake I omit, till at the end they obtained this moſt horrible Decree; That, albeit in life and converſation they were ſo wicked, and deteſtable, that not onely they condemned themſelves, but that alſo they drew to Hell and perdition many thouſands with them, yet that none ſhould preſume to reprehend or rebuke them. This being eſtabliſhed for the Head (albeit not without ſome contradiction, for ſome Emperours did require due

Let their own Hiſtories witneſſe.

The mouth of the braſt ſpeaking great things. *Diſtinct. 9 queſt. 3.*

Their Laws do witneſſe. *Diſt. 19.*

Cap. de Tranſlatione Tit. 7.

Diſt 40.

Note the equitie of this commandment

due obedience of them, as Gods Word commanded, and ancient Biſhops had given before to Emperours, and to their Laws, but Sathan ſo prevailed in his ſuite before the blinde world, that the former ſentences were confirmed, which power being granted to the Head) then began proviſion to be made for the reſt of the members in all Realms and Countries, where they made reſidence; the reſidence whereof we ſee to be this, that none of that peſtilent generation (I mean the vermine of the Papiſticall Order) will be ſubject to any Civill Magiſtrate, how enormous ſoever his crime be, but will be reſerved to their own Ordinary, as they terme it: And what fruits have hereof enſued, be the word never ſo blinde, it cannot but witneſſe; for how their Head that *Romane* Antichriſt hath beene occupied ever ſince the granting of ſuch priviledges, Hiſtories do witneſſe, and of late the moſt part of *Europa*, ſubject to the plague of God, to fire and ſword, by his procurement hath felt, and this day doth feel: The pride, ambition, envie, exceſſe, fraud, ſpoil, oppreſſion, murther, filthie life and inceſt, that is uſed and maintained amongſt that rabble of Prieſts, Friers, Monks, Cannons, Biſhops and Cardinals, cannot be expreſſed. I fear not to affirm, neither doubt I to prove, that the Papiſticall Church is further degenerate from the puritie of Chriſts Doctrine, from the footſteps of the Apoſtles, and from the manners of the primitive Church, then was the Church of the *Jews* from Gods holy Statutes, what time it did crucifie Chriſt Jeſus the onely *Meſſias*, and moſt cruelly perſecute his Apoſtles: And yet will our Papiſts claim their priviledges and ancient Liberties, which if you grant unto them, my Lords, ye ſhall aſſuredly drink the cup of Gods vengeance with them, and ſhall be reputed before his preſence, companions of Theeves, and maintainers of Murtherers, as is before declared; for their immunity and priviledge, whereof ſo greatly they boaſt, is nothing elſe, but as if Theeves, Murtherers, or Briggands ſhould conſpire amongſt themſelves, that they would never anſwer in judgement before any lawfull Magiſtrate, to the end that their theft and murther ſhould not be puniſhed; even ſuch (I ſay) is their wicked priviledge, which neither they have of God the Father, neither of Chriſt Jeſus, who hath revealed his Fathers Will to the world, neither yet of the Apoſtles nor primitive Church, as before is declared: But it is a thing conſpired among themſelves, to the end that their iniquity, deteſtable life and Tyrannie may never be repreſſed, nor reformed. And if they Object, That godly Emperours did grant and confirm the ſame. I anſwer, That the godlineſſe of no man is or can be ſufficient Authoritie to juſtifie a fooliſh and ungodly fact, ſuch I mean, as God hath not allowed by his Word; for *Abraham* was a godly man, but the denyall of his Wife was ſuch a fact, as no godly man ought to imitate: The ſame might I ſhew of *David*, *Hezekiah*, and *Joſiah*, unto whom I think no man of judgement will preferre any Emperour ſince Chriſt, in holineſſe and wiſdom, and yet are not their facts, no even ſuch as appeared for good cauſes, to be approved nor followed. And therefore, I ſay, as errour and ignorance remain alwayes with the moſt perfect man in his life, ſo muſt their works be examined by another rule, then by their own holineſſe, if they ſhall be approved.

Anno

The matter is more then evident.

Whoſoever maintaineth the priviledges of Papiſts, ſhall drink the Cup of Gods vengeance with them.

Object.

Anſw.

Anno

But if this Anſwer doth not ſuffice, then will I anſwer more ſhortly, That no godly Emperour ſince Chriſts Aſcenſion hath granted any ſuch priviledge to any ſuch Church or perſon, as they (the whole generation of Papiſts) be at this day.

I am not ignorant, that ſome Emperours of a certain zeale, and for ſome conſiderations granted liberties to the true Church, afflicted for their maintenance againſt Tyrants; but what ſerveth this for the defence of their Tyrannie? If the Law muſt be underſtood according to the minde of the Lawgiver, then muſt they prove themſelves Chriſts true and afflicted Church, before they can claim any priviledge to appertaine to them, for onely to that Church were the priviledges granted; it will not be their glorious Titles, neither yet the long poſſeſſion of the name that can prevail in this ſo weighty a Cauſe; for all thoſe had the Church of *Jeruſalem*, which did crucifie Chriſt, and did condemne his Doctrine. We offer to prove by their fruits and Tyrannie, by the Prophets, and plain Scriptures of God, what trees and generation they be, to wit, unfruitfull and rotten, apt for nothing, but to be cut and caſt into Hell fire; yea, that they are the very kingdome of Antichriſt, of whom we are commanded to beware.

Therefore, my Lords, to return to you, ſeeing that God hath armed your hands with the ſword of Juſtice, ſeeing that his Law moſt ſtraightly commandeth Idolaters and falſe Prophets to be puniſhed with death, and that you be placed above your Subjects, to reigne as fathers over their Children; and further, ſeeing that not onely I, but with me many thouſand famous, godly and learned perſons, accuſe your Biſhops, and the whole rabble of the Papiſticall Clergie, of Idolatrie, of Murther and Blaſphemie againſt God committed: It appertaineth to your Honours to bee vigilant and carefull in ſo weighty a matter? The queſtion is not of earthly ſubſtance, but of the glory of God, and of the Salvation of your ſelves, and of your brethren ſubject to your charge; in which if you (after this plain admonition) be negligent, there reſteth no excuſe by reaſon of ignorance; for in the name of God I require of you, That the Cauſe of Religion may be tried in your preſence by the plain and ſimple Word of God; That your Biſhops be compelled to deſiſt from their Tyrannie, That they be compelled to make anſwer for the neglecting of their Office for the ſubſtance of the poor, which unjuſtly they uſurp, and prodigally they do ſpend; but principally for the falſe and deceivable Doctrine which is taught and defended by their falſe Prophets, flattering Friers, and other ſuch venomous Locuſts: Which thing if with ſingle eyes yee do, (preferring Gods glory and the Salvation of your Brethren before all wordly Commoditie) then ſhall the ſame God, who ſolemnly doth pronounce to honour thoſe that do honour him, pour his benedictions plentifully upon you, he ſhall be your Buckler, protection and Captain, and ſhall repreſſe by his ſtrength and wiſdom, whatſoever Satan by his ſuppoſts ſhall imagine againſt you I am not ignorant, that great troubles ſhall enſue your enterpriſe; for Satan will not be expelled from the poſſeſſion of his uſurped Kingdom without reſiſtance: But if you (as is ſaid) preferring Gods glory to your own lives, unfainedly ſeek and ſtudy

to

to obey his bleſſed will, then ſhall your deliverance be ſuch, as evidently it ſhall be known, That the Angels of the Eternall do watch, make war and fight for thoſe that unfainedly fear the Lord. But if you refuſe this my moſt reaſonable and juſt Petition, what defence that ever you appear to have before men, then ſhall God (whom in me you contemne) refuſe you; he ſhall pour forth contempt upon you, and upon your poſterity after you; the ſpirit of boldneſſe and wiſedome ſhall be taken from you; your enemies ſhall raigne, and you ſhall die in bondage; yea, God ſhall cut down the unfruitfull trees, when they do appear moſt beautifully to flouriſh, and ſhall ſo burne the root, that after you ſhall neither twigge nor branch again ſpring to glory. Hereof I need not to adduce unto you examples from the former ages, and ancient hiſtories: For your brethren the Nobility of *England* are a mirrour and glaſſe, in the which ye may behold Gods juſt puniſhment; For as they have refuſed him and his Evangell which once in mouth they did profeſſe, ſo hath he refuſed them, and hath taken from them the ſpirit of wiſedom, boldneſſe, and of counſell; they ſee and feel their own miſery, and yet they have no grace to avoid it. They hate the bondage of ſtrangers, the pride of Prieſts, and the monſtriferous Empire of a wicked woman, and yet are they compelled to bow their necks to the yoke of the devill, to obey whatſoever the proud *Spaniards* and miſled *Mary* liſt to command; and finally, to ſtand like ſlaves with cap in hand till the ſervants of Satan, the ſhaven ſort, call them to Councell: This fruit do they reap and gather of their former rebellion and unfaithfulneſſe towards God; They are left confuſen in their own counſells; he, whom in his members for the pleaſure of a wicked woman they have exiled, perſecuted and blaſphemed, doth now laugh them to ſcorn, ſuffereth them to be pined in bondage of moſt wicked men, and finally, ſhall judge them to the fire everlaſting, except that ſpeedily and openly they repent their horrible Treaſon which againſt God, againſt his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt the Liberty of their own native Countrey they have committed. The ſame plagues ſhall fall upon you, be you aſſured, if ye refuſe the defence of his ſervants that call for your ſupport. My words are ſharp; but conſider, my Lords, that they are not mine, but that they are the threatnings of the Omnipotent, who aſſuredly will perform the voices of his Prophets, how that ever carnall men deſpiſe his admonitions. The Sword of Gods wrath is already drawn, which of neceſſity muſt needs ſtrike, when grace offered is obſtinately refuſed. You have been long in bondage of the devill, blindeneſſe, errour and Idolatry, prevailing againſt the ſimple Truth of God in that your Realme, in which God hath made you Princes and Rulers: But now doth God of his great mercy call you to repentance, before he pour forth the uttermoſt of his vengeance: He cryeth to your ears, That your Religion is nothing but Idolatry; he accuſeth you of the blood of his Saints which hath been ſhed by your permiſſion, aſſiſtance and powers: For the tyranny of thoſe raging Beaſts ſhould have no force, if by your ſtrength they were not maintained. Of thoſe horrible crimes doth now God accuſe you, not of purpoſe to condemne you, but mercifully to abſolve and pardon you, as ſometime he did thoſe whom *Peter* accuſed to

Anno

Deut. 28. Levit. 26.

Iſai. 27. & 30.

Note this for our time.

Note.

Let England and Scotland both advert.

God calleth to repentance before he ſtrike in his hot diſpleaſure.

Papiſts had no force, if Princes did not maintain them. Acts 2.

Anno have killed the Son of God, ſo that ye be not of minde nor purpoſe to juſtifie your former iniquity. Iniquity I call not onely the crimes and offences which have been, and yet remain in your manners and lives, but that alſo which appeareth before men moſt holy, with hazard of my life I offer to prove abomination before God; that is, your whole Religion to be ſo corrupt and vain, that no true ſervant of God can communicate with it, becauſe that in ſo doing he ſhould manifeſtly deny Chriſt Jeſus and his Eternall Verity. I know that your Biſhops, accompanied with the ſwarm of the Papiſticall vermine, ſhall cry, *A damned heretick ought not to be heard.* But remember, my Lords, what I proteſted in the beginning, upon which ground I continually ſtand; to wit, That I am no hereticke, nor deceivable Teacher; but the ſervant of Chriſt Jeſus, a Preacher of his infallible Verity, innocent in all that they can lay to my charge concerning my Doctrine; and therefore by them, being enemies to Chriſt, I am unjuſtly condemned: From which cruell Sentence I have appealed, and do appeal, as before mention is made; in the mean time moſt humbly requiring your Honours to take me in your protection, to be auditors of my juſt defences, granting unto me the ſame liberty which *Achab*, a wicked King, and *Iſrael* at that time a blinded people, granted to *Elijah* in the like caſe; that is, That your Biſhops, and the whole rabble of your Clergie, may be called before you, and before that people whom they have deceived; That I be not condemned by multitude, cuſtome, by Authority or Law deviſed by man; but that God himſelf may be judge betwixt me and my adverſaries: Let God, I ſay, ſpeak by his Law, by his Prophets, by Chriſt Jeſus, or by his Apoſtles, and ſo let him pronounce what Religion he approveth; and then, be my enemies never ſo many, and appear they never ſo ſtrong and ſo learned, no more do I fear victory, then did *Elijah*, being but one man, againſt the multitude of *Baals* Prieſts. And if they think to have advantage by their Councells and Doctors, this I further offer, To admit the one and the other as witneſſes in all matters debatable, three things (which juſtly cannot be denied) being granted unto me: Firſt, That the moſt ancient Councells nigheſt to the Primitive Church, in which the learned and godly Fathers did examine all matters by Gods Word, may be holden of moſt Authority. Secondly, That no determination of Councells nor man be admitted againſt the plain Verity of Gods Word, nor againſt the determination of thoſe four chief Councells, whoſe Authority hath been and is holden by them equall with the Authority of the four Evangeliſts. And laſt, That to no Doctor be given greater authority, then *Auguſtine* requireth to be given to his Writings; to wit, If he plainly prove not his affirmation by Gods infallible Word, that then his ſentence be rejected, and imputed to the errour of a man.

Notrue ſervant of God may communicate with the Papiſticall Religion.

An anſwer to the Objection, That an heretick ought not to be heard.

1 Kings 18.

Touching Councels and Doctors.

In prologo Retract.

Theſe things granted and admitted, I ſhall no more refuſe the teſtimonies of Councells and Doctors, then ſhall my adverſaries. But and if they will juſtifie thoſe Councells which maintain their pride and uſurped Authority, and will reject thoſe which plainly have condemned all ſuch tyranny, negligence, and wicked life as Biſhops now do uſe: And if further they will ſnatch a doubtfull ſentence of a Doctor, and refuſe his

his minde when he ſpeaketh plainly; then will I ſay, That all men are lyers, That credit ought not to be given to an unconſtant witneſſe; and that no Councells ought to prevail, nor be admitted againſt the ſentence which God hath pronounced. Anno

And thus, my Lords, in few words to conclude, I have offered unto you a tryall of my innocency: I have declared unto you what God requireth of you, being placed above his people as Rulers and Princes: I have offered unto you, and to the inhabitants of the Realme, the Verity of Chriſt Jeſus: And with the hazard of my life I preſently offer to prove the Religion which amongſt you is maintained by fire and ſword to be falſe, damnable, and diabolicall. Which things if ye refuſe, defending tyrants in their tyrannie, then I dare not flatter, but as it was commanded to *Ezechiel* boldly to proclaim; ſo muſt I cry to you, That you ſhall periſh in your iniquity, That the Lord Jeſus ſhall refuſe ſo many of you as maliciouſly withſtand his eternall Verity, and in the day of his apparition, when all fleſh ſhall appeare before him, that he ſhall repell you from his company, and ſhall command you to the fire which never ſhall be quenched; and then neither ſhall the multitude be able to reſiſt, neither yet the counſells of man be able to prevail againſt that ſentence which he ſhall pronounce. Ezech. 33. Mat. 24. & 26. Dan. 12. Mat. 25.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the power of his holy Spirit, ſo rule and diſpoſe of your hearts, that of ſimplicity ye may conſider the things that be offered; and that ye may take ſuch order in the ſame, as God in you may be glorified, and Chriſts Flock by you may be edified and comforted, to the praiſe and glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Omnipotent Spirit rule your hearts in his true feare to the end. Amen.

Anno

To his beloved Brethren the Commonalty of SCOTLAND:

JOHN KNOX *wiſheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace; With the Spirit of righteous judgement.*

WHat I have required of the Queen Regent, States and Nobility, as of the chief Heads (for this preſent) of the Realm, I cannot ceaſe to require of you (dearly beloved brethren) which be the Communalty and Body of the ſame; to wit, That it (notwithſtanding that falſe and cruell Sentence which your diſguiſed Biſhops have pronounced againſt me) would pleaſe you to be ſo favourable unto me, as to be indifferent auditors of my juſt Purgation: Which to do if God earneſtly move your hearts, as I nothing doubt but that your enterpriſe ſhall redound to the praiſe and glory of his holy Name; ſo am I aſſured, That ye and your poſterity ſhall by that means receive moſt ſingular comfort, edification and profit: For when ye ſhall hear the matter debated, ye ſhall eaſily perceive and underſtand upon what ground and foundation is builded that Religion which amongſt you is this day defended by fire and ſword. As for mine owne conſcience, I am moſt aſſuredly perſwaded, That whatſoever is uſed in the Papiſticall Church, is altogether repugning to Chriſts bleſſed Ordinance, and is nothing but mortall venome; of which whoſoever drinketh, I am aſſuredly perſwaded that therewith he drinketh death and damnation, except by true converſion unto God he be purged from the ſame. But becauſe that long ſilence of Gods Word hath begotten ignorance almoſt in all ſorts of men; and ignorance joyned with long cuſtome, hath confirmed ſuperſtitiou in the hearts of many, I therefore, in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, deſire audience, as well of you the Commonalty, my brethren, as of the States and Nobility of the Realm, that in publike Preaching I may have place amongſt you at large to utter my minde in all matters of controverſie this day in Religion. And further I deſire, That ye, concurring with your Nobility, would compell your Biſhops and Clergie to ceaſe their tyranny: And alſo, That for the better aſſurance and inſtruction of your conſcience, ye would compell your ſaid Biſhops and falſe Teachers to anſwer by the Scriptures of God to ſuch Objections and crimes, as ſhall be laid againſt their vain Religion, falſe Doctrine, wicked life, and ſlanderous converſation. Here I know that it ſhall be objected, That I require of you a thing moſt unreaſonable; to wit, That ye ſhould call your Religion in doubt, which hath been approved and eſtabliſhed by ſo long continuance, and by the conſent of ſo many men before you. But I ſhortly anſwer, That neither is the long continuance of time, neither yet the multitude of men a ſuf-

Note.

Petition.

ſufficient approbation, which God will allow for our Religion; For as ſome of the ancient Writers do witneſſe, neither can long proceſſe of time juſtifie an errour, neither can the multitude of ſuch, as follow it, change the nature of the ſame; But if it was an errour in the beginning, ſo is it in the end, and the longer that it be followed, and the mo that do receive it, it is more peſtilent, and more to be avoided: For if antiquity or multitude of men could juſtifie any Religion, then was the Idolatry of the Gentiles, and now is the abomination of the Turks, good Religion; For antiquity approved the one, and a multitude hath received, and doth defend the other: But otherwiſe to anſwer, godly men may wonder from what Fountain ſuch a ſentence doth flow, that no man ought to trie his faith and Religion by Gods Word, but that he ſafely may beleeve and follow every thing, which antiquity and multitude have approved; the Spirit of God doth otherwiſe teach us; for the wiſdome of God, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, remitted his adverſaries to *Moſes* and the Scriptures, to trie by them whether his Doctrine were of God, or not: The Apoſtles *Paul* and *Peter* command men to trie the Religion which they profeſſe, by Gods plaine Scriptures, and doe praiſe men for ſo doing; Saint *John* ſtraightly commandeth, That we beleeve not every ſpirit, but to trie the ſpirits whether they be of God, or not. Now ſeeing that theſe evident teſtimonies of the holy Ghoſt will us to trie our faith and Religion by the plain Word of God; wonder it is that the Papiſts will not be content that their Religion and Doctrine come under the triall of the ſame. If this ſentence of Chriſt be true (as it is moſt true, ſeeing it ſpringeth from the verity it ſelf) *Whoſo doth evill hateth the Light, neither will he come to the Light, leſt that his works be manifeſted and rebuked,* then do our Papiſts by their own ſentence condemne themſelves and their Religion; for in ſo farre as they refuſe examination and triall, they declare that they know ſome fault which the Light will utter; which is a cauſe of their fear, and why they claim that priviledge, that no man diſpute of their Religion; the Verity and Truth being of the nature of fine purified Gold, doth not fear the triall of the Fornace; but the ſtubble and Chaffe of mans inventions (ſuch is their Religion) may not abide the the flame of fire. True it is, that *Mahomet* pronounced this ſentence, That no man ſhould in pain of death diſpute or reaſon of the ground of his Religion; which Law to this day (by the art of Sathan) is obſerved amongſt the *Turkes*, to their mortall blindneſſe and horrible blaſpheming of the Goſpell of Chriſt Jeſus, and of his true Religion; And from *Mahomet* or rather from Sathan the father of all lies) hath the Pope and his rabble learned this former leſſon; to wit, Their Religion ſhould not be diſputed upon, but what the fathers have beleeved, that ought and muſt the Children approve; and in ſo diviſing Satan lacked not his foreſight, for no one thing hath more eſtabliſhed the kingdome of that *Romane* Antichriſt, then this moſt wicked decree; to wit, That no man was permitted to reaſon of his power, or to call his Laws in doubt: This is moſt aſſured, that whenſoever the Papiſticall Religion ſhall come to examination, it ſhall be found to have no other ground, then hath the religion of *Mahomet*; to wit, mans invention, device and dreams overſhaddowed with ſome

Anno

Anſwer to an Objection.

Lactant. Firmian. Tertullian. Cyprian.

John 5. & 7.

Acts 17. 2 Pet. 1. 1 John 4.

John 3.

Why Papiſts will not diſpute of the ground of their Religion.

Mahomet and the *Pope* do agree.

Anno

some colour of Gods Word: And therefore Brethren, seeing that the Religion is to man, as the stomack to the body, which if it be corrupted, doth infect the whole Members, it is necessary that the same be examined; and if it be found repleniſhed with peſtilent humours, (I mean with the fantaſies of men) then of neceſſitie it is, that thoſe be purged, elſe ſhall your bodies and ſouls periſh for ever: For of this I would ye were moſt certainly perſwaded, that a corrupt Religion defileth the whole life of man, appear it never ſo holy. Neither would I that ye ſhould eſteem the Reformation and care of Religion leſſe to appertain to you, becauſe ye are no Kings, Rulers, Judges, Nobles, nor in Authoritie; beloved Brethren, ye are Gods Creatures, created and formed to his own Image and ſimilitude, for whoſe redemption was ſhed the moſt precious blood of the onely beloved Sonne of God, to whom he hath commanded his Goſpell and glad-tydings to be preached, and for whom he hath prepared the heavenly Inheritance, ſo that ye will not obſtinatly refuſe, and diſdainfully contemne the means which he hath appointed to obtain the ſame; to wit, his bleſſed Evangell, which now he offereth unto you, to the end that ye may be ſaved: For the Goſpell and glad Tydings of the Kingdome truly preached, is the power of God to the ſalvation of every Beleever, which to credite and receive your the Communalty are no leſſe addebted, then be your Rulers and Princes; for albeit God hath put and ordained diſtinction and difference betwixt the King and Subjects, betwixt the Rulers and the Common-people in the Regiment and Adminiſtration of Civill Policies, yet in the hope of the life to come he hath made all equall; for as in Chriſt Jeſus the *Jew* hath no greater Prerogative then hath the *Gentile*, the man then hath the woman, the learned then the unlearned, the Lord then the ſervant, but all are one in him, ſo is there but one way and means to attain to the participation of his benefits and ſpirituall graces, which is a lively faith, working by charitie; and therefore I ſay, that it doth no leſſe appertain to you, beloved Brethren, to bee aſſured that your faith and Religion be grounded and eſtabliſhed upon the true and undoubted Word of God, then to your Princes or Rulers: For as your bodies cannot eſcape corporall death, if with your Princes ye eate or drink deadly poyſon (although it be by ignorance or negligence;) ſo ſhall ye not eſcape the everlaſting, if with them ye profeſſe a corrupt Religion; yea, except in heart ye beleeve, and with mouth ye confeſſe the Lord Jeſus to be the onely Saviour of the world, (which ye cannot doe, except ye embrace his Evangell offered) ye cannot eſcape death and damnation: For as the juſt liveth by his own faith, ſo doth the unfaithfull periſh by his infidelitie: And as true faith is ingendred, nouriſhed, and maintained in the hearts of Gods Elect, by Chriſts Evangell truely preached; ſo is infidelity and unbelief foſtered by concealing and repreſſing the ſame. And thus if ye look for the life everlaſting, ye muſt trie if ye ſtand in faith, and if ye would be aſſured of a true and lively faith, ye muſt needs have Chriſt Jeſus truly preached unto you. And this is the cauſe (dear Brethren) that ſo oft I repeat, and ſo conſtantly I affirme, That to you it doth not leſſe appertain, then to you King or Princes, to provide that Chriſt Jeſus be truely preached amongſt you, ſeeing that without

Note. Reformation of Religion belongeth to all that hope for life everlaſting. Rom. 1.

Rom. 1.

The ſubject is no leſſe bound to beleeve in Chriſt, then is the King. Gal 3.

Abac. 2. Mark 16. John 3.

without his true knowledge, can neither of you both attain to Salvation: And this is the point, wherein (I say) all men are equall, *That all are descended from* Adam, *by whose sin and inobedience did death enter into the world, so it behoved all that shall obtain life, to be ingrafted in one, that is, in the Lord Jesus, who being the just servant, doth by his knowledge justifie many; to wit, all that unfainedly beleeve in him.* Of this equalitie, and that, God requireth no lesse of the subject, be he never so poor, then of the Prince and rich man in matters of Religion, he hath given an evident declaration in the Law of *Moses*; for when the Tabernacle was builded, erected, and set in order, God did provide, how it and the things pertaining to the same, should be sustained, so that they should not fall in decay: And this provision (albeit heaven and earth obey his Empire) would he not take from the secret and hid Treasures which lie dispersed in the veines of the earth, neither yet would he take it from the rich and potent of the people; but he did command, That every one of the sons of *Israel* (were he rich or were he poor) that came in count from 20 yeers and upward, should yeerly pay halfe a Sickle for an oblation to the Lord, in the remembrance of their Redemption, and for an expiation or cleansing of their souls, which money God commanded should be bestowed upon the Ornaments and necessaries of the Tabernacle of Testimony. He furthermore added a Precept, That the rich should give no more for that use, and in that behalf, then should the poor; neither yet that the poor should give any lesse then should the rich in that consideration. This law, to mans reason and judgement, may appear very unreasonable; for some rich man might have given a thousand sickles with lesse hurt of his substance, then some poor man might have payed the half Sickle: And yet God maketh all equall, and will that the one shall pay no more then the other, neither yet the poor lesse then the rich; This Law (I say) may appear very unequall: But if the cause which God addeth be observed, we shall finde in the same the great mercy and inestimable wisdom of God to appear, which cause is expressed in these words; *This money received from the children of Israel, thou shalt give in for the service of the Tabernacle, that it may be to the children of Israel for a remembrance before the Lord, that he may be mercifull to your souls.* This cause (I say) doth evidently declare, That as the whole multitude was delivered from the bondage of *Egypt* by the mighty power of God alone; so was every member of the same (without respect of persons) sanctified by his grace, the richest (in that behalfe) nothing preferred before the poorest: For by no merit and worthinesse of man was he moved to choose and to establish his habitation and dwelling amongst them; but their felicity, prerogative and honour which they had above all other Nations, proceeded onely from the fountaine of his eternall goodnesse, who loved them freely, as he freely had chosen them to be a priestly kingdome, and holy people from all Nations of the earth: Thus to honour them that hee would dwell in the midst of them, he neither was moved (I say) by the wisdome of the wise, by the riches of the potent, neither yet by the vertue and holinesse of any state amongst them, but of meer goodnesse did he love them, and with his presence did he honour the whole people, and therefore to paint out

Anno

Wherein all men are equall Rom 5. Isa 53. John 3 & 5.

Exod. 30.

Exod. 30.

Exod. 19.

Anno the ſame his common love to the whole multitude, and to cut off occaſions of contention, and doubts of conſcience, he would receive no more from the rich, then from the poor, for the maintenance of that his tabernacle, by the which was repreſented his preſence and habitation amongſt them. If the rich had been preferred to the poor, then as the one ſhould have been puffed up with pride, as that he had been more acceptable to God by reaſon of his greater gift, ſo ſhould the conſcience of the other have been troubled and wounded, thinking that his poverty was an impediment that he could not ſtand in ſo perfect favour with God, as did the other, becauſe he was not able to give ſo much, as did the rich, to the maintenance of his Tabernacle: But he, who of mercy (as is ſaid) did chooſe his habitation amongſt them, and alſo that beſt knoweth what lyeth within man, did provide the remedie for the one, and for the other, making them equall in that behalf, who in other things were moſt unequall. If the poor ſhould have found himſelf grieved by reaſon of that taxe, and that aſmuch was impoſed upon him as upon the Rich, yet had he no ſmall cauſe of joy, that God himſelf would pleaſe to compare him, and to make him equall (in the maintenance of his Tabernacle) to the moſt rich and potent in *Iſrael*. If this equality was commanded by God for maintenance of that tranſitory tabernacle, which was but a ſhadow of a better to come; is not the ſame required of us, who now have the verity, which is Chriſt Jeſus? who being clad with our nature, is made *Immanuel*, that is, God with us; *Whoſe naturall body, albeit it be received into the Heavens, where he muſt abide till all be compleat that is foreſpoken by the Prophets, yet hath he promiſed to be preſent with us to the end of the world.* And for that purpoſe, and for the more aſſurance of his Promiſe, he hath erected amongſt us here in earth the Signes of his own preſence with us, his ſpirituall Tabernacle, the true preaching of his Word, and right adminiſtration of his Sacraments; to the maintenance whereof is no leſſe bound the ſubject then the Prince, the poor then the rich: For as the Price, which was given for mans redemption, is one, ſo God requireth of all that ſhall be partakers of the benefits of the ſame, a like duty which is a plain confeſſion, That by Chriſt Jeſus alone we have received, whatſoever was loſt in *Adam*. Of the Prince doth God require, That he refuſe himſelf, and that he follow Chriſt Jeſus; of the Subject he requireth the ſame. Of the Kings and Judges it is required, That they kiſſe the Son; that is, give honour, ſubjection and obedience to him: and from ſuch reverence doth not God exempt the Subject that ſhall be ſaved; and this is, That equality which is betwixt the kings and ſubjects, the moſt rich or noble, and betwixt the pooreſt and men of loweſt ſtate; to wit, That as the one is obliged to beleeve in heart, and with mouth to confeſſe the Lord Jeſus to be the onely Saviour of the world, ſo alſo is the other. Neither is there any of Gods children (who hath attained to the yeers of diſcretion) ſo poor, but that he hath thus much to beſtow upon the Ornaments and maintenance of their ſpirituall Tabernacle, when neceſſity requireth; neither yet is there any ſo rich, of whoſe hands God requireth any more: For albeit that *David* gathered great ſubſtance for the building of the Temple, that *Solomon* with earneſt diligence and incredible expenees erected and finiſhed the ſame, That *Hezekiah* and *Joſiah* purged the Religion,

The preſence of God repreſented in the Tabernacle.

Heb 9.

Iſa 8. Act.3. Mat.28.

The ſpirituall Tabernacle and ſignes of Chriſts pre-

1 Par.29. 2 Par.3.4 & 5. 2 Par.29.30. & 35.

gion which before was corrupted: yet to them was God no further debter in that reſpect, then he was to the moſt ſimple of the faithfull poſterity of faithfull *Abraham*; for their diligence, zeal and works gave rather teſtimony and confeſſion before men, what honour they did bear to God; what love to his Word; what reverence to his Religion, then that any work proceeding from them did either eſtabliſh, or yet encreaſe Gods favour towards them, who freely did love them in Chriſt his Son, before the foundation of the world was laid: So that theſe forenamed, by their notable works, gave teſtimony of their unfained faith; and the ſame doth the pooreſt, that unfainedly and openly profeſſeth Chriſt Jeſus, and doth embrace his glad tydings offered, That doth abhor Superſtition, and flie from Idolatry. The pooreſt, I ſay, and moſt ſimple that this day on earth, in the dayes of this cruell perſecution firmly believeth in Chriſt, and boldly doth confeſſe him before this wicked generation, is no leſſe acceptable before God, neither is judged in his preſence to have done any leſſe in promoting Chriſt his Cauſe, then is the King, that by his ſword and power which he hath received of God, rooteth out Idolatry, and ſo advanceth Chriſts glory. But to return to our former purpoſe: It is no leſſe required, I ſay, of the ſubject to believe in Chriſt, and to profeſſe his true Religion, then of the Prince and King: And therefore I affirm, That in Gods preſence it ſhall not excuſe you to alleadge, That yee were no chief Rulers, and therefore that the care and reformation of Religion did not appertain unto you.

Anno

1 Par. 29. 2 Par. 3. 4, & 5. 2 Par. 29. 30. & 35.

Note.

Yee, dear brethren (as before is ſaid) are the creatures of God created to his own Image and ſimilitude; to whom it is commanded, To hear the voice of your heavenly Father, To embrace his Son Chriſt Jeſus, To flie from all doctrine and Religion which he hath not approved by his own Will, revealed to us in his moſt bleſſed Word. To which Precepts and Charges if yee be found inobedient, ye ſhall periſh in your iniquity as rebells and ſtubborn ſervants, that have no pleaſure to obey the good Will of their Soveraign Lord, who moſt lovingly doth call for your obedience: And therefore, brethren, in this behalf, it is your part to be carefull and diligent: For the queſtion is not of things temporall, which although they be endangered, yet by diligence and proceſſe of time may after be redreſſed; but it is of the damnation of your bodies and ſouls, and of the loſſe of life everlaſting; which once loſt, can never be recovered. And therefore I ſay, That it behoveth you to be carefull and diligent in this ſo weighty a matter, leſt that ye, contemning this occaſion which God now offereth, finde not the like, although that after with groaning and ſobs ye languiſh for the ſame. And that ye be not ignorant of what occaſion I mean, in few words I ſhall expreſſe it.

Matth. 17.

Note.

Not onely I, but with me alſo divers other godly and learned men, do offer unto you our labours, faithfully to inſtruct you in the wayes of the eternall our God, and in the ſincerity of Chriſts Evangell, which this day, by the peſtilent Generation of Antichriſt (I mean by the Pope, and by his moſt ungodly Clergy) are almoſt hid from the eyes of men: We offer to jeopard our lives for the ſalvation of your ſouls, and by manifeſt Scriptures to prove that Religion that amongſt you is maintained by fire

The offer of *Iohn Knox* to his native Realm.

Anno and ſword, to be falſe, vain and diabolicall. We require nothing of you, but that patiently ye will hear our Doctrine, which is not ours, but the Doctrine of ſalvation revealed to the world by the onely Son of God; And that ye will examine our reaſons, by the which we offer to prove the Papiſticall Religion to be abominable before God: And laſt, we require, That by your power the tyranny of thoſe cruell beaſts (I mean of Prieſts and Fryers) may be bridled till we have uttered our mindes in all matters this day debatable in Religion: If theſe things in the fear of God ye grant to me, and unto others that unfainedly for your ſalvation, and for Gods glory require the ſame, I am aſſured, That of God ye ſhall be bleſſed, whatſoever Satan ſhall deviſe againſt you. But and if ye contemn or refuſe God, who thus lovingly offereth unto you ſalvation and life, ye ſhall neither eſcape plagues Temporall which ſhortly ſhall apprehend you, neither yet the torment prepared for the devill and for his angels, except by your ſpeedy repentance ye return to the Lord, whom now ye refuſe, if that ye refuſe the Meſſengers of his Word.

What he requireth.

An anſwer to two queſtions.

But yet I think ye doubt what ye ought and may do in this ſo weighty a matter. In few words I will declare my conſcience in the one, and in the other: Ye ought to prefer the glory of God, and the promoting of Chriſt his Evangell, and the ſalvation of your ſouls, to all things that be in the earth: And ye, although ye be but ſubjects, may lawfully require of your Superiours, be it of your King, be it of your Lords, Rulers and Powers, That they provide for you true Preachers, and that they expell ſuch as under the name of Paſtors, devour and deſtroy the Flock, not feeding the ſame as Chriſt Jeſus hath commanded: And if in this point your Superiours be negligent, or yet pretend to maintain tyrants in their tyranny, moſt juſtly ye may provide true Teachers for your ſelves, Paſtors according to the minde and heart of God, by whom you may be fed with that moſt comfortable food of your ſouls, Chriſts Evangell truly preached: Ye may moreover, in a peaceable manner, without ſedition, with-hold the fruits and profits which your falſe Biſhops and Clergy moſt unjuſtly receive of you, unto ſuch time as they ſhall faithfully do their charge and duties, which is, To preach unto you Chriſt Jeſus truely, rightly to miniſter the Sacraments according to his own Inſtitution; and ſo to watch for the ſalvation of your ſouls, as is commanded by Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, and by his Apoſtles *Paul* and *Peter*. If God ſhall move your hearts in his true fear to begin to practice theſe things, and to demanded and crave the ſame of your Superiours, which moſt lawfully ye may do, then I doubt not but of his great mercy, and free grace, he will illuminate the eyes of your mindes, that his undoubted Verity will be a Lantern to your feet, to guide and lead you in all the wayes which godly wiſedom doth approve; he will make your enemies tremble before your faces; he will eſtabliſh his Evangell amongſt you, to the ſalvation and perpetuall comfort of your ſelves, and of your poſterity after you. But and if (as God forbid) the love of friends, the fear of your Princes, and the wiſedom of the world draw you back from God, and from his Son Chriſt Jeſus, be ye certainly perſwaded, That ye ſhall drink the cup of his Vengeance; ſo many, I mean, as ſhall contemn and deſpiſe this loving calling of your heavenly Father.

Subjects may lawfully require true Preachers of their Rulers.

John 21. Acts 20.

Things that may draw men back from the ſincerity of Chriſts Evangell.

It

It will not excuſe you (dear brethren) in the preſence of God, neither yet will it avail you in the day of his viſitation, to ſay, *We were but ſimple ſubjects, we could not redreſſe the faults and crimes of our Rulers, Biſhops and Clergy: We called for Reformation, and wiſhed for the ſame; but Lords brethren were Biſhops, their ſons were Abbots, and the friends of great men had the poſſeſſion of the Church, and ſo were we compelled to give obedience to all that they demanded.* Theſe vain excuſes, I ſay, will nothing avail you in the preſence of God, who requireth no leſſe of the ſubjects, then of their Rulers; That they decline from evil, and that they do good; that they abſtain from Idolatry, Superſtition, Blaſphemy, Murther, and other ſuch like horrible crimes which his Law forbiddeth, and yet nevertheleſſe are openly committed and maliciouſly defended in that miſerable Realm. And if ye think that ye are innocent, becauſe ye are not the chief actors of ſuch iniquity, ye are utterly deceived; for God doth not onely puniſh the chief offenders, but with them doth he condemn the conſenters to ſuch iniquity; and all are judged to conſent, that knowing impiety committed, give no teſtimony that the ſame diſpleaſeth them. To ſpeak this matter more plain, As your Princes and Rulers are criminall with your Biſhops of all Idolatry committed, and of all the innocent blood that is ſhed for the teſtimony of Chriſts Truth; and that becauſe they maintain them in their tyranny: ſo are you (I mean ſo many of you as give no plain confeſſion to the contrary) criminall and guilty with your Princes and Rulers in the ſame crimes, becauſe ye aſſiſt and maintain your Princes in their blinde rage, and give no declaration that their tyranny diſpleaſeth you. This Doctrine, I know, is ſtrange to the blinde world; but the verity of it hath been declared in all notable puniſhments from the beginning. When the originall world periſhed by water; when *Sodome* and *Gomorra* were conſumed by fire; and finally, when *Jeruſalem* was horribly deſtroyed; Doth any man think that all were alike wicked before the world? Evident it is that they were not, if they be judged according to their externall facts; for ſome were young, and could not be oppreſſors, neither yet could defile themſelves with unnaturall and beaſtly luſts: Some were pitifull, and gentle of nature, and did not thirſt for the blood of Chriſt, nor of his Apoſtles: But did any eſcape the plagues and vengeance which did apprehend the multitude? Let the Scriptures witneſſe, and the Hiſtories be conſidered, which plainly do teſtifie, That by the waters all fleſh in earth at that time did periſh; (*Noah* and his family reſerved) That none eſcaped in *Sodome*, and in the other Cities adjacent, except *Lot* and his two daughters. And evident it is, That in that famous City *Jeruſalem*, in that laſt and horrible deſtruction of the ſame, none eſcaped Gods vengeance, except ſo many as before were diſperſed. And what is the cauſe of this ſeverity, ſeeing that all were not alike offenders, let the fleſh ceaſe to diſpute with God, and let all men by theſe examples learn betimes to fly, and avoid the ſociety and company of the proud contemners of God, if that they liſt not to be partakers of their plagues. The cauſe is evident, if we can be ſubject without grudging to Gods judgements, which in themſelves are moſt holy and juſt: For in the originall world none was found, that either did reſiſt tyranny and oppreſſion that univerſally was uſed, nor yet that earneſtly repre-

Anno

Rom. 1. *Note.*

Princes and Biſhops are alike criminall. How ſubjects offend with their Princes. Gen. 7. & 19.

Joſephus Egeſippus.

Anno reprehended the ſame. In *Sodome* was none found that did gainſtand that furious and beaſtly multitude that did compaſſe about and beſiege the houſe of *Lot*: None would believe *Lot*, that the City ſhould be deſtroyed. And finally, in *Jeruſalem* was found none that ſtudied to repreſſe the tyranny of the Prieſts, who were conjured againſt Chriſt and his Evangell; but all fainted (I except ever ſuch as gave witneſſe with their blood, or their flying, That ſuch impiety diſpleaſed them) all kept ſilence; by the which all approved iniquity, and joyned hands with the tyrannts, and ſo were all arayed and ſet, as it had been in one Battell, againſt the Omnipotent, and againſt his Son Chriſt Jeſus: For whoſoever gathereth not with Chriſt in the day of his Harveſt, is judged to ſcatter; And therefore of one vengeance temporall were they all partakers. Which thing, as before I have touched, ought to move you to the deep conſideration of your duties in theſe laſt and moſt perillous times. The iniquity of your Biſhops is more then manifeſt; their filthy lives infect the ayr; the innocent blood which they ſhed, cryeth vengeance in the ears of our God; the idolatry and abomination which openly they commit, and without puniſhment maintain, doth corrupt and defile the whole Land, and none amongſt you do unfainedly ſtudy for any redreſſe of ſuch enormities. Will God in this behalf hold you as innocents? Be not deceived, dear brethren; God hath puniſhed not onely the proud tyrants, filthy perſons, and cruell murtherers, but alſo ſuch as with them did draw the yoke of iniquity, was it by flattering their offences, obeying their unjuſt commandments, or in winking at their manifeſt iniquity. All ſuch, I ſay, God once puniſhed with the chief offenders. Be ye aſſured, brethren, that as he is immutable of nature, ſo will he not pardon you in that which he hath puniſhed in others; and now the leſſe, becauſe he hath plainly admoniſhed you of the dangers to come, and hath offered you his mercy before he pour forth his wrath and diſpleaſure upon the inobedient.

What ſubjects ſhall God puniſh with their Princes.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the father of glory, and God of all conſolation, give you the ſpirit of wiſedom, and open unto you the knowledge of himſelf, by the means of his dear Son, by the which ye may attain to the eſperance and hope, That after the troubles of this tranſitory life, ye may be partakers of the glorious Inheritance which is prepared for ſuch as refuſe themſelves, and fight under the Banner of Chriſt Jeſus in the day of this his Battell: That in deep conſideration of the ſame, ye may learn to prefer the inviſible and eternall joyes, to the vain pleaſures that are preſent. God further grant you his holy Spirit, righteouſly to conſider what I, in his Name, have required of your Nobility, and of the ſubjects, and move all together ſo to anſwer, that my Petition be not a teſtimony of your juſt condemnation, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear to revenge the blood of his Saints, and the contempt of his moſt holy Word. Amen.

Sleep not in ſin; for vengeance is prepared againſt the inobedient.

Fly from *Babylon*, if ye will not be partakers of her plagues.

Grace be with you.

Be witneſſe to my Appellation.
The 4. of *July*, 1558.

Your Brother to command in godlineſſe,
JOHN KNOX.

A

A faithfull

ADMONITION

made by

IOHN KNOX,

To the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel of *CHRIST* within the Kingdom of *England*. 1554.

John Knox *wiſheth Grace, Mercy, and Peace from GOD the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the perpetuall Comfort of the Holy Ghoſt to be with you for ever and ever, dear Brethren, the afflicted Members of Chriſts Church in* England.

HAving no leſſe deſire to comfort ſuch as now be in trouble within the Realm of *England*, (and ſpecially you for many cauſes moſt dear to me) then hath the naturall Father to eaſe the griefe and pain of his deareſt Childe; I have conſidered with my ſelfe, what argument or parcell of Gods Scriptures was moſt convenient and meet to be handled for your conſolation in theſe moſt dark and dolorous dayes: And ſo (as for the ſame purpoſe I was turning my Book) I chanced to ſee a Note in the Margine written thus in Latine, *Videat Anglia*, Let *England* beware; which Note when I had conſidered, I found, that the matter written in my Booke in Latine, was this, *Seldome it is that God worketh any notable work to the comfort of his Church, but that trouble, fear, and labour cometh upon*

A note made upon the ſending of Chriſts Diſciples to the Sea, the miraculous feeding of the people.

Anno

upon ſuch as God hath uſed for his Servants and Workmen; and alſo tribulation moſt commonly followeth that Church were Chriſt Jeſus is moſt truely preached. This Note was made upon a place of Scripture written in the fourteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthews* Goſpell, which place declareth, That after Chriſt Jeſus had uſed the Apoſtles as Miniſters and Servants to feed (as it had been by their hands) five thouſand men, beſide women and children, with five Barley Loaves and two Fiſhes; he ſent them to the Sea, commanding them to paſſe over before him to the other ſide. Which thing as they attempted to obey, and for the ſame purpoſe did travell and row forth in the Sea, the night approached, the wind was contrary, the vehement and raging ſtorme aroſe, and was like to overthrow their poor Boat and them. When I conſidered (as dolour and my ſimplicity would ſuffer) the circumſtances of the Text, I began to reckon and ask account of my ſelf (and as God knoweth, not without ſorrow and ſobs) whether at any time I had been ſo plain by my tongue, as God had opened his holy Will and Wiſdom in that matter unto me, as mine own Pen and Note beare witneſſe to my conſcience: And ſhortly it came to my minde, that the ſame place of Scripture I had handled in your preſences, when God gave opportunity and time for you to heare Gods Meſſenger ſpeak the words of eternall life. Wherefore I thought nothing more expedient, then ſhortly to call to minde againe ſuch things as then I truſt were touched; albeit peradventure neither of me ſo plainly uttered, neither of you ſo plainly perceived, as theſe moſt dolorous dayes declare the ſame to us.

What chanced to Chriſts diſciples after the feeding of the people in the deſart.

It ſhall not bee neceſſary to handle the Text word by word, but of the whole ſumme to gather certain Notes and Obſervations, (which ſhall not farre diſagree from the ſtate of theſe dayes) it ſhall be ſufficient. And firſt it is to be obſerved, That after this great miracle that Chriſt had wrought, he neither would retain with himſelf the multitude of people whom he had fed, neither yet his diſciples; but the one he ſent away every man to return to his place of accuſtomed reſidence, and the others he ſent to the danger of the Seas, not as he that was ignorant what ſhould chance unto them, but knowing and foreſeeing the Tempeſt, yea and appointing the ſame ſo to trouble them.

The firſt Note

John 6. Matth. 14.

It is not to be judged, That the onely and true Paſtour would remove and ſend away from him the wandering and weak ſheep; neither yet that the onely provident Governour and Guide would ſet out his rude Warriours to ſo great a jeopardie, without ſufficient and moſt juſt cauſe.

Chriſt ſuffereth not his ſheep and Paſtours to be diſperſed and troubled, but for cauſe reaſonable.

Why Chriſt removed and ſent away from him the people, the Evangeliſt Saint *John* declareth, ſaying, *When Jeſus knew that they were come to take him, that they might make him King, he paſſed ſecretly* (or alone) *to the Mountain.* Whereof it is plain what chiefly moved Chriſt to ſend away the people from him, becauſe that by him they ſought a carnall and worldly libertie, regarding nothing his Heavenly Doctrine of the Kingdom of God his Father, which before he had taught and declared unto them plainly, ſhewing them, That ſuch as would follow him muſt ſuffer for his Names ſake perſecution, muſt be hated of all men, muſt deny themſelves, muſt be ſent forth as ſheep among Wolves: But no part

John 6.

Why Chriſt ſent away the people from him.

Matth. 10.

of

of this doctrine pleaſed them, or could enter into their hearts, but their whole minde was upon their bellies, for ſufficing whereof they deviſed and imagined, that they would appoint Chriſt Jeſus to be their worldly King; for he had power to multiply bread at his pleaſure. Which vain opinion and imagination perceived by Chriſt Jeſus, he withdrew himſelfe from their company, to avoid all ſuch ſuſpition, and to let them underſtand, That no ſuch honours did agree with his Vocation, who came to ſerve, and not to be ſerved: And when this ſame people ſought him againe, he ſharply rebuked them, becauſe they ſought him more to have their Bellies fed with corruptible meat, then to have their ſouls nouriſhed with lively Bread that came down from Heaven. And thus in the people there was juſt cauſe why Chriſt ſhould withdraw himſelf from them for a time.

Anno

John 6.

Matth. 20.

John. 6.

Why the Diſciples ſhould ſuffer that great danger, feare and anguiſh, Saint *Marke* in his Goſpel plainly ſheweth, ſaying, *That their hearts were blinded, and therefore did neither remember nor conſider the miracle of the Loaves*: That is, Albeit with their hands they had touched that bread by which ſo great a multitude was fed; and albeit alſo they had gathered up twelve Baskets full of that which remained of a few Loaves, which before the Miracle a Boy was able to have borne; yet did they not rightly conſider the infinite power of Chriſts Jeſus by this wonderfull Miracle: And therefore of neceſſity it was, that in their owne Bodies they ſhould ſuffer trouble for their better inſtruction.

Mark 6.

The diſciples did not rightly conſider Chriſts work.

Note.

When I deeply conſider (dearly beloved in our Saviour Chriſt) how abundantly, and how miraculouſly the poor and ſmall flock of Chriſt Jeſus was fed within the Realm of *England* under that elect and choſen Veſſell of God to glory and honour *Edward the ſixt*; and now again behold not onely the diſperſion and ſcattering abroad, but alſo the appearing deſtruction of the ſame, under theſe curſed, cruell and abominable Idolaters, me thinke I ſee the ſame cauſes to have moved God, not onely to withdraw his preſence from the multitude, but alſo to have ſent his welbeloved ſervants to the travels of the Seas, wherein they were ſore toſſed and turmoyled, and apparently moſt like to periſh.

What were the affections of the greateſt multitude that followed the Goſpel in this former reſt and abundance, is eaſie to be judged, if the life and converſation of every man ſhould have beene thorowly examined: For who lived (in that reſt) as that he had refuſed himſelf? Who lived in that reſt, as that he had been crucified with Chriſt? Who lived in that reſt, as that he had certainly looked for trouble to come upon him? Yea, who lived not rather in delicacy and joy, and ſeeking the world and pleaſures thereof, caring for the fleſh and carnall appetites, as though death and ſin had clean been devoured? And what was this elſe, then to make of Chriſt an earthly King? The Word that we profeſſed daily cryed in our ears; that our Kingdome; our joy, our reſt and felicitie, neither was, is, nor ſhould be upon the earth, neither in any tranſitory thing thereof, but in heaven, into which we muſt enter by many tiibulations. But (alas) we ſleeped in ſuch ſecuritie, that the ſound of the Trumpet could of many never be perfectly underſtood, but alwayes

Note this for our time.

Note.

John 18.

Act. 14.

Anno we perſwaded our ſelves of a certaine tranquility, as though the troubles whereof mention is made within the Scriptures of God, appertained nothing at all to this age, but unto ſuch as of long time are paſſed before us: and therfore was our heavenly Father compelled to withdraw from us the preſence of his veritie (whoſe voyce in thoſe dayes we could not beleeve) to the end that more earneſtly we may thirſt for the ſame, and with more obedience embrace and receive it, if ever it ſhall pleaſe his infinite goodneſſe, in ſuch abundance to reſtore the ſame againe.

Hypocrites are made manifeſt in the day of trouble.

I mean nothing of thoſe that followed Chriſt only for their bellies, for ſuch perceiving that they could not obtain their hearts deſire of Chriſt, have grudged, and left him in body and heart; which thing their blaſphemous voices ſpake againſt his eternall verity, doth witneſſe and declare.

1 John 2.

For ſuch (brethren) be ye not moved, for in the time of their profeſſion they were not of us, but were very diſſemblers and Hypocrites; and therefore God juſtly permitteth that they blaſpheme the Truth, which they never loved. I mean not that ever ſuch diſſembling Hypocrites ſhall embrace the verity, but I meane ſuch as by infirmitie of the fleſh, and by naturall blindneſſe (which in this life is never altogether expelled) then could not give the very obedience which Gods Word required, neither now by weakneſſe of faith dare openly and boldly confeſſe that which their hearts know to be moſt true, and yet lamenteth & mourneth, both for the imperfection by paſſed and preſent; from ſuch ſhall not the amiable preſence of Chriſt for ever be withdrawn; but yet again ſhall the eyes of their ſore-troubled hearts behold and ſee that light of Chriſts Goſpell, wherein they moſt delight. We the Miniſters, who were the diſtributers of this bread, (the true Word of God) wherewith the multitude within *England* was fed, lacked not our offences, which alſo moved God to ſend us to the Sea. And becauſe the offences of no man are ſo manifeſt unto me, as mine own, I will onely cenſure my ſelf.

Note.

It is not unknown unto many, that I (the moſt wretched) was one of that number whom God appointed to receive that Bread (as it was broken by Chriſt Jeſus) to diſtribute and give the ſame to ſuch as he had called to this banquet, in that part of his table where he appointed me to ſerve. It is not in my knowledge nor judgement to define nor determine what portion or quantity every man received of this bread, neither yet how that which they received agreed with their ſtomacks; but of this I am aſſured, That the benediction of Chriſt Jeſus ſo multiplyed the portion which I received of his hands, that during the banquet (this I write to the praiſe of his Name, and to the accuſation of mine owne unthankfulneſſe) the bread never failed when the hungry ſoule craved or cried for food; and at the end of the banquet, mine own conſcience beareth witneſſe, that mine hands gathered up the crummes that were left in ſuch abundance, that the banquet was full among the reſt. To be plain, mine own conſcience beareth record to my ſelf, how ſmall was my learning, and how weak I was of judgement when Chriſt Jeſus called me to be his ſteward, and how mightily day by day, and time by time he multiplied his graces with me, if I ſhould conceale, I were moſt wicked and unthankfull.

To deny or conceale the gifts of God which we have received, is unthankfulneſſe.

But

But alas, how blinded was my heart, and how little I did conſider the dignity of that Office, and the power of God that then multiplied and bleſſed the bread which the people received of my hands, this day mine own conſcience beareth witneſſe to my ſelfe. God I take to record in my conſcience, That I delivered the ſame bread that I received of Chriſts hands; and that I mixed no poyſon with the ſame; that is, I teached Chriſts Goſpel without any mixture of mens dreames, deviſes, or phantaſies. But alas I did it not with ſuch fervency, with ſuch indifferency, and with ſuch diligency as this day I know my duty was to have done. Anno

Let the Miſtreſſe write this who are put from it charged by the enemy.

Some complained in thoſe dayes, That the Preachers were undiſcreet perſons (yea, ſome called them raylers, and worſe) becauſe they ſpake againſt the manifeſt iniquity of men, and eſpecially of thoſe that then were placed in Authority, as well in Court, as in other Offices univerſally thorowout the Realme, both in Cities, Towns and Villages. And among others peradventure my rude plainneſſe diſpleaſed ſome, who did complain, That raſhly I did ſpeak of mens faults, ſo that all men might know and perceive of whom I meant. But alas, this day my conſcience accuſeth me, That I ſpake not ſo plainly as my duty was to have done: For I ought to have ſaid to the wicked man expreſſely by his name, *Thou ſhalt die the death.* For I finde *Jeremiah* the Prophet to have done ſo to *Paſhur* the high Prieſt, and to *Zedechiah* the King. And not onely he, but alſo *Elijah*, *Eliſha*, *Michah*, *Amos*, *Daniel*, Chriſt Jeſus himſelf; and after him his Apoſtles expreſſely to have named the blood-thirſty tyrants, abominable Idolaters, and diſſembling hypocrites of their dayes. If that we the Preachers within the Realme of *England* were appointed by God to be the Salt of the earth (as his other Meſſengers were before us.) Alas, Why with-held we the Salt, where manifeſt compunction did appear? (I accuſe none but my ſelfe.) The blinde love that I did bear to this my wicked carkaſe was the chiefe cauſe that I was not fervent and faithfull enough in that behalfe; For I had no will to provoke the hatred of all men againſt me: And therefore ſo touched I the vices of men in the preſence of the greateſt, that they might ſee themſelves to be offenders (I dare not ſay that I was the greateſt flatterer.) But yet nevertheleſſe I would not be ſeen to proclaim manifeſt Warre againſt the manifeſt wicked: Whereof unfainedly I ask my God mercy.

Ezech 3.33. Jerem 34. 3 Reg 18 21, 22. 4 Reg 3. Amos 7. Dan 5 Matth. 23. Act 13.

The Preachers ordained the Salt of the earth

The Confeſſion of the Author.

As I was not ſo fervent in rebuking manifeſt iniquity as it became me to have been; So was I not ſo indifferent a feeder as is required of Chriſts Steward: For in preaching Chriſts Goſpel, albeit mine eye (as knoweth God) was not much upon worldly promotion, yet the love of friends, and carnall affection of ſome men with whom I was moſt familiar, allured me to make more reſidence in one place then in another, having more reſpect to the pleaſure of a few, then to the neceſſity of many. That day I thought I had not ſinned, if I had not been idle; But this day I know it was my duty to have had conſideration how long I had remained in one place, and how many hungry ſouls were in other places, to whom alas none took pain to break and diſtribute the bread of Life.

Preachers ought to feed Chriſts Flock.

Anno

Moreover, remaining in one place I was not ſo diligent as mine Office required; but ſometime by counſell of carnall friends I ſpared the body; ſometime I ſpent in worldly buſineſſe of particular friends; and ſometime in taking recreation and paſtime by exerciſe of the body.

And albeit men may judge theſe to be light and ſmall offences, yet I acknowledge and confeſſe, That unleſſe pardon ſhould be granted to me in Chriſts blood, that every one of theſe three offences aforenamed, that is to ſay, Lack of fervency in reproving ſin, The lack of indifferency in feeding thoſe that were hungry, And the lack of diligence in the execution of mine Office, deſerved damation.

The lack of fervency of reproving; of indifference in feeding, and diligence in executing, are great ſins. Spirituall temptations are ſoon eſpied.

And beſide theſe, I was aſſaulted, yea, infected and corrupted with more groſſe ſins; that is, My wicked nature deſired the favours, the eſtimation and praiſe of men; againſt which albeit that ſometime the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earneſtly did ſtir me (God knoweth I lye not) to ſob and lament for thoſe imperfections; yet never ceaſed they to trouble me when any occaſion was offred: And ſo privily and craftily did they enter into my breſt, that I could not perceive my ſelf to be wounded, till vain-glory had almoſt gotten the upper hand.

The prayer of the author.

O Lord be mercifull to my great offence, and deal not with me according to my great iniquity; but according to the multitude of thy mercies remove from me the burthen of my ſin: for of purpoſe and minde to have avoided the vain diſpleaſure of man, I ſpared little to offend thy Majeſtie.

Think not (beloved in the Lord) That thus I accuſe my ſelfe without juſt cauſe, as though in ſo doing I might appear more holy; or that yet I do it of purpoſe and intent by occaſion thereof to accuſe others of my brethren the true Preachers of Chriſt of like or greater offences: No, God is Judge to my conſcience, That I do it even from an unfained and ſore troubled heart, as I that know my ſelfe grievouſly to have offended the Majeſty of my God, during the time that Chriſts Goſpel had free paſſage in *England*. And this I do let you underſtand, That the taking away of the heavenly Bread, and this great tempeſt that now bloweth againſt the poor diſciples of Chriſt within the Realme of *England* (as touching our part) cometh from the great mercy of our heavenly Father, to provoke us to unfained repentance, for that neither Preacher nor Profeſſor did rightly conſider the time of our mercifull Viſitation: But altogether ſo we ſpent the time, as though Gods Word had been Preached rather to ſatisfie our fantaſies, then to reforme our evill manners. Which thing if we earneſtly repent, then ſhall Jeſus Chriſt appear to our comfort, be the ſtorm never ſo great. *Haſte, O Lord, for thy Names ſake.*

The troubles of theſe dayes cometh to the comfort of Gods elect

The ſecond Note. The great fear of the diſciples. Matth. 8. The diſciples alſo before this time were troubled in the Sea.

The ſecond thing that I finde to be noted, is, The vehemency of the fear which the diſciples endured in that great danger, being of longer continuance then ever they had at any time before.

In Saint *Matthewes* Goſpel it appeareth, That another time there aroſe a great ſtormy Tempeſt, and ſore toſſed the Boat wherein Chriſts diſciples were labouring: But that was nigh the day light, and then they had Chriſt with them in the Ship, whom they awaked, and cryed for help

help unto him (for at that time he ſlept in the Boat) and ſo were ſhortly delivered from their ſudden fear. But now were they in the midſt of the raging Sea, and it was night, and Chriſt their Comforter abſent from them, and cometh not to them neither in the firſt, ſecond, nor third Watch; What fear think ye were they in? And what thoughts aroſe out of their ſo troubled hearts, during that ſtorm? Such as this day be in like danger within the Realme of *England*, doth by this ſtorm better underſtand then my pen can expreſſe. But of one thing I am well aſſured, That Chriſts preſence would in that great perplexity have been to them more comfortable then ever it was before; and that patiently they would have ſuffered their incredulity to have been rebuked, ſo that they might have eſcaped the preſent death. Anno *Note.*

But profitable it ſhall be, and ſomewhat to our comfort, to conſider every parcell of their danger: And firſt, ye ſhall underſtand, That when the diſciples paſſed to the Sea to obey Chriſts Commandment, it was fair weather, and no ſuch Tempeſt ſeen. But ſuddenly the ſtorme aroſe with a contrarious flaw of winde, when they were in the midſt of their Journey. For if the Tempeſt had been as great in the beginning of their entrance into the Sea, as it was after when they were about the midſt of their Journey, neither would they have adventured ſuch a great danger; neither yet had it been in their power to have attained to the midſt of the Sea. And ſo it may be evidently gathered, That the Sea was calme when they entered into their Journey. What time the tempeſt did ariſe. The Sea was calm when the diſciples took their Ship.

Then it is to be remarked, By what means and inſtruments was this ſtorme moved: Was the plunging of their Oars, and force of their ſmall Boat ſuch as might ſtirre the waves of the great Sea? No, doubtleſſe: But the holy Ghoſt declareth, That the Seas were moved by a vehement and contrary winde, which blew againſt their Ship in the time of darkneſſe. But ſeeing the winde is neither the commander nor mover of it ſelf, ſome other cauſe is to be enquired, which hereafter we ſhall touch. What moved the Sea.

And laſt, it is to be noted and conſidered, What the diſciples did in all this vehement Tempeſt. Truely they turned not to be driven backe for land or ſhore, by the vehemency of the contrary winde; for ſo it might be thought that they could not have eſcaped ſhipwrack and death: but they continually laboured in rowing againſt the winde, abiding the ceaſing of that horrible tempeſt. The toſſed Ship is a figure of the Church of Chriſt.

Conſider and mark, beloved in the Lord, what we reade here to have chanced to Chriſts diſciples, and to their poor Boat; and you ſhall well perceive, That the ſame thing hath chanced, doth and ſhall chance to the true Church and Congregation of Chriſt (which is nothing elſe in this miſerable life but a poor Ship) travelling in the Seas of this unſtable and troubleſome world, toward the heavenly Port, and Haven of eternall felicity, which Chriſt Jeſus hath appointed to his elect.

This I might prove by the poſterity of *Jacob* in *Egypt*; By the *Iſraelites* in their Captivity; and by the Church during the time that Chriſt

Anno

Exod. 1.

himſelf did Preach (and ſometime after his Reſurrection and Aſcenſion) againſt whom the vehement ſtorme did not rage immediately after they entred into the Ship of their travell and tribulation: For the bloody ſentence of *Pharaoh* was not pronounced againſt the ſeed of *Jacob* when he firſt did enter into *Egypt*: Neither was the cruell counſell and devilliſh device of proud *Haman* invented by and by after *Iſrael* and *Judah*

Eſth. 3.

were tranſlated from their poſſeſſions: Neither yet in the time of Chriſt Jeſus being converſant with his Apoſtles in the fleſh, was there uſed any ſuch tyranny againſt the Saints of God, as ſhortly after followed

Act. 7 & diuers.

in the perſecution of Saint *Stephen*, and other diſciples. But all theſe in the beginning of their travell with a contrary winde, had alway ſome calme; that is, Albeit they had ſome trouble, yet had they not extreme perſecution.

Even ſo, moſt dearly beloved, is happened now to the afflicted Church of God within the Realme of *England*: At all times the true Word of God ſuffered contradiction and repugnancie; And ſo the winde blew againſt us even from the beginning of the late upriſing of the Goſpel in *England*, but yet it could not ſtop our courſe, till now of late days, that the raging winde bloweth without bridle upon the unſtable Seas, in the midſt whereof we are in this hour of darkneſſe.

The malice of the devill compared to the winde.

1 *Simile.*

To write my minde plainly unto you, beloved brethren: This winde that alwayes hath blown againſt the Church of God, is the malice and hatred of the devill, which rightly in this caſe is compared to the winde: For as the winde is inviſible, and yet the poor diſciples feel that it troubleth and letteth their Ship; So is the peſtilent envie of the devill working alwayes in the hearts of the reprobate ſo ſubtill and crafty, that it cannot be eſpied by Gods Elect, nor by his Meſſengers, till firſt they feel the blaſts thereof to blow their Ship backward: And as the vehement winde cauſeth the waves of the Sea to rage, and yet the dead water neither knoweth what it doth, neither yet can it ceaſe nor refrain; ſo that both it is troubled by the winde, and alſo it ſelf doth trouble Chriſts diſciples in their poor Ship: So by the envie and malice of the devill, are wicked and cruell, as well ſubjects as Princes (whoſe hearts are like the raging Sea) compelled to perſecute and trouble the true Church of Chriſt; and yet ſo blinded are they, and ſo enthralled under the bondage of the devill, that neither can they ſee their manifeſt iniquity, neither yet can they ceaſe to run to their own deſtruction. And hereof, *England*, haſt thou manifeſt experience: For in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, how the wolf, that wicked *Wincheſter*, and others, by the vehement winde of ſix bloody Articles (by the devill deviſed) intended to have overthrown the poor Ship and Chriſts diſciples, is evidently known already. But then had we Chriſt Jeſus with us ſleeping in the Ship, who did not deſpiſe the faithfull crying of ſuch as then were in trouble: But by his mighty power, gracious goodnes, and invincible force of his holy Word, he compelled thoſe wicked windes to ceaſe, and the raging of thoſe Seas to be ſtilled and calm: So that all the hearts of Gods Elect within the Realme of *England* did wonder at that ſudden change, while that under a lamb the fearfull edge of that devouring ſword was taken from the necks

The Sea cannot be quiet when the wind bloweth outragiouſly.

The winde that blew in the dayes of King *Hen.* 8.

A quiet calm wa under King *Edw* 6.

of

of the faithfull; and the tyrannie of thoſe ravening and blood-thirſty Wolves (I mean of wily *Wincheſter*, and of ſome other his Brethren, the ſonnes of *Belial*) was repreſſed for a time: But yet ceaſed not the Devill to blow his winde, by his wicked Inſtruments, who found the means, how againſt nature the one brother ſhould aſſent to the death of the other; but that could not hinder the courſe of the travelling Boat, but forth ſhe goeth in deſpight of the Devill, who then more cruelly raged, perceiving his owne honour and ſervice; that is, his deteſtable *Maſſe*, to be diſcloſed and opened before the people, to be damnable Idolatrie, and aſſured damnation to ſuch as put their truſt in it: And therfore began he more craftily to work, and finding the ſame Inſtruments apt enough, whoſe labours he had uſed before, he blew ſuch mortall hatred between two, which appeared to be the chief pillars under the King; for that wretched (alas) and miſerable *Northumberland* could not be ſatisfied, till ſuch time as ſimple *Somerſet* moſt unjuſtly was bereft of his life; what the Devill and his Members the peſtilent Papiſts, meant by his away-taking, God compelled my tongue to ſpeak in more places then one; and ſpecially before you, and in *Newcaſtle*, as ſir *Robert Bradling* did not forget a long time after; God grant that he may underſtand all other matters ſpoken before him then and at other times, as righly as he did that mine interpretation of the Vineyard, whoſe Hedges, Ditches, Towres and Winepreſſe God deſtroyed, becauſe it would bring forth no good fruit: And that he may remember, that what ever was ſpoken by my mouth that day, is now compleate, and come to paſſe, except that finall deſtruction and vengeance is not yet fallen upon the greateſt offenders, as aſſuredly ſhortly it ſhall, unleſſe that he and ſome other of his ſort, that then were enemies to Gods truth, will ſpeedily repent (and that earneſtly) their ſtubborne diſobedience. God compelled my tongue (I ſay) openly to declare, That the Devill and his Miniſters intended onely the ſubverſion of Gods true Religion, by that mortall hatred among thoſe which ought to have beene moſt aſſuredly knit together by Chriſtian charity, and by benefits received; and eſpecially that the wicked and envious Papiſts (by that ungodly breach of charity) diligently minded the overthrow of him, that to his own deſtruction, procured the death of his innocent friend: Thus (I ſay) I was compelled of conſcience oftner then once to affirm, That ſuch as ſaw and invented the means how the one ſhould be taken away, ſaw and ſhould finde the means alſo to take away the other; and that all that trouble was deviſed by the Devill and his Inſtruments, to ſtop and let Chriſts Diſciples and their poor Boat; but that was not able, becauſe ſhe was not yet come to the midſt of the Sea.

Anno

The firſt ſecret peſtilent winde that blew in the time of good K. *Edward* 6.

The Devill raged when the *Maſſe* miſchief was diſcloſed.

Eſa 5.

Mark well.

This was affirmed both before the King, and alſo before *Northumberland* oftner then once.

Tranſubſtanſiation (the Bird that the Devill hatched by Pope *Nicholas* and ſince that time foſtered and nouriſhed by all his Children, Prieſts, Friers, Monks, and other his conjured and ſworn ſouldiers, and in theſe laſt dayes chiefly by *Stephen Gardner*, and his black brood in *England*;) *Tranſubſtantiation* (I ſay) was then clearly confuted and mightily overthrown; and therefore God had put wiſdom in the tongues of his Miniſters and Meſſengers to utter that vain vanitie; and ſpecially gave ſuch ſtrength to that Reverend Father in God, *Thomas Cranmer*, to cut the knots of Devilliſh

Tranſubſtantiation overthrown by *Th. Cranmer*.

Anno villiſh Sophiſtry linked and knit by the Devils *Gardener*, and his blinde Buzzards, to hold the verity of the everliving God under bondage, that rather I think they ſhall condemn his works (which notwithſtanding ſhall continue and remain to their confuſion, then they ſhall enterprize to anſwer the ſame. And alſo God gave boldneſſe and knowledge to the Court of Parliament to take away the round clipped God, wherein ſtandeth all the holineſſe of Papiſts, and to command common Bread to be uſed at the Lords Table, and alſo to take away the moſt part of ſuperſtitions, (kneeling at the Lords Supper excepted) which before prophaned Chriſts true Religion. Then (dear Brethren) was the Boat in the midſt of the Sea, and ſuddenly ariſeth the horrible tempeſt, moſt fearfull and dolorous; *Our King is taken away from us*, and the Devill bloweth in ſuch Organs as alway he had found obedient to his Precepts, and by them he enflameth the heart of that wretched and unhappy man, (whom I judge more to be lamented, then hated) to covet the Imperiall Crown of *England* to be eſtabliſhed to his Poſterity, and what thereupon hath ſucceeded, it is not now neceſſary to be written.

The round god was taken away by Act of Parliament.

When all the Papiſticall abomi ations were revolted, then was the Boat in the midſt of the Sea.

Of this ſhort diſcourſe (Beloved in the Lord) you may conſider and perceive two ſpeciall Notes;

Two ſpeciall Notes of this diſcourſe.

1. That the whole malice of the Devill hath alwayes this end, To vexe and overthrow Chriſts afflicted Church; for what elſe intended the Devill and his ſervants (the peſtilent Papiſts) by all theſe their crafty policies, during the time that Chriſts Goſpell was preached in *England*, then the ſubverſion of the ſame Goſpell, and that they might recover power to perſecute the Saints of God, as this day in the hour of darkneſſe they have obtained for a time, to their own deſtruction. Let no man wonder though I ſay, That the crafty policies of peſtilent Papiſts wrought all the miſchiefe, for who could more eaſier and better worke greater miſchief, then ſuch as bare authority and rule. And who (I pray you) ruled the roſte in the Court all this time, by ſtout courage and proudneſſe of ſtomack, but *Northumberland*? But who (I pray you) under King *Edward*, ruled all by counſell and wit? Shall I name the man? I will writ no more plainly now then my tongue ſpake the laſt Sermon, That it pleaſed God that I ſhould make before that Innocent and moſt godly King *Edward* the ſixt, and before his Councell at *Weſtminſter*, and even to the faces of ſuch as of whom I meant. Handling this place of Scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem ſuſtulit adverſus me calcaneum ſuum*; that is, *He that eateth bread with me, hath lift up his heel againſt me.* I made this affirmation, That commonly it was ſeen, that the moſt godly Princes had Officers and chief Councellors moſt ungodly, conjured enemies to Gods true Religion, and Traitours to their Princes, not that their wickedneſſe and ungodlineſſe was ſpeedily perceived and eſpied out of the ſaid Princes and godly men, but that for time thoſe craftie colourers could ſo cloke their malice againſt God and his truth, and their hollow hearts toward their loving Maſters, that by worldly wiſdome and policie at length they attained to high promotions. And for the proofe of this mine affirmation, I recited the Hiſtories of *Achitophel*, *Shebna*, and *Judas*, of whom the two former had high Offices and promotions with great authoritie

The first Note.

Who ruled all by wit under K. *Edward* 6

John 13. Pſalm. 40.

Godly Princes commonly have moſt ungodly Counſellors.

Note well.

2 Reg. 17. Eſa. 22. Matth. 26. John 12.

authority under the moſt godly Princes, *David* and *Hezekiah*; and *Judas* was Purſe Maſter with Chriſt Jeſus. And when I had made ſome diſcourſe in that matter, I moved this Queſtion; Anno

Queſt. *Why permitted ſo godly Princes ſo wicked men to be of their Councell, and to bear Office and Authority under them?*

Anſw. To the which I anſwered; That either they ſo abounded in worldly wiſdom, foreſight and experience touching the government of a Common-wealth, that their counſell appeared to be ſo neceſſary, that the Common-wealth could not lack them, and ſo by the colour to preſerve the tranquilitie and quietneſſe in Realms, they were maintained in Authority; or elſe they kept their malice which they bare towards their Maſters and Gods true Religion, ſo ſecret in their breaſts, that no man could eſpie it, till by Gods permiſſion they waited for ſuch occaſion and opportunitie, that they uttered all their miſchief ſo plainly, that all the world might perceive it: And that was moſt evident by *Achithophel* and *Sobna*; for of *Achithophel* it is written, That he was *Davids* moſt ſecret Councellour, and that, becauſe his counſell in thoſe dayes was like the Oracle of God; and *Sobna* was unto good King *Hezekiah* ſometime Comptroller, ſometime Secretary, and laſt of all Treaſurer; to the which Offices he had never been promoted under ſo godly a Prince, if the Treaſon and malice which he bare againſt the King, and againſt Gods true Religion, had been manifeſtly known. No (quoth I) *Sobna* was a crafty Foxe, and could ſhew ſuch a fair countenance to the King, that neither he nor his Councell could eſpie his malicious Treaſon. But the Prophet *Iſaiah* was commanded by God to go to his preſence, and to declare his traiterous heart and miſerable end.

The enemies of the verity many times appear to be moſt profitable for a Common-Wealth.

Miſchief at the length will ſo utter it ſelf, that men may eſpie it.

Eſa. 22. 36.

Eſa. 22. If *David* and *Hezekiah* were deceived by traitrous Councellors, how much more a young and innocent King.

Was *David* (ſaid I) and *Hezekiah* Princes of great and godly gifts and experience, abuſed by crafty Councellors and diſſembling Hypocrites? What wonder is it then, that a young and innocent King be deceived by craftie, covetous, wicked and ungodly Counſellors? I am greatly afraid that *Achitophel* is Counſellor, that *Judas* bears the Purſe, and that *Sobna* is Scribe, Comptroller and Treaſurer.

The Author might fear this indeed.

This and ſomewhat more I ſpake that day, not in a corner (as many yet can witneſſe) but even before thoſe whom my conſcience judged worthy of accuſation: And this day no more do I write (albeit I may juſtly, becauſe they have declared themſelves moſt manifeſtly) but yet do I affirme, That under that innocent King, peſtilent Papiſts had greateſt Authority. Oh! who was judged to be the ſoule and life to the Counſell in every matter of weighty importance? who but *Sobna*, who could beſt diſpatch buſineſſes, that the reſt of the Councell might Hawk, and Hunt, and take their pleaſure? None like unto *Sobna*. Who was moſt frank and ready to deſtroy *Somerſet*, and ſet up *Northumberland*? was it not *Shebna*? Who was moſt bold to crie Baſtard, Baſtard? Inceſtuous Baſtard *Mary* ſhall never Reigne over us. And who, I pray you, was moſt buſie to ſay, Fear not to Subſcribe with my Lords of the Kings Majeſties moſt Honourable Privie Councell, Agree to his Majeſties laſt Will and perfect Teſtament, and let never that obſtinate woman come to Authority, ſhe is an arrant Papiſt, ſhe will ſubvert the true Religion, and will

Paules is painted.

The Treaſurers words againſt the authority of *Mary*.

Caiaphas prophecied.

Anno bring in ſtrangers to the deſtruction of this Common-wealth: Which of the Councell (I ſay) had theſe and greater perſwaſions againſt *Mary*, to whom now he coucheth and kneeleth? *Sobna* the Treaſurer. And what intended ſuch Traytorous and diſſembling Hypocrites by all theſe and ſuch like crafty ſleights and counterfeit conveyance? Doubtleſſe the overthrow of Chriſts true Religion, which then began to flouriſh in *England*; the liberty whereof fretted the Guttes of ſuch peſtilent Papiſts, who now hath gotten the dayes which they long looked for, but yet to their own deſtruction and ſhame, for in the ſpite of their hearts the plagues of God ſhall ſtrike them; they ſhall be comprehended in the ſnare which they prepare for others for their owne counſels ſhall make themſelves ſlaves to a proud, miſchievous, unfaithfull and vile Nation.

Judge at the end.

The ſecond Note.

Now to the ſecond Note of our Diſcourſe, which is this; Albeit the Tyrants of this earth have learned by long experience, that they are never able to prevaile againſt Gods Truth, yet becauſe they are bound ſlaves to their Maſter the Devill, they cannot ceaſe to perſecute the members of Chriſt, when the Devill blowes his winde in the darkneſſe of the night, that is, When the light of Chriſts Goſpel is taken away, and the Devil raigneth by Idolatry ſuperſtition and Tyrannie.

Tyrants cannot ceaſe to perſecute Chriſts Members.

This moſt evidently may be ſeene from the beginning of this world to the time of Chriſt, and from thence till this day. *Iſmael* might have perceived, that he could not prevail againſt *Iſaac*, becauſe God had made his promiſe unto him, as no doubt *Abraham* their father teached to his whole houſhold; *Eſau* likewiſe underſtood the ſame of *Jacob*; *Pharaoh* might plainly have ſeen by many Miracles, that *Iſrael* was Gods people, whom he could not utterly deſtroy; and alſo the Scribes, and Phariſees, and Chief Prieſts were utterly convinced in their Conſcience, that Chriſts whole doctrine was of God, and that to the profit and commodity of man, his Miracles and works were wrought by the power of God, and therefore that they could never prevaile againſt him: And yet as the Devill ſtirred them, none of thoſe could refrain to perſecute him, whom they knew moſt certainly to be innocent.

Gen. 21. Gen. 28.

Exod. 5, 6, 7, 8, &c. John 5. & 12.

The power of Gods Word put the Papiſts to ſilence in *England*, except it had been to brag in corners

This I write that you ſhall not wonder, albeit now ye ſee the poyſoned Papiſts, wicked *Wincheſter*, and dreaming *Dureſme*, with the reſt of the Faction (who ſometimes were ſo confounded, that neither they durſt nor could ſpeak nor write in the defence of their Hereſies) now ſo to rage and triumph againſt the eternall Truth of God, as though they had never aſſayed the power of God ſpeaking by his true Meſſengers.

Princes are ready to perſecute as malicious Papiſts will command.

Wonder not hereat (I ſay) beloved Brethren, that the Tyrants of this world are ſo obedient and ready to follow the cruell counſels of ſuch diſguiſed Monſters; For neither can the one nor the other refraine, becauſe both ſorts are as ſubject to obey the Devill their Prince and Father, as the unſtable Sea is to lift up the waves when the vehement winde bloweth upon it.

Job 12. 2 Cor. 4.

It is fearfull to be heard, that the Divell hath ſuch power over any man, but yet the Word of God hath ſo inſtructed us. And therefore albeit it be contrary to our phantaſie, yet we muſt beleeve it. For the Divell is called the prince and god of this world, becauſe he raigneth, and is honoured by tyranny and idolatry in it.

He

He is called the Prince of Darkneſſe that hath power in the Ayr; It is ſaid; That he worketh in the children of unbelief, becauſe he ſtirreth them to trouble Gods Elect; as he invaded *Saul*, and compelled him to perſecute *David*; and likewiſe he entred into the heart of *Judas*, and moved him to betray his Maſter. He is called Prince over the ſons of Pride; and father of all thoſe that are lyers, and enemies to Gods Truth: Over whom he hath no leſſe power this day, then ſometimes he had over *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, whom no man denieth to have been led and moved by the devil to perſecute Chriſt Jeſus, and his moſt true Doctrine. And therefore wonder not (I ſay) that now the devil rageth in his obedient ſervants, wily *Wincheſter*, dreaming *Dureſme*, and bloody *Bonner*, with the reſt of their bloody butcherly brood; for this is their hour and power granted unto them: they cannot ceaſe nor aſſwage their furious fumes, for the devil their Sire ſtirreth, moveth, and carrieth them even at his will. But in this that I declare the power of the devil working in cruell tyrants, Think you that I attribute or give to him or to them power at their pleaſure? No, not ſo, brethren, not ſo; for as the devil hath no power to trouble the Elements, but as God ſhall ſuffer, ſo hath worldly tyrants (albeit the deviſl hath fully poſſeſſed their hearts) no power at all to trouble the Saints of God, but as their bridle ſhall be looſed by Gods hands.

Anno

Ephes. 2.
1 Reg 16 18.
John 13.
John 8.

Wily Wincheſter Dreaming Dureſme, Bloody Bonner.

This is the cauſe before omitted, why the winde blew to trouble Chriſts diſciples.

And herein, dear brethren, ſtandeth my ſingular comfort this day, when I hear that thoſe bloody tyrants within the Realme of *England* doth kill, murther, deſtroy and devour man and woman as ravennous Lions now looſed from bonds. I lift up therefore the eyes of mine heart (as my iniquity and preſent dolour will ſuffer) and to my heavenly Father will I ſay:

O Lord, thoſe cruell tyrants are looſed by thy hand, to puniſh our former ingratitude, whom we truſt, thou wilt not ſuffer to prevail for ever, but when thou haſt corrected us a little, and haſt declared unto the world the tyranny that lurked in their boldned breſts, then wilt thou break their jaw-bones, and wilt ſhut them up in their caves again, that the generation and poſterity following may praiſe thy holy Name before thy Congregation. Amen.

The prayer of the author.

When I feel any taſte or motion of theſe promiſes, then think I my ſelf moſt happy, and that I have received a juſt compenſation, albeit I, and all that to me in earth belongeth, ſhould ſuffer preſent death, knowing that God ſhall yet ſhew mercy to his afflicted Church within *England*, and that he ſhall repreſſe the pride of theſe preſent tyrants, like as he hath done of thoſe that were before our dayes.

And therefore, beloved brethren in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, hold up to God your hands that are fainted through fear, and let your hearts that have in theſe dolorous dayes ſleeped in ſorrow, awake, and hear the voyce of your God, who ſweareth by himſelf, That he will not ſuffer his Church to be oppreſſed for ever; neither that he will deſpiſe our ſobs to the end, if we will row and ſtrive againſt this vehement winde: I mean, if that ye will not run back headlong to Idolatry, then ſhall this ſtorm be aſſwaged in deſpight of the devill; Chriſt Jeſus ſhall come with ſpeed to your deliverance, he ſhall pierce thorow the winde, and

Exhortation.

Iſai. 48 51. 54 62.

The coming of Chriſt to his diſciples upon the Seas, is opened.

Anno the raging Seas ſhall obey, and bear his feet and body, as the maſſie, ſtable and dry land. Be not moved from the ſure foundation of your faith: For albeit that Chriſt Jeſus be abſent from you (as he was from his diſciples in that great ſtorme) by his bodily preſence, yet is he preſent by his mighty power and grace: He ſtandeth upon the mountain in ſecurity and reſt; that is, his fleſh and whole humanity is now in heaven, and can ſuffer no ſuch trouble as ſometimes he did: And yet he is full of pity and compaſſion, and doth conſider all our travell, anguiſh and labours; wherefore it is not to be doubted, but that he will ſuddenly appear to our great comfort. The tyranny of this world cannot keep back his coming, more then the bluſtering winde and raging Seas lett Chriſt to come to his diſciples, when they looked for nothing but preſent death. And therefore yet again I ſay, beloved in the Lord, Let your hearts attend to the promiſes that God hath made unto true repentant ſinners, and be fully perſwaded with a conſtant faith, That God is alwayes true and juſt in his performance of his promiſes. You have heard theſe dayes ſpoken of very plainly, when your hearts could fear no danger, becauſe you were nigh the land, and the ſtorm was not yet riſen; that is, Ye were young Scholars of Chriſt when no perſecution was felt or ſeen: But now ye are come into the midſt of the Sea (for what part of *England* heard not of your profeſſion?) and the vehement ſtorm whereof we then almoſt in every Exhortation ſpake of, is now ſuddenly riſen up. But what? Hath God brought you ſo far forth, that you ſhall both in ſouls and bodies every one periſh? Nay, my whole truſt in Gods mercy and truth is to the contrary. For God brought not his people into *Egypt*, and from thence thorow the Red Sea to the intent they ſhould periſh, but that he in them ſhould ſhew a moſt glorious deliverance: Neither ſent Chriſt his Apoſtles into the middeſt of the Sea, and ſuffering the ſtorm to aſſault them and their Ship, to the intent they ſhould there periſh, but becauſe he would the more have his great goodneſſe towards them felt and perceived in ſo mightily delivering them out of the fear of periſhing, giving us thereby an example that he would do the like to us, if we abide conſtant in our profeſſion and faith, with-drawing our ſelves from ſuperſtition and idolatry. We gave you warning of theſe dayes long ago: For the reverence of Chriſts Blood let theſe words be noted; *The ſame Truth that ſpake before of theſe dolorous dayes, foreſpake alſo the everlaſting joy prepared for ſuch as ſhould continue to the end.* The trouble is come; O dear brethren look for the comfort, and (after the example of the Apoſtle) abide in reſiſting this vehement ſtorm a little ſpace.

Chriſt is ſure upon the mountain.

God never brought his people into trouble to the intent that they ſhould periſh therein.

Mark theſe words.

The third Watch is not yet ended; remember that Chriſt Jeſus came not to his diſciples till it was the fourth Watch: and they were then in no leſſe danger then you be now; for their faith fainted, and their bodies were in danger. But Chriſt Jeſus came when they looked not for him; and ſo ſhall he do to you, if you will continue in the profeſſion that you have made. This dare I be bold to promiſe, in the Name of him whoſe Eternall Verity and glorious Goſpel ye have heard and received: who alſo putteth into my heart an earneſt thirſt (God knoweth I lie not) of your ſalvation, and ſome care alſo for your bodies, which now I will not expreſſe.

Chriſt came not to his diſciples till the fourth watch.

Thus

Thus shortly have I passed thorow the outragious tempest wherein the disciples of Christ were tempted, after that the great multitude were by Christ fed in the desert, omitting many profitable Notes which might well have been marked in the Text, because my purpose is at this present not to be tedious nor yet curious, but only to note such things as be agreeable to these most dolorous dayes. Anno

And so let us now speak of the end of this storm and trouble, in which I finde four things chiefly to be noted:

First, *That the disciples at the presence of Christ were more afraid then they were before.*

Secondly, *That Christ useth no other instrument but his Word to pacifie their hearts.*

Thirdly, *That* Peter *in a fervency first left his Ship, and yet after feared.*

Fourthly and lastly, *That Christ permitted neither* Peter *nor the rest of his disciples to perish in that fear, but gloriously delivered all, and pacified the Tempest.*

Their great fear, and the cause thereof, are expressed in the Text, in these words; *When the disciples saw him walking upon the Sea, they were afraid, saying, It is a Spirit; and they cryed through fear.*

It is not my purpose in this Treatise to speak of spirits, nor yet to dispute, Whether spirits good or bad may appear and trouble men: Neither yet to enquire, Why mans nature is afraid of spirits, and so vehemently abhorreth their presence and company. But my purpose is onely to speak of things necessary for this time.

The causes why Christs disciples misknew him.

And first, let us consider that there was three causes why the disciples knew not Christ, but judged him to be a spirit.

The first cause was, *The darkness of the night.*

The second was, *The unaccustomed vision that appeared.*

And the third was, *The danger and the tempest, in which they so earnestly laboured for the safeguard of their selves.*

The darkness (I say) of the night letted their eyes to see him: And it was above nature, that a massie, heavy, and weighty body of a man (such as they understood their Master Christ to have) should walk, go upon, or be born up of the water of the raging Sea, and not sink. And finally, the horrour of the tempest, and great danger that they were in, perswaded them to look for none other, but certainly to be drowned.

And so all these three things concurring together, confirmed in them this imagination, *That Christ Jesus, who came to their great comfort and deliverance, was a fearfull and wicked spirit appearing to their destruction.*

What chanced to Christ, that also in all ages chanceth to his holy Word.

What here happened to Christ Jesus himself, that I might prove to have chanced, and daily to happen to the verity of his blessed Word in all ages from the beginning.

For as Christ himself in this their trouble, was judged and esteemed by his disciples at the first sight a spirit, or phantasticall body; so is the Truth and sincere Preaching of his glorious Gospel, sent by God for mans comfort, deliverance from sin, and quietnesse of conscience, when it is first offered, and truely preached, it is (I say) no lesse but judged to be heresie and deceivable doctrine, sent by the devill to mans destruction.

Anno

The cauſe hereof is the dark ignorance of God, which in every age ſince the beginning ſo overwhelmed the world, that ſometimes Gods very Elect were in like blindeneſſe and errour with the reprobate: As *Abraham* was an Idolater; *Moſes* was inſtructed in all the wayes of the *Egyptians*; *Paul* a proud Phariſee, conjured againſt Chriſt and his Doctrine: And many in this ſame our age, when the Truth of God was offered unto them, were ſore afraid, and cryed againſt it, onely becauſe the dark clouds of ignorance had troubled them before. But this matter I omit and let paſſe, till more opportunity.

The chief Note that I would have you well obſerve and mark in this prepoſterous fear of the diſciples, is this;

The fear is greateſt, when deliverance is moſt nigh.

The more nigh deliverance and ſalvation approacheth, the more ſtrong and vehement is the temptation of the Church of God. And the more nigh that Gods vengeance approacheth to the wicked, the more proud, cruell and arrogant are they.

Whereby it commonly cometh to paſſe, That the very meſſengers of life are judged and deemed to be the authors of all miſchief: And this in many hiſtories is evident. When God had appointed to deliver the afflicted *Iſraelites* by the hand of *Moſes* from the tyranny of the *Egyptians*, and *Moſes* was ſent to the preſence of *Pharaoh* for the ſame purpoſe, ſuch was their affliction and anguiſh by the cruelty which newly was exerciſed over them, that with open mouthes they curſed *Moſes* (and no doubt in their hearts they hated God who ſent him) alleadging, That *Moſes* and *Aaron* was the whole cauſe of their laſt extreme trouble.

Exod. 5, 6, &c.

The like is to be ſeen in the Book of the Kings, both under *Eliſha* and *Iſaiah* the Prophets: For in the dayes of *Joram*, ſonne of *Achab*, was *Samaria* beſieged by the King of *Syria*: In which *Samaria* no doubt (albeit the King and the moſt multitude were wicked) there was yet ſome members of Gods Elect Church, which were brought to ſuch extreme famine, that not onely things of ſmall price were ſold beyond all meaſure; but alſo women againſt nature were compelled to eat their own children: In this ſame City *Eliſha* the Prophet moſt commonly was moſt converſant and dwelt, by whoſe counſell and commandment, no doubt, the City was kept: For it appeareth, the King, to lay that to his charge, when he, hearing of the piteous complaint of the woman (who for hunger had eaten her own ſon) rent his clothes, with a ſolemne Oath and vow, That the head of *Eliſha* ſhould not ſtand upon his ſhoulders that day. If *Eliſha* had not been of counſel, That the city ſhould have been kept, Why ſhould the King have more fumed againſt him, then againſt others? But whether he was the author of the defending the City or not, all is one to my purpoſe; for before the deliverance, was the Church in ſuch extremity, that the chief Paſtor of that time was ſought to be killed by ſuch as ſhould have defended him.

5 Reg. 7.

The like is read of *Hezekiah*, who defending his City *Jeruſalem*, and reſiſting proud *Sennacherib*, no doubt obeying the counſell of *Iſaiah*, at length was ſo oppreſſed with ſorrow and ſhame, by the blaſphemous words of *Rabſhakeh*, that he had no other refuge, but in the Temple of the Lord (as a man deſperate and without comfort) to open the

Iſai. 36, 37.

the diſdainfull letters ſent unto him by that hauty and proud tyrant. Anno

By theſe and many Hiſtories mo, it is moſt evident, that the more nigh ſalvation and deliverance approacheth, the more vehement is the temptation and trouble. *Note.*

This I writ to admoniſh you, that albeit yet you ſhall ſee tribulation ſo abound, that nothing ſhall appear but extreme miſery without all hope of comfort, that yet you decline not from God. And that albeit ſomtimes ye be moved to hate the meſſengers of life, that therefore ye ſhall not judge that God will never ſhew mercy after. No, deare Brethren, as he hath dealt with others before you, ſo will he deal with you.

God will ſuffer tribulation and dolour abound, that no manner of comfort ſhall be ſeen in man, to the intent, that when deliverance commeth, the glory may be his, whoſe onely word may pacifie the tempeſt moſt vehement. Why God ſuffereth tribulation to abound and continue.

He drowned *Pharaoh* and his Army. He ſcattered the great multitude of *Benadad*. And by his Angel killed the hoſte of *Sennacharib*. And ſo delivered his afflicted when nothing appeared to them but utter deſtruction. So ſhall he do to you beloved Brethren, if patiently ye will abide his conſolation and counſell. God open your eyes that ye may rightly underſtand the meaning of my writing. Amen. Exod. 14.

But yet peradventure you wonder not a little why God permitteth ſuch blood-thirſty tyrants to moleſt and grieve his choſen Church: I have recited ſome cauſes before, and yet more I could recite, but at this time I will hold me content with one.

The juſtice of God is ſuch, that he will not poure forth his extreme vengeance upon the wicked, unto ſuch time as their iniquity be ſo manifeſt, that their very flatterers cannot excuſe it. *Pharaoh* was not deſtroyed till his own houſhold ſervants and ſubjects abhorred and condemned his ſtubborn diſobedience. *Note.* Exod. 10.

Jeſabel and *Athalia* were not thruſt from this life into death, till all Iſrael and Juda were witneſſes of their cruelty and abominations. *Judas* was not hanged till the Princes of the Prieſts bare witneſſe of his Traiterous Act and iniquitie. *Jezabel, Athalia, and Judas.*

To paſſe over the Tyrants of old time, whom God hath plagued, let us come to the Tyrants which now are within the Realm of *England*, whom God will not long ſpare; If *Steven Gardener*, *Cuthbert Tunſtal*, and Butcherly *Bonnar*, falſe Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Dureſme*, and of *London*, had for their falſe Doctrine and Traiterous acts ſuffered death, when they juſtly deſerved the ſame, then would arrant Papiſts have alleadged (as I and others have heard them do) that they were men reformable, That they were meet Inſtruments for a Common-wealth; That they were not ſo obſtinate and malicious as they were judged, neither that they thirſted for the blood of any man: And of Lady *Mary*, who hath not heard, That ſhe was not ſober, mercifull, and one that loved the Common-wealth of *England*? Had ſhe (I ſay) and ſuch as now be of her peſtilent Councell, been dead before theſe dayes, then ſhould not their iniquity and cruelty ſo manifeſtly have appeared to the world; for who could have thought, that ſuch cruelty could have entred into the heart of a woman? and into the heart *Gardner, Tunſtal, Bucherly Bonner.* The praiſe of *Winchester, Dunelme*, and old *Mary* before theſe dayes.

Anno heart of her that is called a Virgine, that ſhe would thirſt for the blood of innocents, and of ſuch as (by juſt Laws and faithfull witneſſes) can never be proved to have offended by themſelves.

4. Reg. 11. Matth. 14. I finde, that *Athalia* (through appetite to Reign) murthered the Seed of the Kings of *Judah*, and that *Herodias* daughter (at the deſire of a whoriſh Mother) obtained the head of *John* the Baptiſt; but yet that ever a woman ſuffered her ſelf to be called the moſt bleſſed Virgin, cauſed ſo much blood to be ſpilt for eſtabliſhing of the uſurped Authoritie of the *Pope*, I think the like is rare to be found in Scripture or other Hiſtory.

3. Reg. 18 3. Reg. 18. I finde that *Jezabel* (that curſed Idolatreſſe) cauſed the blood of the Prophets of God to be ſhed, and *Naboth* to be murthered unjuſtly for his own Vineyard; but yet I think ſhe never erected halfe ſo many Gallows in all *Iſrael*, as miſchievous *Mary* hath done within *London* alone: But you Papiſts will excuſe your *Mary* the Virgine: Well, let her be your Virgine, and a Goddeſſe meet to entertain ſuch Idolaters, yet ſhall I rightly lay to her charge, that which I think no Papiſt within *England* will juſtifie nor defend: And therefore (O ye Papiſts) here I will a little turn my Pen unto you. Anſwer unto this Queſtion, O ye Seed of the Serpent; Would any of you have confeſſed two years ago, that *Mary* (your mirrour) had been falſe, diſſembling, unconſtant, proud, and a breaker of promiſes (except ſuch promiſes as ſhe made to your god the *Pope*, to the great ſhame and diſhonour of her noble Father;) I am ſure you would hardly have thought it of her: And now doth ſhe not manifeſtly ſhew her ſelf to be an open Traitoreſſe to the Imperiall Crown of *England*, contrary to the juſt Laws of the Realme, to bring in a ſtranger, and make a proud Spanyard King, to the ſhame, diſhonour and deſtruction of the Nobilitie; to the ſpoile of their Honours, Lands, Poſſeſſions, chief Offices and promotions of them and theirs; To the utter decay of the Treaſures, Commodities, Navie and Fortifications of the Realm, to the abaſing of the Yeomandry, to the ſlavery of the Commonalty, to the overthrow of Chriſtianity and Gods true Religion, and finally to the utter ſubverſion of the whole publike eſtate and Common-wealth of *England*? Let *Norfolk* and *Suffolke*, let her own Promiſe and Proclamation, let her fathers Teſtament, let the Citie of *London*, let the ancient Laws and Acts of Parliaments before eſtabliſhed in *England*, be judges betwixt mine accuſation and her moſt tyrannous iniquity.

A digreſſion to the Papiſts of Qu. *Maries* chaſte dealing.

A lively Picture of *Mary* the utter miſchief of *England*

What commodities the Spaniſh King ſhall bring to the Realm of *England*.

Firſt, her Promiſe and Proclamation did ſignifie and declare, That neither ſhe would bring in, neither yet Marry any ſtranger; *Northfolk*, *Suffolk* and the Citie of *London* do teſtifie and witneſſe the ſame. The ancient Laws and Acts of Parliament pronounceth it Treaſon to transferre the Crown of *England* into the hands of a forraigne Nation; and the Oath made to obſerve the ſaid Statutes, cryeth out, That all they are perjured that conſent to that her traiterous fact.

Speak now (O ye Papiſts) and defend your monſtrous Maſters, and deny, if ye can for ſhame, that ſhe hath not uttered her ſelf to be borne (alas therefore) to the ruine and deſtruction of noble *England*? Oh who would ever have beleeved (I write now in bitterneſſe of heart) that ſuch unnaturall crueltie ſhould have had dominion over any reaſonable creature? But the

the ſaying to be true, That the uſurped Government of an affectionate woman is a rage without reaſon. Anno

Who would ever have thought, that the love of that Realme, which hath brought forth, which hath nouriſhed and ſo nobly maintained that wicked woman, ſhould not have moved her heart with pitie? Who ſeeth not now, that ſhe in all her doings declareth moſt manifeſtly, that under an *Engliſh* name ſhe beareth a *Spaniards* heart? If God (I ſay) had not for our ſcourge, ſuffered her and her cruell Councell to have come to Authority, then could never theſe their abominations, cruelty and treaſon againſt God, againſt his Saints, and againſt the Realm, whoſe liberties they are ſworn to defend, ſo manifeſtly have been declared: And who ever could have beleeved, That proud *Gardener*, and treacherous *Tunſtall* (whom all Papiſts praiſed, for the love they bare to their Countrey) could have become ſo manifeſtly Traiterous, not onely againſt their ſolemne Oathes, that they ſhould never conſent nor agree unto, that a forraigne Stranger ſhould reigne over *England*, but alſo that they would adjudge the Imperiall Crown of the ſame to appertain to a Spanyard by inheritance Lineall diſcent? O Traiterous Traitours, how can you for ſhame ſhew your faces.

A true ſaying.

Under an Engliſh name, ſhe beareth a Spanyards heart.

It cometh to my minde, that upon *Chriſtmas* day, *Anno* 1552. preaching in *New-Caſtle upon Tine*, and ſpeaking againſt the obſtinacie of the Papiſts, I made this affirmation, That whoſoever in his heart was enemy to *Chriſt's* Goſpel and Doctrine, which then was preached within the Realm of *England*, was enemy alſo to God, and ſecret traitours to the Crown and Common-wealth of *England*, for as they thirſted nothing more then the Kings death, which their iniquity could procure; ſo they regarded not who ſhould reign over them, ſo that their Idolatry might be erected again. How theſe my words at that time pleaſed men, the crimes and action intended againſt me did declare. But let my very enemies now ſay their conſcience, if thoſe may words have not proved true?

What is the cauſe that *Wincheſter* and the reſt of his peſtilent ſect, ſo greedily would have a Spanyard to reign over *England*? The cauſe is maſeſt; for as that Helliſh Nation ſurmounteth all other in pride and Whoredome, ſo for Idolatry and vaine Papiſticall and devilliſh Ceremonies, they may rightly be called the very ſons of ſuperſtition; And therefore are they found and judged by the Progeny of Antichriſt, moſt apt Inſtruments to maintain, eſtabliſh and defend the Kingdom of that cruell Beaſt, whoſe head and wound is lately cured within *England*, which (alas for pitie) muſt now be brought into bondage and thraldome, that peſtilent Papiſts may reigne without puniſhment.

Spanyards ſons of pride and ſuperſtition.

Why *Wincheſter* would have Spanyards to reigne over *England*.

But, O thou Beaſt! (I ſpeak to thee *Wincheſter*, more cruell then any Tygre) Shall neither ſhame, nor fear, nor benefits received, bridle thy Tyrannous cruelty? Art thou not aſhamed (thou bloody Beaſt) to betray thy native Countrey, and the liberties of the ſame? Feareſt thou not to open ſuch a door to all iniquitie, that whole *England* ſhould be made a common Stewes to Spanyards? Wilt thou recompence the benefits which thou haſt received of that Noble Realm with that ingratitude? Remembreſt thou not that *England* hath brought thee forth? that *England*

To *Wincheſter*.

Anno nouriſhed thee? that *England* hath promoted thee to riches, honour and high dignitie? And wilt thou now (O wretched Captive) for all theſe manifold benefits received, be the cauſe that *England* ſhall not be *England?* Yea verily; for ſo wilt thou gratifie thy Father the Devill, and his Lieutenant the Pope, whom with all his baggage, thou laboureſt now (with tooth and naile) to make floriſh again in *England*; albeit like a diſſembling Hypocrite, and double faced wretch, thou being thereto compelled by the invincible verity of Gods Holy Word, wroteſt (long a go) thy book intituled *True Obedience*; againſt that Monſtrous Whore of *Babylon*, and her falſly uſurped power and authority: but now (to thy pepetuall ſhame) thou returneſt to thy Vomit, and art become an open Arch-Papiſt again. Furthermore, why ſeekedſt thou the blood of *Thomas Cranmer*, of good father *Hugh Latimer*, and of that moſt learned and diſcreet man Doctor *Ridley*? Doeſt thou not conſider, that the lenitie, ſincere Doctrine, pure life, godly converſation, and diſcreet counſell of theſe three is notably known in more Realms then *England*? Art thou not aſhamed to ſeek the deſtruction of thoſe, who laboured for the ſafeguard of thy life, and obtained the ſame when thou juſtly deſervedſt death? But, O thou ſonne of *Belial*, well declareſt thou, that nothing can mollifie the cruell malice, nor purge the deadly venome of him, in whoſe heart wickedneſſe beareth the dominion; thou are like to *Cain*, and fellow to *Judas* the Traitour, and therefore canſt thou do nothing but thirſt for the blood of *Abel*, and betray Chriſt Jeſus and his eternall verity?

The Book of true obedience both in Latine and in Engliſh, ſhall remain to thy perpetuall ſhame and condemnation of thy cankered Conſcience.

The wicked muſt declare their ſelves.

Thus (dear brethren) muſt the ſons of the Devill declare their own impietie and ungodlineſſe, that when Gods vengeance (which ſhall not ſleep) ſhall be poured forth upon them, all Tongues ſhall confeſſe, acknowledge and ſay, That God is righteous in all his judgements: And to this end are cruell Tyrants permitted and ſuffered for a ſpace and time, not onely to live in wealth and proſperity, but alſo to prevaile and obtain victory as touching the fleſh, over the very Saints of God, and over ſuch as enterpriſeth to reſiſt their fury at Gods commandment. But now to the ſubſequent, and that which followeth.

Apocalip. 13.

The Inſtrument and means wherewith Chriſt Jeſus uſed to remove and put away the horrible fear and anguiſh of his Diſciples, is his onely word; for ſo it is written, *But by and by Jeſus ſpake unto them, ſaying, Be of good comfort, it is I, be not afraid.* The naturall man (that cannot underſtand the power of God) would have deſired ſome other preſent comfort in ſo great a danger; as, Either to have had the heavens to have opened, and to have ſhewed unto them ſuch light in that darkneſſe, that Chriſt might have been fully known by his own face; or elſe, That the Winds and raging Waves of the Seas ſuddenly ſhould have ceaſed: or ſome other Miracle that had been ſubject to all their ſences, whereby they might have perfectly known that they were delivered from all danger. And truely, equall it had been to Chriſt Jeſus to have done any of theſe (or any work greater) as to have ſaid, *It is I, be not afraid*: But willing to teach us the dignitie and effectuall power of his moſt Holy Word, he uſeth no other Inſtrument to pacifie the great and horrible fear of his Diſciples, but the ſame his comfortable Word, and lively Voice; and this is not done onely

onely at one time, but whenſoever his Church is in ſuch ſtraight perplexity, that nothing appeareth but extreme calamity, deſolation and ruine; then the firſt comfort that ever it receiveth, is by the meanes of his Word and Promiſe: As in the troubles and temptations of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *David* and *Paul* may appear. Anno Note.

To *Abraham* was given no other defence, after that he had diſcomfited four Kings (whoſe poſterity and linage, no doubt, he, being a ſtranger, greatly feared) but onely this promiſe of God made to him by his holy Word; *Feare not, Abraham, I am thy Buckler*; that is, Thy protection and defence. *Abraham.* Gen. 15.

The ſame we finde of *Iſaac*, who flying from the place of his accuſtomed habitation, compelled thereto by hunger, gat no other comfort nor conduct, but this promiſe onely, *I will be with thee*. *Iſaac.* Gen. 16.

In all the journeyes and temptations of *Jacob*, the ſame is to be eſpied; As when he fled from his fathers houſe, for fear of his brother *Eſau*, when he returned from *Laban*; And when he feared the inhabitants of the Region of the *Canaanites* and *Pereſites*, for the ſlaughter of the *Sichemites* committed by his ſons; he receiveth none other defence, but onely Gods Word and Promiſe. *Jacob.* Gen. 28 31. 32 35.

And this in *Moſes*, and in the afflicted Church under him, is moſt evident: For when *Moſes* himſelf was in ſuch deſpair, that he was bold to chide with God, ſaying, *Why haſt thou ſent me? for ſince that time I have come to* Pharaoh, *to ſpeak in thy Name, he hath oppreſſed this people: Neither yet haſt thou delivered thy people.* *Moſes.* Exod 5.

This ſame expoſtulation of *Moſes*, declareth how ſore he was tempted; yea, and what opinion he had conceived of God, that is, That God was either impotent, and could not deliver his people from ſuch a tyrants hands; or elſe, That he was mutable, and unjuſt of his promiſes. And this ſame, and ſorer temptations, aſſaulted the people; For in anguiſh of heart, they both refuſed God and *Moſes* (as we before have partly touched.) And what meanes uſed God to comfort them in that great extremity? Did he ſtraightway ſuddenly kill *Pharaoh*, the great Tyrant? No. Did he ſend them a legion of Angels to defend and deliver them? No ſuch thing: But he onely reciteth and beateth into their ears his former promiſes to them, which oftentimes they had before; And yet the rehearſall of the ſame wrought ſo mightily in the heart of *Moſes*, that not onely was bitterneſſe and deſpair removed away, but alſo he was enflamed with ſuch boldneſſe, that without fear he went again to the preſence of the King, after he had been threatned and repulſed by him.

This I write, beloved in the Lord, that ye knowing the Word of God not onely to be that, whereby were created heaven and earth, but alſo to be the power of God to ſalvation, to all that believe; the bright lantern to the feet of thoſe that by nature walk in darkneſſe; the life to thoſe that by ſinne are dead; a comfort to ſuch as be in tribulation; the tower of defence to ſuch as be moſt feeble; the wiſedom and great felicity of ſuch as delighteth in the ſame; and to be ſhort, You know Gods Word to be of ſuch efficacy and ſtrength, that thereby is ſin Rom. 1. Pſal. 119. The power and effectuall operation of Gods Word.

Anno purged, death vanquiſhed, tyrants ſuppreſſed, and finally, the devill the author of all miſchief, overthrown and confounded. This (I ſay) I write, that ye, knowing this of the holy Word, and moſt bleſſed Goſpel and voyce of God (which once you have heard, I truſt, to your comfort) may now in this hour of darkneſſe, and moſt raging tempeſt, thirſt and pray, That ye may hear yet once again this amiable voyce of your Saviour Chriſt, *Be of good comfort, it is I, fear not:* And alſo that ye may receive ſome conſolation by that bleſſed Goſpel which before you have profeſſed, aſſuredly knowing, That God ſhall be no leſſe mercifull unto you, then he hath been to other afflicted for his Names ſake before you. And albeit that God ſpeedily removeth not this horrible darkneſſe, neither ſuddenly pacifieth this tempeſt, yet ſhall he not ſuffer his toſſed Ship to be drowned.

Exod. 4 Reg. 9. Remember, brethren, That Gods vengeance plagued not *Pharaoh* the firſt yeer of his tyranny; Neither did the dogges devour and conſume both the fleſh and bones of wicked *Jezabel*, when ſhe firſt erected and ſet up her Idolatry: And yet, as none of them eſcaped due puniſhment, ſo did God preſerve his afflicted Church, in deſpight of Sathan, and of his blinde and moſt wretched ſervants; as he ſhall not fail to do in this great tempeſt and darkneſſe within the Realme of *England*. And therefore yet again, beloved in the Lord, let the comfort of Gods promiſes ſomewhat quicken your dulled ſpirits; exerciſe your ſelves now ſecretly, in revolving that which ſometimes you have heard openly proclaimed in your eares; and be every man now a faithfull Preacher unto his brother: If your communication be of Chriſt, aſſuredly he will come before you be aware: His Word is like unto ſweet ſmelling Oyntment, or fragrant flowers, which never can be moved nor handled, but forth goeth the odour, to the comfort of thoſe that ſtand by; which is nothing ſo delectable, if the Oyntment remain within the Box, and the flowers ſtand or lie without touching or motion.

Luke 24

Simile.

Mark well dear brethren, before that Chriſt ſpake, his diſciples judged him to have been ſome wicked ſpirit, which was to them no delectable favour; But when he ſpeaketh, the ſweet ſound of his voyce pierceth their hearts; For what comfort was in the hearts of the diſciples, when they heard theſe words, *Be of good comfort, it is I?* that is, Judge not that I am a ſpirit come to your deſtruction; no, even I am come for your deliverance: It is I, your Maſter; yea, your Maſter moſt familiar: It is I, whoſe Voyce and Doctrine you know, for ye are my ſheep: It is I, whoſe works you have ſeen, although perfectly ye conſidered not the ſame: It is I, who commanded you to enter into this journey, and therefore am I come to you now in the hour of your trouble; and therefore, *be not afraid*; this ſtorm ſhall ceaſe, and you ſhall be delivered.

Math. & John, *ſæpe.*

What comfort, I ſay, dear brethren, was in the hearts of the diſciples, hearing Chriſts voyce, and knowing him by the ſame, can neither the tongue or pen of man expreſſe, but onely ſuch, as after long conflict and ſtrife (which is betwixt the Fleſh and the Spirit, in the time of extreme troubles, when Chriſt appeareth to be abſent) feeleth at laſt the conſolation of the holy Ghoſt, witneſſe and declare.

And

Anno

And *Peter* giveth some externall signe, what Christs words wrought inwardly in his heart: For immediately after he heard his Masters voice, he saith, *Lord, if it be thou, command me to come unto thee upon the waters.* Here it may be seen what Christs voyce had wrought in *Peters* heart; truely not onely a forgetting and contempt of the great tempest, but also such boldnesse and love, that he could fear no danger following, but assuredly did believe, That his Master Christs puissance, power, and might was such, that nothing might resist his Word and Commandment, and therefore he saith, *Command me to come*: As though he should say, I desire no more but the assurance of thy Commandment: If thou wilt command, I am determined to obey; For assuredly I know, That the waters cannot prevail against me, if thou speake the word: So that whatsoever is possible unto thee, by thy Will and Word may be possible unto me. Note that *Peter* consid red not his own weakness.

Thus Christ, to instruct *Peter* further, and us by his example, condescended to his Petition, and commanded him to come; and *Peter* quickly leaving the Ship, came down from it, and walked upon the waters, to come to Christ. Thus far of *Peters* fact, in which lieth great abundance of Doctrine; but I will passe over all that especially appertaineth not to the quality of this time within the Realm of *England.*

Before it is said (welbeloved Brethren) That sometimes the messengers of life are judged to be the very messengers of death; and that not onely with the reprobate, but also with Gods elect; as was *Moses* with the Israelites; *Jeremiah* with the City of *Jerusalem*, and Christ himself with his Apostles: But that is not a sin permanent, and that abideth for ever with Gods elect, but it vanisheth away in such sort, that not onely they know the voyce of their Pastor, but also they earnestly study to obey and follow it, with the danger of their own lives: For this is the speciall difference betwixt the children of God, and the reprobate: The sheep at length know the voyce of their own Pastor.

The one obeyeth God speaking by his Messengers, whom they embrace with unfained love: and that they do, sometimes not onely against all worldly appearance, but also against Civill Statutes and Ordinances of men: And therefore in their greatest extremity receive they comfort beyond expectation. *The Elect.*

The other alwayes resisteth Gods Messengers, and hateth his Word: And therefore in their great adversity God either taketh from them the presence of his Word, or else they fall into so dead'ly despair, that although Gods Messengers be sent unto them, yet neither can they receive comfort by Gods promises, neither follow the counsell of Gods true Messengers, be it never so perfect and fruitfull. Hereof have we many evident Testimonies within the Scriptures of God. *The Reprobate.*

Of *Saul* it is plain, That God so left him, that neither would he give him answer by Prophet, Dream, nor Vision. 1 Reg. 28. *Saul.*

To *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, in his great anguish and fear which he had conceived by the multitude of those that were conjured against him, was sent *Isaiah* the Prophet, to assure him by Gods promise, That his enemies should not prevail against him: and to confirm him in the same, the Prophet required him to desire a signe of God, either from the 2 Reg. 18. *Ahaz.* Isai. 7.

Anno heaven, or beneath in the deep: But ſuch was the deadly deſpair of him, that alwayes had deſpiſed Gods Prophets, and had moſt abominably defiled himſelf with Idolatry, that no conſolation could enter into his heart, but deſperately, and with a diſſembling and fained excuſe, he refuſed all the offers of God.

God ſometime ſheweth mercy to an hypocrit, for the cauſe of his Church

And albeit God kept touch with that hypocrite for that time (which was not done for his cauſe, but for the ſafety of his afflicted Church) yet after eſcaped he not the vengeance of God.

Jerem 37,38.

The like we reade of *Zedekiah* the wretched and laſt King of *Judah*, before the deſtruction of the City of *Jeruſalem*, who in his great fear, and extreme anguiſh, ſent for *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and ſecretly demanded of him, How he might eſcape the great danger that appeared, when the Caldeans beſieged the City. And the Prophet boldly ſpake and commanded the King, if he would ſave his life and the City, to render and give up himſelf into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. But the miſerable King had no grace to follow the Prophets counſell, becauſe he never delighted in the ſaid Prophets Doctrine, neither yet had ſhewed unto him any friendly favour; But even as the enemies of God, the chiefe Prieſts and falſe Prophets required of the King, ſo was the good Prophet evilly uſed; ſometimes caſt into priſon, and ſometimes judged and condemned to die. The moſt evident teſtimony of the wilfull blinding of wicked Idolaters, is written and recited in the ſame Prophet *Jeremiah*, as followeth.

Jerem. 42.

After that the City of *Jeruſalem* was burnt and deſtroyed, the King led away priſoner, his ſons and chief Nobles ſlain, and the whole vengeance of God poured out upon the diſobedient; yet there was left a remnant in the Land, to make uſe of and poſſeſſe the ſame, who called upon the Prophet *Jeremiah*, to know concerning them the will and pleaſure of God, Whether they ſhould remain ſtill in the Land of *Judea*, as was appointed and permitted by the *Caldeans*, Or if they ſhould depart and flie into *Egypt*: To certifie them of this their duty, they deſire the Prophet to pray unto God for them: Who condeſcending and granting their Petition, promiſed to keep back nothing from them, which the Lord God ſhould open unto him. And they in like manner taking God to record and witneſſe, made a ſolemn Vow, To obey whatſoever the Lord ſhould anſwer unto him. But when the Prophet, by the inſpiration of the Spirit of God, and aſſured revelation and knowledge of his Will, commanded them to remain ſtill in the Land that they were in, promiſing them, if they ſo would do, That God would there plant them; and that he would repent of all the plagues that he had brought upon them; and that he would be with them, to deliver them from the hands of the King of *Babylon*. But contrariwiſe, if they would not obey the voyce of the Lord, but would againſt his Commandment go to *Egypt*, thinking that there they ſhould live in reſt and abundance, without any fear of Warre, and penury of victuall, then the very plagues which they feared, ſhould come upon them, and take them: For (ſaith the Prophet) it ſhall come to paſſe, That all men that obſtinately will go to *Egypt*, there to remain, ſhall die, either by ſword,

Reade the Text, Jer 42.

by

by hunger or peſtilence: But when the Prophet of God had declared unto them this plain ſentence and will of God, I pray you, what was their anſwer? The text declared it, ſaying, *Thou ſpeakeſt a lie, neither hath the Lord our God ſent thee unto us, commanding that we ſhould not go into Egypt, but* Baruch *the ſonne of* Neriah *provoketh thee againſt us, that he may give us into the power of the Caldees, that they might kill us, and lead us priſoners into Babylon:* And thus they refuſed the counſell of God, and followed their owne fantaſies. Anno Jerem. 43.

Here may be eſpied in this people great obſtinacie and blindneſſe; for nothing which the Lord had before ſpoken by this Prophet *Jeremy*, had fallen in vain; Their own eyes had ſeen the plagues and miſeries which hee had threatned, take effect in every point, as he had ſpoken before; yea, they were yet green and freſh both in minde and preſence (for the flame and fire wherewith *Jeruſalem* was conſumed and burnt, was then ſcantly quenched) and yet could they not beleeve his threatnings then ſpoken, neither yet could they follow his fruitfull counſell, given for their great wealth and ſafeguard. And why ſo? Becauſe they never delighted in Gods Truth, neither had they repented their former Idolatry, but ſtill continued and rejoyced in the ſame, as manifeſtly appeareth in the four and fortieth Chapter of the ſame Prophet; and therefore would they and their wives have been in *Egypt*, where all kinde of Idolatry and Superſtition abounded, that they (without reproach or rebuke) might have their Bellyes full thereof in deſpight of Gods holy Lawes and Prophets. In writing hereof it came to my minde, that after the death of that innocent and moſt godly King *Edward* the ſixt, while that great tumult was in *England*, for the eſtabliſhing of that moſt unhappy and wicked womans Authority (I mean of *Mary* that now reigneth in Gods wrath) entreating the ſame argument in a Town in *Buckingam* Shire, named *Hammerſham*, before a great congregation, with ſorrowfull heart and weeping eyes, I fell into this exclamation;

Great blindnes

Jer. 44.

As Papiſts would have League with the Emperor.

What was ſaid in *Hamerſham* when uproar was for eſtabliſhing of *Mary* in authority.

O *England*, now is Gods wrath kindled againſt thee, now hath he begun to puniſh, as he hath threatned a long while, by his true Prophets and Meſſengers; he hath taken from thee the Crown of thy glory, and hath left thee without honour, as a body without a head: And this appeareth to be onely the beginning of ſorrows, which appeareth to increaſe; for I perceive that the heart, the tongue and hand of one *Engliſh* man is bent againſt another, and deviſion to be in the whole Realm, which is an aſſured ſigne of deſolation to come. O *England*, *England*, doeſt thou not conſider, that the Common-wealth is like a Ship ſailing on the Sea, if thy Marriners and Governours ſhall one conſume another, ſhalt thou not ſuffer ſhipwrack in ſhort proceſſe of time? O *England England*, (alaſſe) theſe plagues are powred upon thee, for that thou wouldeſt not know the moſt happy time of thy gentle Viſitation: But wilt thou yet obey the voyce of thy God, and ſubmit thy ſelf to his holy words? Truly, if thou wilt thou ſhalt finde mercie in his ſight, and the eſtate of thy Common-wealth ſhall be preſerved.

A Common-wealth compared to a Ship ſayling on the Sea.

But, O *England*, *England*, if thou obſtinately wilt return into *Egypt*, that is, If thou contract Mariage, Confederacie, or League with ſuch Princes,

as

Anno as do maintain and advance Idolatry (ſuch as the *Emperour*, who is no leſſe enemy unto Chriſt then ever was *Nero*;) if for the pleaſure and friendſhip (I ſay) of ſuch Princes thou returneſt to thine old abominations, before uſed under the Papiſtrie, then aſſuredly (O *England*) thou ſhalt be plagued and brought to deſolation by the means of thoſe whoſe favours thou ſeekeſt, and by whom thou art procured to fall from Chriſt, and to ſerve Antichriſt.

This and much more in the dolour of my heart, that day, in the audience of ſuch as yet may bear record, (through Gods permiſſion) I then pronounced: The thing that I then moſt feared, and which alſo my Tongue ſpake (that is, The ſubverſion of the true Religion, and bringing in of Strangers to reign over that Realm) this day I ſee come to paſſe in mens councels and determinations; which if they proceed and take effect, as by men it is concluded, then ſo aſſuredly as my God liveth, and as thoſe Iſraelites that obſtinately returned into *Egypt* againe, were plagued to the death; ſo ſhall *England* taſte what the Lord hath threatned by his Prophets before. God grant us true and unfained repentance of our former offences. God for his great mercies ſake ſtirre up ſome *Phinies*, *Elias*, or *Jehu*, that the blood of abominable Idolaters may pacifie Gods wrath, that it conſume not the whole multitude. *Amen.*

The end ſhall declare.

Enemies to the Truth receive no comfort of Gods Meſſengers.

But to returne to our matter; of the premiſſes it is plain, That ſuch as contemne Gods eternall verity and grace, can neither in their troubles receive comfort by Gods Meſſengers, neither yet can they follow the counſell of God, be it never ſo profitable, but God giveth them over, and ſuffereth them to wander in their owne vanities, to their owne perdition;

The godly and choſen of God.

whereas contrarywiſe, ſuch as beareth a reverence to Gods moſt Holy Word, are drawn by the power and vertue of the ſame (as before is ſaid) to beleeve, follow and obey that which God commandeth, be it never ſo hard, ſo unapparent or contrary to their affections: And therefore as God alwayes keepeth appointment with them, ſo are they wonderouſly preſerved, when Gods vengeances are powred forth upon the diſobedient. And this is moſt evident in *Abraham*, at Gods commandment, leaving his Countrey, and going forth he knew not whither; which was a thing not ſo eaſie to be done, as it is to be ſpoken or read. It appeareth alſo in *Abraham*, beleeving Gods promiſes, againſt all appearance, and alſo in offering his ſon *Iſaac*, againſt all fatherly love and naturall affection. The ſame is ſaid, in *Moſes*, *Samuel*, *Hezekiah*, *Michaiah*, and other of the Prophets, which at the commandment of Gods Word, boldly paſſed to the preſence of Tyrants, and there to them did their meſſage, as charge was given unto them.

Gen. 12.

Gen. 15. Gen. 22.

Exod. 5. 7. 10. 1 Reg. 14. 3 Reg. 21.

Object. *Anſwer.*

But leſt that ſome ſhould alledge, that theſe examples appertaineth nothing to a multitude, becauſe they were done in ſingular men, I anſwer, We will conſider what the power of Gods Word hath wrought in many at one inſtance. After that the Iſraelites had made the golden Calfe, and ſo fallen to Idolatry; *Moſes* coming down from the mountain, and beholding their abominations (the honour that they gave to an Idol) and the people ſpoiled of their ear-rings and jewels, to their great rebuke and ſhame, was enflamed with ſuch zeal, indignation and wrath, that firſt, he

Exod. 32. Gods Word ſometimes moveth great multitudes.

he brake the Tables of the Commandments; then he beat their Calfe to powder, and gave it to them to drink, to cauſe them to underſtand, That their filthy guts ſhould receive that which they worſhipped for God: And finally, he commanded that every man that was of God ſhould approach and come nigh unto him: And the ſons of *Levi* (ſaith the Text) came to him; to whom he ſaid, *Thus ſaith the Lord God of Iſrael; Let every man put his ſword upon his thigh, and go in and out from Port to Port in the Tents; and let every man kill his brother, his neighbour, and every man his nigh kinſman: And the ſons of* Levi *did according to the word of* Moſes: *And there fell the ſame day of the people nigh three thouſand.* It is evident by this hiſtory, That the power of Gods Word, pronounced by the mouth of a man, prevailed at one time in a great number againſt nature, and compelled them to be executers of Gods vengeance, regarding nothing the affinity nor nighneſſe of blood: And alſo that their doing ſo well pleaſed *Moſes* the Ambaſſadour of God, that he ſaid unto them, *Conſecrate your hands this day every man in his own ſon, and in his own brother, that a fortunate benediction may be given to you this day.* As though he ſhould ſay; Your father *Levi* prophaned and defiled his hands, killing the *Sichemites* in his blinde rage, which moved his father *Jacob* in his laſt Teſtament, to condemne, execrate and curſe that his moſt vehement and ungodly zeale: But becauſe in this work you have preferred Gods Commandment before blood, nature and alſo affection, in place of that rebuke and curſe, you have obtained bleſſing and praiſe.

Anno

Why *Moſes* cauſed the Iſraelites do drink the powder of the golden calf. Exod. 32.

A ſharp ſentence againſt Idolaters.

Gen. 34.

Gen. 49.

The like puiſſance and vertue of Gods Word working in a multitude, is to be read in the Prophet *Jeremiah*; who perceiving the time of Gods vengeance to draw nigh, and the City of *Jeruſalem* to be beſieged, boldly cryeth out in his open Sermon, ſaying, *He that remaineth in this Citie ſhall die, either by ſword, by hunger, or by peſtilence. But he that ſhall go forth to the Caldeans, ſhall live, and ſhall finde his ſoul for a prey.* This might have appeared a deceivable, ſeditious and ungodly Sermon, to command ſubjects to depart from the obedience and defence of their native Prince, rich Citizens and valiant ſouldiers from their poſſeſſions and ſtrong Holds, and to will them to render themſelves, without all manner of reſiſtance, into the hands of ſtrangers, being their enemies. What carnall man would not have judged the perſwaſions of the Prophet moſt fooliſh and falſe? And yet in the hearts of ſuch as God had elected and appointed to life, ſo effectually wrought this Sermon, that a great number of *Jeruſalem* left their King, their City, riches and friends, and obeyed the Prophets counſell: for ſo may be eſpied by the anſwer of *Zedechias* the King, when *Jeremiah* counſelled him, That he ſhould render himſelf into the hands of *Nebuchadonoſer*, he ſaith, *I fear theſe Jews, that are fled to the Caldeans, leſt perchance they give me into their hands.*

Jerem. 21. 38.

Jerem. 21. Jerem. 38.

Jerem. 38.

Hereof it is plain, That many were departed from him, whom he feared more then he did his enemies.

Many more teſtimonies might be brought, to declare how mightily Gods Word, ſpoken by man, hath wrought in the hearts of great multitudes: As in the hearts of the *Ninevites*, who at *Jonahs* Preaching condemned their former Religion, converſation and life: And in the hearts

Jon. 3.

Anno of thoſe three thouſand who at *Peters* firſt Sermon openly made after Chriſts Aſcenſion, acknowledged their offences, repented, and were ſoon after baptized. But theſe premiſes are ſufficient to prove, as well that Gods Word draweth his Elect after it, againſt worldly appearance, againſt naturall affections, and againſt evil Statutes and Conſtitutions; as alſo, That ſuch as obey Gods ſpeaking by his Miniſters, never lacketh juſt reward, and recompence: For onely ſuch as obeyed the voyce of the Prophet, found favour and grace, to the praiſe and glory of Gods Name, when his juſt judgements took vengeance upon the diſobedient. But now briefly by Notes we will touch the reſt of *Peters* act, and Chriſts mercifull deliverance of him; which is the end of all troubles ſuſtained by Gods Elect.

Act. 2.

Jerem. 32.

And firſt, That *Peter* ſeeing a mighty winde, was afraid, and ſo, when he began to ſink, he cryed, *Lord ſave me*, are three things principally to be noted:

The firſt, *From whence cometh the fear of Gods Elect.*

The ſecond, *What is the cauſe that they faint and fall in adverſity.*

The third, *What reſteth with them in the time of this fear and down-ſinking.*

And firſt, it is plain, That ſo long as *Peter* had his eyes fixed upon Chriſt, and attended upon no other thing but the voyce of Chriſt, he was bold and without fear: But when he ſaw a mighty winde (not that the winde was viſible, but the vehement ſtorm and waves of the Sea that were ſtirred up and carried by the winde were ſeen) then began he to fear, and to reaſon (no doubt) in his heart, that better it had been for him to have remained in his Ship; for ſo might Chriſt have come to him: But now the ſtorm and rage of winde was ſo vehement, that he could never come to Chriſt, and ſo he greatly feared. Whereof it is plain, That the onely cauſe of our fear that have left our Ship, and thorow the ſtorms of the Sea would go to Chriſt with *Peter*, is, That we more conſider the dangers and letts that are in our journey, then we do the Almighty power of him that hath commanded us to come to himſelf. And this is a ſinne common to all the elect and choſen children of God, That whenſoever they ſee a vehement trouble appearing to lett them, and drive them back from the obedience of God, then begin they to fear and to doubt of Gods power and good will.

The cauſe of fear.

Gen. 12. Exod 3 4. Iſa. 36, 37.

With this fear was *Abraham* ſtricken, when he denied his wife. This ſtorme ſaw *Moſes*, when he refuſed to be Gods Meſſenger. And *Hezekiahs* ſore complaint declareth, That more he believed, conſidered, and looked upon the proud voyces, and great power of *Sennacherib*, then he did the promiſes of the Prophet.

This I note for this purpoſe, That albeit this late and moſt raging ſtorm within the Realme of *England* have taken from you the preſence of Chriſt for a time, ſo that you have doubted whether it was Chriſt which you ſaw before, or not. And albeit that the vehemency of this contrary winde that would drive you from Chriſt have ſo employed your ears, that almoſt you have forgotten what he was who commanded you to come to himſelf, when that he cryed, *Come unto me all ye that labour*

Matth. 11.

and

and are burthened, and I shall refresh you. Passe from Babylon, O my people, &c. Albeit (I say) that this raging tempest have stricken such fear in your heart, that almost all is forgotten; yet (dear brethren) despair not, such offences have chanced to Gods Elect before you. If obstinately ye shall not continue, yet shall you finde mercy and grace. It had been your duty indeed, and agreeable to your profession, to have looked to Christ alone, and to have contemned all impediments; but such perfection is not alway with man, but happy is he that feeleth himself to sink. Anno Apoc. 18. *Note.*

2. The cause that Godt elect begin to faint and to sink down in the time of great adversitie, is fear and unbelief, as in *Peter* doth appear; for so long as he neither feared danger, neither mistrusted Christs word, so long as the waves (above, and contary to their nature) did obey and serve his feet, as they had been the drie, solid and sure ground: But so soon as he began to despair and fear, so soon began he to sink: To instruct us, That lively faith maketh man bold, and is able to carry us thorow such perils, as be uncapable to nature; But when faith beginneth to faint, then beginneth man to sink down in every danger; as in the Histories before rehearsed, it may appear, and in the Prophets it is plain; for *Elias* at Gods Commandment passing to the presence of King *Ahab*, in the fervency of his faith, obtained the fire to come from heaven, and to consume his Sacrifice: by which also he was made so bold, that in the presence of the King he feared nothing to kill his false Prophets. But the same *Elias* hearing of the managing and threatnings of cursed *Jezabel*, and considering that the wrath of a wicked woman could by no reasonable means be appeased, he saw a storme, and feared the same, and so he prepared to flie; which he doth not without some sinking down, for he began to reason and dispute with God, which never can be done by the Creature, without foolishnesse and offence. The same we finde in *Jeremy*, and many more. Lively faith maketh a man bold. 3. Reg 18. 3. Reg 19. The creature can never dispute with God without sin.

But the Question may be asked, *Seeing Christ knew before what should happen to* Peter, *why did he not hinder him from coming from his Boat? or else, Why did he not so confirm him in faith, that he should not have doubted?* *Quest.*

To the which may be answered; Albeit that we could render no reason of this work of Christ, yet were the work it self a sufficient reason; and it were enough to answer, That so it pleased him, who is not bound to render a reason of all his works: But yet if we shall marke with deligence to what Office *Peter* was to be called, and what offences long rested with him, we shall finde most just and necessary causes of this work of Christ, and down sinking of *Peter*. It is plain that *Peter* had many notable vertues, as a zeal and fervency towards Christs glory, and a readinesse and forwardnesse to obey his commandments; but it is like plain, That of long continuance there rested with *Peter* a desire of honor and worldly rest (and that moved him to perswade Christ that he should not die.) There rested with him pride, presumption, and a trust in himself; which presumption and vain trust in his own strength, unlesse it had been corrected, he had never been fit to have fed Christs flock: And such sinnes can never be fully corrected or reformed, till they be felt, known, and confessed. Doubtlesse so arrogant is our nature, that neither will it know nor confesse the *Answ.* Gods works by them self are a sufficient reason. *Peters vertues.* The vice that long rested with *Peter.* Matth. 16. *Note.*

Anno infirmitie of it ſelf, untill ſuch time as it hath a triall by manifeſt experience; This is moſt plain by *Peter*, long after this tempeſt; for when Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, *This night ſhall ye all be ſlandered in me*, *Peter* boldly bragged and ſaid, *Albeit that all ſhould be ſlandered, and ſhould flie from thee, yet ſhall not I be ſlandered, but I am ready to go to priſon, and to die with thee.* This was a bold preſumption, and an arrogant promiſe ſpoken in contempt of all his Brethren, from which he could not be reduced by Chriſts admonition, but the more that Chriſt ſhewed him, that he ſhould deny him, the more bold was he to affirm the contrary; as though his Maſter Chriſt (the Author of all Trueth, yea rather trueth it ſelf) ſhould make a loud lie; and therefore of neceſſitie it was, that he ſhould prove in experience what was the frailtie of mans nature, and what was the imbecillity and weakneſſe of faith, even in thoſe, that were his chief Apoſtles, which had continually heard his heavenly Doctrine, ſeen daily his wonderfull Miracles, which had heard themſelves ſo many admonitions of him, which alſo had followed and obeyed him in many things. That imbecillitie and weakneſſe of faith, if *Peter* had not proved and felt it in himſelf, neither could he rightly have praiſed Gods infinite goodneſſe, and imbraced his free mercy; neither had he been apt and meet to have been a a Paſtor to the weak ſheep and tender lambs of Chriſt, but he ſhould have been as proud a contemner and diſpiſer of his weak brethren, as the arrogant Papiſts, that contemn and diſpiſe all godly and great learned men, though they be a thouſand parts more excellent then they. But to correct and informe both preſumptuous arrogancy and fraile imbecilitie and weakneſſe of faith, *Peter* was permitted once to ſink, and thrice moſt ſhamefully to refuſe and deny his Maſter, to the intent that by the knowledge of his own weakneſſe, he might be the more able to inſtruct others of the ſame; and alſo that he might more largely magnifie Gods free grace and mighty deliverance: And that Chriſt taught him before his falling; ſaying, *When thou art converted, ſtrengthen thy brethren:* As though Chriſt ſhould have ſaid, *Peter*, yet art thou too proud to be a Paſtor, thou canſt not ſtoop nor bow thy back down to take up the weak ſheep, thou doeſt not yet know thine own infirmitie and weakneſſe, and therefore canſt thou do nothing but deſpiſe the weak ones; but when thou ſhalt be inſtructed by experience of thine own ſelf, what hid iniquitie lurketh within the nature of man, then ſhalt thou learn to be humble, and ſtoop among other ſinners; and alſo ſhalt be an example to others which after ſhall offend, as thou didſt, ſo that if they repent as thou didſt, they need not deſpaire of mercy, but may truſt moſt aſſuredly of Chriſt to obtain grace, mercy and forgiveneſſe of ſins, as thou didſt.

Matth. 26.

Why *Peter* was ſuffered to ſink.

Luke 22.

This fruit have we to gather (dear Brethren) of *Peters* down-ſinking in the ſea, (which was a ſecret knowledge and privie admonition, that he after ſhould deny Chriſt) that we are aſſured by the voice of Chriſt, if in the time of trouble and extreme danger we crie with *Peter*, we ſhall be delivered as he was; and if we mourn for our deniall of Chriſt, as hee did, we ſhall finde the ſame grace and favour at Chriſts hand, that hee found.

But now let us touch the third Note, which is this, That with Gods Elect

Anno 3.

Elect in their greateſt feare and danger there reſteth ſome ſmall ſparke of faith, which by one means or other declareth it ſelfe, albeit the afflicted perſon in feare or danger, doth not preſently perceive the ſame. As herein *Peter* is moſt cleare and manifeſt. For, perceiving himſelf to ſink down, he cryed, ſaying, *Lord ſave me*, which words were a declaration of a lively and quick faith, which lay hid within his afflicted and ſore perplexed heart, whoſe nature is (I mean of faith) to hope againſt hope, that is: againſt all appearance or likelihood to looke for help and deliverance, as the words of *Peter* witneſſeth that he did. He ſaw nothing but the raging Sea ready to ſwallow him up. He felt nothing but himſelf ſinking down in body, and ſore troubled in heart, and yet he cryed: *Lord ſave me*. Which words firſt delare, that he knew the power of Chriſt able to deliver him. For fooliſhneſſe it had been to have called for the help of him whom he had known to be impotent and unable to help.

What reſteth with Gods Elect in their greateſt danger.

The nature of faith.

Peter knewthe power and good will of God.

The calling for Chriſts help by prayer in this extream danger declared alſo that *Peter* had ſome hope through his gracious goodneſſe to obtain deliverance. For in extream perils impoſſible it is, that the heart of man can cry for Gods help without ſome hope of his mercy.

It is alſo to be noted, that in his great jeopardy *Peter* murmureth not againſt Chriſt. Neither doth he impute or lay any crime or blame upon Chriſt, albeit, at his commandment he had left his Bote. He ſaith not: *Why letteſt thou me ſinke, ſeeing that I have obeyed thy Commandment*. Moreover, *Peter* asked help at Chriſt alone, of whom he was perſwaded both could and would help at a pinch. He cryed not upon *Abraham*, *Jacob*, *Moſes*, *Samuel*, *David*; Neither upon any other of the Patriarks, Prophets, or Saints departed: neither yet upon his own fellows in the Bote, but upon Chriſt, at whoſe commandment he had left the Bote.

All theſe things together conſidered, declare, that *Peter* in this his extreame feare and danger had yet ſome ſparke of faith (albeit in that preſent jeopardy he had neither conſolation nor comfort.) For theſe premiſſes are undoubted tokens that he had faith. But now to the end, which is this.

And immediately Jeſus ſtretched forth his hand, and caught him, and ſaid unto him: O thou of little faith, wherefore diddeſt thou doubt. And when they were come into the ſhip, the winde ceaſed; And they that were in the ſhip came and worſhipped him, ſaying, Of a truth thou art the Sonne of God: And immediatly the ſhip was at the Land whither they went.

Hereof firſt is to be Noted, That God is alway nigh to thoſe that call upon him faithfully; and ſo willing is he to deliver them, that neither can fear nor extreme danger hinder his godly hand. *Peter* was ſinking downe, and looked for no other thing but preſent death, and yet the hand of Chriſt prevented him. That that was viſibly and openly done to *Peter* in that his great perill, is inviſibly and ſecretly done to Chriſts holy Church, and to the choſen Members of Chriſts myſticall Bodie in all ages.

Pſal. 144. How nigh God is in extream perill to deliver his Elect that fythfully call upon him. Exod 14. Heſter 7. 8. 9.

How nigh and ready was the Hand of God to deliver his people *Iſrael*, when they were almoſt overwhelmed with deſpair in the dayes of *Moſes* and *Heſter*, the Hiſtory doth witneſſe: How nigh was God to *Daniel* amongſt

Daniel 6. John 3. Act 12.

Anno amongſt the Lyons, To *Jonas* in the Whales Belly, to *Peter* in the priſon, is likewiſe moſt evidently declared in the holy Scriptures. How ſuddenly and beyond all expectation was *David* many times delivered from *Sauls* tyrany, his own heart confeſſed, and compelled his pen to write, and tongue to ſing, ſaying, *He ſent from above, and hath delivered me, he hath drawn me forth of many waters.*

Pſalm. 18.

Open your ears (dear brethren) and let your hearts underſtand, That as our God is unchangeable, ſo is not his gracious hand ſhortned this day. Our fear and trouble is great, the ſtorm that bloweth againſt us is ſore and vehement, and we appear to be drowned in the deep: but if we unfainedly know the danger, and will call for deliverance, the Lords hand is nigher then the ſword of our enemies.

God flattereth not his Elect.

The ſharp rebuke that Chriſt Jeſus gave to *Peter*, teacheth us, That God doth not flatter nor conceal the faults of his Elect, but maketh them manifeſt, to the end that the Offendors may repent, and that others may avoid the like offences.

Peter was not faithleſſe.

That Chriſt called *Peter* of little faith, argueth and declareth (as we before have noted) That *Peter* was not altogether faithleſſe, but that hee fainted, or was uncertain in his faith, for ſo ſoundeth the Greek terme ὀλιγόπιστος, whereof we ought to be admoniſhed, That in paſſing to Chriſt thorow the ſtorms of this world, is not onely required a fervent faith in the beginning, but alſo a conſtancy to the end; as Chriſt ſaith, *He that continueth to the end, ſhall be ſaved*; and Saint *Paul, Unleſſe a man ſhall ſtrive lawfully, he ſhall not be crowned.* The remembrance of this ought to put us in minde, That the moſt fervent man, and ſuch as have long continued in profeſſion of Chriſt, is not yet ſure to ſtand at all hours, but that he is ſubject to many dangers, and that he ought to fear his own frailty, as the Apoſtle teacheth us, ſaying, *Let him that ſtandeth take heed leſt he fall*; for if *Peter* that began ſo fervently, yet fainted ere he came to Chriſt, what ought we to fear, in whom ſuch fervency was never found? No doubt we ought to tremble and fear the worſt; and by the knowledge of our own weakneſſe, with the Apoſtles, inceſſantly to pray, *O Lord increaſe our faith.* Chriſts demand and queſtion, asking *Peter, Why doubteſt thou?* containeth in it ſelf a vehemency; as if he ſhould have ſaid, Whether doubteſt thou of my power, or of my promiſes, or of my good will? If my power had not been ſufficient to have ſaved thee, then could I neither have come to thee thorow the ſtormy Sea, neither have made the waters obey thee, when thou beganſt to come to me; and if my good will had not been to have delivered thee, and thy Brethren, then had I not appeared unto you, neither had I called upon thee, but had permitted the Tempeſt to devour and ſwallow you up: but conſidering that your eye ſaw me preſent, your ears heard my voice, and thou *Peter* eſpecially kneweſt the ſame, and obeyedſt my commandment, why then doubteſt thou? Beloved brethren, If this ſame demand and queſtion were laid to our charge, we ſhould have leſſe pretence of excuſe then had *Peter*; for he might have alleadged, That he was not advertiſed that any great Storme ſhould have riſen betwixt him and Chriſt, which juſtly we cannot alleadge; for ſince that time that Chriſt hath appeared unto us by the brightnes of his Word, and called upon

Matth 14. 2 Tim 2. Such as have ſtood long, may yet fall.

Luke 17.

Note.

We have leſſe pretence of excuſe then *Peter* had.

Note.

upon us by his lively voyce, he hath continually blown in our ears, That perſecution and trouble ſhould follow the Word that we profeſſed, which dayes are now preſent. *Alas then, why doubt we thorow this ſtorme to go to Chriſt? Support, O Lord, and let us ſink no further.* Anno

Albeit that *Peter* fainted in faith, and therefore was worthy moſt ſharply to be rebuked, yet doth not Chriſt leave him in the Sea, neither long permitted he that fear and tempeſt to continue, but firſt they entred both into the Ship, and thereafter the winde ceaſed; and laſt, their Ship arrived without longer delay, at the place for which they long had laboured. *Conſolation*

O bleſſed and happy are thoſe that patiently abides this deliverance of the Lord; The raging Sea ſhall not devour them: Albeit they have fainted, yet ſhall not Chriſt Jeſus leave them behinde in the ſtormy Sea, but ſuddenly he ſhall ſtretch forth his mighty hand, and ſhall place them in the Ship amongſt their brethren; that is, He ſhall conduct them to the number of his elect and afflicted Church, with whom he will continue to the end of the world. Matth. 28.

The Majeſtie of his preſence ſhall put to ſilence this boyſterous winde, the malice and envy of the devill which ſo bloweth in the hearts of Princes, Prelates, Kings, and of earthly men, that altogether they are conjured againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anoyned Chriſt; in deſpight of whom, he ſafely ſhall conduct, convey, and carry his ſore troubled Flock to the life and reſt for which they travell. Worldly Princes are conjured againſt God Pſal. 2.

Albeit (I ſay) that ſometimes they have fainted in their journey, albeit that weakneſſe in faith permitted them to ſink, yet from the hand of Chriſt can they not be rent; he may not ſuffer them to drown, nor the deep to devour them: But for the glory of his own Name he muſt deliver, for they are committed to his charge, protection, and keeping; and therefore muſt he keep and defend ſuch as he hath received at his father, from ſin, from death, from devil and hell. The ſheep of Chriſt cannot be rent from his hand. Joh. 10. Joh. 7.

The remembrance of theſe promiſes is to mine own heart ſuch occaſion of comfort, as neither can any tongue nor pen expreſſe, but yet peradventure ſome there is of Gods elect that cannot be comforted in this tempeſt, by any meditations of Gods election or defence, but rather beholding ſuch as ſometimes boldly have profeſſed Chriſts Verity, now to be returned to their accuſtomed abominations; And alſo themſelves to be overcome with fear, that againſt their knowledge and conſcience they ſtoup to an Idol, and with their preſence maintaineth the ſame; and being at this point, they begin to reaſon, Whether it be poſſible that the members of Chriſts body may be permitted ſo horribly to fall to the denyall of their Head; and in the ſame to remain of long continuance: And from this reaſoning they enter in dolour, and from dolour, they begin to ſink to the gates of hell, and Ports of deſpair. The temptations of Gods elect now in *England.*

The dolour and fear of ſuch I grant to be moſt juſt: For oh how fearfull is it, for the love of this tranſitory life, in the preſence of man to deny Chriſt Jeſus, and his known and undoubted Verity?

But yet to ſuch as be not obſtinate contemners of God, and of all godlineſſe, I would give this my weak counſell, That rather they ſhould appeal to mercy, then by the ſevere judgements of God to pronounce againſt

Anno

Good counſell to thee in faith Rom. 11.

against themſelves the fearfull ſentence of condemnation; and to conſider that God includeth all under unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all: That the Lord filleth and giveth life; he leadeth down to hell, and yet lifteth up again. But I will not that any man think, That by this my counſell I either juſtifie ſuch as horribly are returned back to their vomit;

1 Reg. 2.

either yet that I flatter ſuch as maintaineth that abominable Idoll with their dayly preſence; God forbid; For then were I but a blinde guide leading the blinde headlong to perdition: Onely God knoweth the dolour and ſobs of my heart, for ſuch as I hear dayly do turn back: But the cauſe of my counſell is, That I know the conſcience of ſome to be ſo tender, that whenſoever they feel themſelves troubled with fear, wounded with anguiſh, or to have ſliden back in any point, that then they judge their faith to be quenched, and themſelves to be unworthy of Gods mercies for ever; to ſuch direct I my counſell; to thoſe, I mean, that rather offends by weakneſſe and infirmity, then of malice and ſet purpoſe. And I would that ſuch ſhould underſtand and conſider, that all Chriſts Apoſtles fled from him, and denyed him in their hearts: And alſo I would they ſhould conſider, That no man from the beginning ſtood in greater feare, greater danger, nor greater doubt, then *Peter* did, when Chriſts preſence was taken from him; yea, no man felt leſſe comfort, nor ſaw leſſe appearance of deliverance; and yet neither were the diſciples rejected for ever, neither was *Peter* permitted to drown in that deep.

Note.

To whom appertaineth the former counſel.

Matth. 28.

Note.

Objection. But ſome ſhall object, Faith was not utterly quenched in them, and therefore they got deliverance, and were reſtored to comfort.

Anſwer. *Anſw.* That is it which I would that the afflicted and troubled conſciences in this age ſhould conſider, That neither fear, neither danger, neither yet doubting nor backſliding, can utterly deſtroy and quench the faith of Gods elect, but that alwayes there remaineth with them ſome root and ſpark of faith, howbeit in their anguiſh, they neither feel nor can diſcern the ſame. Yet ſome ſhall demand, How ſhall it be known in whom the ſpark and root of faith remaineth, and in whom not, ſeeing that all fleeth from Chriſt, and boweth down to Idolatry? Hard it is, and in a manner impoſſible, that one man ſhall wittingly judge of another (for that could not *Elijah* do of the Iſraelites of his dayes) but every man may eaſily judge of himſelf: For the root of faith is of that nature, that long it will not be idle, but of neceſſity, by proceſſe of time, it will ſend forth ſome branches that may be ſeen and felt by the outward man, if it remain lively in the heart; as you heard it did in *Peter*, compelling him to cry upon Chriſt, when that he was in greateſt neceſſity. Wilt thou have a triall whether the root of faith remaineth with thee or not? (I ſpeak to ſuch as are weak, and not to proud contemners of God.)

The root of faith remaineth with Gods elect in greateſt danger.

3 Reg. 19.

The root of faith is not idle.

A tryall of faith in trouble

Firſt, *Feeleſt thou thy ſoul fainting in faith, as* Peter *felt his body ſinke down in the waters?*

Secondly, *Art thou as ſore afraid that thy ſoule ſhould drown in hell, if thou conſenteſt or obeyeſt Idolatry, as* Peter *was that his body ſhould drown in the waters?*

3. *Deſi-*

3. *Deſireſt thou as earneſtly the deliverance of thy ſoul, as* Peter *did the deliverance of his body?* Anno

4. *Believeſt thou that Chriſt is able to deliver thy ſoul, and that he will do the ſame, according to his promiſe?*

5. *Do'ſt thou call upon him without hypocriſie, now in the day of thy trouble?*

6. *Do'ſt thou thirſt for his preſence, and for the liberty of his Word again?*

7. *Mourneſt thou for the great abominations that now over-flowes the Realm of* England?

If theſe premiſes (I ſay) remain in thy heart, then art thou not altogether deſtitute of faith, neither ſhalt thou deſcend to perdition for ever; but mercifully ſhall the Lord ſtretch forth his mighty hand, and ſhall deliver thee from the very throat and bottom of hell: But by what means that he ſhall perform that his mercifull work, it neither appertaineth to thee to demand, nor to me to define: But this is requiſite, and is our bounden duty, that ſuch means as the hand of our God ſhall offer (to avoid Idolatry) we refuſe not, but that willingly we embrace the ſame, albeit it partly diſagree to our affections. Neither yet think I that ſuddenly, and by one means, ſhall all the faithfull in *England* be delivered from Idolatry: No, it may be that God ſo ſtrengthen the hearts of ſome of thoſe that have fainted before, that they will reſiſt Idolatry to the death, and that were a glorious and triumphant deliverance. Of others God may ſo touch the hearts, that they will rather chuſe to walk and go as Pilgrims, from Realm to Realme, ſuffering hunger, cold, heat, thirſt, wearineſſe, and poverty, then that they will abide (having all abundance) in ſubjection of Idolatry. To ſome may God offer ſuch occaſion, that in deſpight of Idolaters (be they Princes or Prelats) they may remain within their own Dominions, and yet neither bow their knees to *Baal*, neither yet lack the lively Food of Gods moſt holy Word. If God offer unto us any ſuch means, let us aſſuredly know, That Chriſt Jeſus ſtretched forth his hand unto us, willing to deliver us from that danger wherein many are like to periſh; and therefore let us not refuſe it, but with gladneſſe let us take hold of it, knowing that God hath a thouſand means (very unappearing to mans judgement) whereby he will deliver, ſupport and comfort his afflicted Church. And therefore, moſt dearly beloved in our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conſidering that the remembrance of Chriſts Banquet (whereof, I doubt not, ſome of you have taſted with comfort and joy) is not yet utterly taken from your minde; And that we have entred in this journey at Chriſts Commandments; conſidering that we finde the Sea windes blow contrary and againſt us, as before was propheſied unto us; and that we ſee the ſame tempeſt rage againſt us, that ever hath raged againſt Chriſts elect Church; And conſidering alſo that we feele our ſelves ready to faint, and like to be oppreſſed by theſe ſtormie Seas, Let us proſtrate our ſelves before the Throne of Grace, in the preſence of our heavenly Father, and in the bitterneſſe of our hearts let us confeſſe our offences, and for Chriſt Jeſus ſake let us ask deliverance and mercy, ſaying, with ſobs and groanings from our troubled hearts;

It appertaineth not to man to know nor to enquire how God will deliver.

Note.

Divers wayes of deliverance.

Note.

The means offered by God to avoid Idolatry are not to be refuſed.

Repetition.

Anno

Complaint.

Iſal. 78. *O God, the heathen are entred into thine Inheritance, they have defiled thy holy Temple, and have prophaned thy bleſſed Ordinance: In place of thy*

Pſal 74. *joyfull ſignes, they have erected their abominable Idolatry: The deadly cup of all*

Apocal. 17. *blaſphemie is reſtored againe to their harlots hand: Thy Prophets are perſecuted, and none are permitted to ſpeak thy Word freely: The poor ſheep of thy paſture are commanded to drink the venomous waters of mens Traditions. But, O Lord, thou knoweſt how ſore they grieve us. But ſuch is the tyranny of theſe moſt*

Pſal 74. & 87. *cruell beaſts, that plainly they ſay,* They ſhall root us out at once, ſo that no remembrance ſhall remain of us on earth.

O Lord, thou knoweſt that we are but fleſh, and that we have no power of our ſelves to withſtand their tyranny; And therefore, O Father, open the eyes of thy

Prayer and Confeſſion. *mercy upon us, and confirm thou in us the Work which thine own mercy hath begun. We acknowledge and confeſſe, O Lord, That we are puniſhed moſt juſtly, becauſe we lightly regarded the tyranny of our mercifull Viſitation. Thy bleſſed Goſpel was in our ears like a lovers ſong; it pleaſed us for a time, but alas, our lives did nothing agree with thy Statutes and holy Commandments: And thus we acknowledge that our iniquity hath compelled thy juſtice to take the*

Appealing to mercy. *light of thy Word from the whole Realme of* England. *But be thou mindefull O Lord, that it is thy Truth which we have profeſſed, and that thy enemies blaſphemeth thy holy Name, and our Profeſsion, without Cauſe: Thy holy Goſpel is called hereſie, and we are accuſed as traytors, for profeſsing the ſame. Be*

Iſai. 33. *mercifull therefore, O Lord, and be ſalvation unto us in this time of our anguiſh: Albeit our ſins accuſe and condemne us, yet do thou according to thine own Name. We have offended againſt thee; Our ſins and iniquities are without number,*

Jerem. 4. *and yet art thou in the midſt of us, O Lord, albeit that tyrants bear rule over our bodies, yet thirſteth our ſouls for the comfort of thy Word: Correct us therefore, but not in thy hot diſpleaſure; ſpare thy people, and permit not thine inheritance*

Pſal. 74. *to be in rebuke for ever. Let ſuch, O Lord, as now are moſt afflicted, yet once againe praiſe thy holy Name before thy Congregation: Repreſſe the pride of thoſe*

Pſal. 59. *blood-thirſty Tyrants; conſume them in thine anger, according to the reproach*

Pſal. 79. *which they have laid againſt thy holy Name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon*

Jerem. 10, 11, 12. *them, and let our eyes behold the blood of thy Saints required of their hands: Delay not thy vengeance, O Lord, but let death devour them in haſte: Let*

Pſal. 95. *the earth ſwallow them up, and let them go downe quick to the hells: For there is no hope of their amendment; the feare and reverence of thy holy*

Againſt the enemies of God. *Name is quite baniſhed from their hearts, and therefore yet again, O Lord, conſume them; conſume them in thine anger, and let them never bring their wicked counſells to effect; but according to the godly powers, let them be taken in the ſnare which they have prepared for thine elect: Look upon us, O Lord, with the eyes of thy mercy, and ſhew pity upon us thy weak and ſore oppreſſed Flock: Gather us yet once again to the wholeſome treaſures of thy moſt holy Word, that openly we may confeſſe thy bleſſed Name within the Realme of* England. *Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Chriſt Jeſus thy ſons ſake.* Amen.

If

If on this manner or otherwiſe (as God ſhall put in our hearts) without hypocriſie in the preſence of our God (reſpecting more his glory then our private wealth) continually we poure forth our complaint, confeſſion and prayers. Then ſo aſſuredly as our God liveth, and as we feel theſe preſent troubles, ſhall our God himſelf riſe to our defence, he ſhall confound the counſels of our enemies, and trouble the wits of ſuch as moſt wrongfully troubleth us. He ſhall ſend Jeſu to execute his juſt judgments againſt Idolators, and againſt ſuch as obſtinately defendeth them. Yea, the chiefe men of our times ſhall not eſcape the vengeance and plagues that are prepared for their portion. The flatterers and maintainers of her abominations ſhall drink the cup of Gods wrath. And in deſpite of the Devill ſhall yet the glory of Chriſt Jeſus, and the brightneſſe of his countenance ſo ſhine in our hearts by the preſence of his grace, and before our eyes by the true preaching of his Goſpel, that altogether we ſhall fall before him and ſay: *O Lord thou art our God, we ſhall extoll thee, and ſhall confeſſe thy Name, for thou haſt brought wonderous things to paſſe according to thy counſels, which albeit appear to be farre off, yet are they true and moſt aſſured. Thou haſt brought to ruine the palaces of tyrants, and therefore ſhall the afflicted magnifie thee, and the City of tyrannicall Nations ſhall fear thee. Thou haſt been, O Lord, a ſtrong defence to the poor, a ſure place of refuge to the afflicted in the time of his anguiſh.* Anno Eſay 25.

This no doubt, dear Brethren, ſhall one day be the ſong of Gods Elect within the Realm of *England*, after that God hath poured forth his vengeance upon theſe diſobedient, and blood-thirſty tyrants: which now triumpheth in all abominations, and therefore yet again beloved in the Lord, Abide patiently the Lords deliverance, avoyding and flying ſuch offences as may ſeparate and divide you from the bleſſed fellowſhip of the Lord Jeſus at his ſecond comming. Watch and pray, reſiſt the divell, and row againſt this vehement tempeſt, and ſhortly ſhall the Lord come, to the comfort of your hearts, which now are oppreſſed with anguiſh and care, but then ſhall ye ſo rejoyce, that through gladneſſe you ſhall ſay: *Behold this our God, we have waited upon him, and he hath ſaved us.* This is our Lord, we have long thirſted for his comming, now ſhall we rejoyce and be glad in his ſalvation, Amen. The great Biſhop of our ſouls; Jeſus our Lord ſo ſtrengthen and aſſiſt your troubled hearts with the mighty comfort of his Holy Ghoſt, that earthly tyrants, nor worldly torments have no power to drive you from the hope and expectation of that Kingdom, which for the Elect was prepared from the beginning by our heavenly Father, to whom be all praiſe and honour, now and ever, Amen. Of Gods Elect. *Exhortation.* Eſa 26.

Remember me (dear Brethren) in your daily prayers. The grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all. Amen.

Yours with ſorrowfull heart,
JOHN KNOX.

Anno

The Copie of

A LETTER

Delivered

To Queen Mary, Regent

OF

SCOTLAND,

FROM

JOHN KNOX

Miniſter of Gods Word, in the yeer of our Lord, 1556. and thereafter augmented and explained by the Author, in the yeer of our Lord, 1558.

To the moſt Excellent Princeſſe MARY, DOVVAGER *Regent of* Scotland.

MADAME,

THE cauſe which moved me to preſent this my Supplication unto your Majeſtie, enlarged, and in ſome places explained (being in the Realm of *Scotland* in the Moneth of *May*, 1556. I cauſed to be preſented to your Majeſty) is the incredible rage of ſuch as beare the Title of Biſhops, who, againſt all juſtice and equitie, have pronounced againſt me a moſt cruell ſentence, condemning

condemning my Bodie to Fire, my Soul to Damnation, and all Doctrine taught by me, to be falſe, deceivable, and Hereticall: If this injury did tend to me alone, having the teſtimony of a good conſcience, with ſilence I could paſſe the matter, being aſſured, that ſuch as they curſe and expell their Synagogues for ſuch cauſes, ſhall God bleſſe, and Chriſt Jeſus receive in his eternall ſocietie: But conſidering that this their blaſphemy is vomited forth againſt the eternall Truth of Chriſts Evangell, (whereof it hath pleaſed the great mercy of God to make me a Miniſter) I cannot ceaſe to notifie, as well to your Majeſtie, as to them, That ſo little am I afraid of their Tyrannicall and ſurmiſed ſentence, that in place of the Picture (if God impede not my purpoſe) they ſhall have the Body to juſtifie that Doctrine, which they (Members of Satan) blaſphemouſly do condemne. Advertiſing your Majeſtie in the mean time, That from them, their ſentence and tyrannie, and from all thoſe that liſt to maintain them in the ſame, I do appeal to a lawfull and generall Councel; beſeeching your Majeſty to take in good part, that I call you for witneſſe, that I have required the libertie of tongue, and my Cauſe to be heard before your Majeſtie and the Body of the Realm, before that any ſuch Proceſſe was laid againſt me; as this my Letter directed to your Majeſty doth teſtifie. Anno

The beginning of the Letter.

THE Eternall Providence of the ſame God, who hath appointed his choſen Children to fight in this tranſitory and wretched life, a battell ſtrong and difficile, hath alſo appointed their finall victory by a marvellous faſhion, and the manner of their preſervation in their battell more marvellous; their victory ſtandeth not in reſiſting, but in ſuffering; as our Soveraign Maſter pronounceth to his Diſciples, that in patience they ſhould poſſeſſe their ſoules: *And the ſame foreſaw the Prophet* Eſay, *when that he painteth forth all other battell to be with violence, tumult, and blood-ſhedding, but the victory of Gods people to be in quietneſſe, ſilence and hope; meaning that all others that obtain victorie, do enforce themſelves to reſiſt their adverſaries, to ſhed blooed, and to murther: But ſo do not the Elect of God, but all things they ſuſtain at the commandment of him who hath appointed them to ſuffer; being moſt aſſuredly perſwaded, that then onely they triumph, when all men judge them oppreſſed: For in the Croſſe of Chriſt alwayes is included a ſecret and hid victory, never well known till the ſufferer*

Gen. 3. Matth. 10. Act. 4.

Matth. 5. Joh. 14. 16. Eſay. 9.

In the Croſſe of Chriſt is victory hid.

Anno

ferer appear all together to be (as it were) exterminate; for then onely did the blood of Abel *crie to God, when proud* Cain *judged all memory of his brother to have been extinguished, and so (I say) their victory is marvellous, and how that they can be preserved and not brought to utter confusion, the eye of man perceiveth not: But he, whose power is infinite, by secret and hid motions, toucheth the hearts of such as to mans judgment hath power to destroy them, with very pietie and compassion to save his people, as (in times past) he did the hearts of the* Egyptian *Midwives, to preserve the men-children of the Israelites, when command was given of* Pharaoh *for their destruction. The heart of* Pharaohs *daughter likewise, to pitty* Moses *in his young infancy, exposed to the danger of the waters. The heart of* Nabuchadnezzar *to preserve the Captives alive, and liberally to nourish the Children that were found apt to Letters: And finally, The heart of* Cyrus, *to set at liberty the people of God, after long bondage and thraldome. And thus doth the invisible power and love of God, manifest it self towards his Elect from time to time, for two causes specially. First, to comfort his weake warriers in their manifold temptations, letting them understand, That he is able to compell such as sometimes were enemies to his people, to fight their Cause, and to promote their deliverance. And secondarily, to give a testimony of his favour to them, that by all appearance did live before (as Saint* Paul *speaketh) wanting God in the world, as strangers from the Common-wealth of Israel, and without the league of his mercifull promise and free grace made to his Church: For who would have affirmed, That any of these persons aforenamed, had been of that nature and clemency, before occasions were offered unto them? But the works of mercie shewed to the afflicted, have left to us assurance, That God used them as vessels of his honour. For pitie and mercie shewed to Christs afflicted flock, as they never lacked reward temporall, so if they be continued, and be not changed into crueltie, are assured signes and seales of everlasting mercy to be received from God, who by his Holy Spirit moveth their heats to shew mercy to the people of God oppressed and afflicted.*

Esay 40.41. 51.

Exod. 2.

4 Reg. 25. Jerem 52. Esd. 1.

Note.

Ephes 2.

Addition.

THis Preface I used to give your Majestie occasion more deeply to consider what hath been the condition of Christs Members from the beginning, that in so doing, ye might see, That it is no new thing that the Saints of God be oppressed in the word; that ye, moved by earnest contemplation of the same, might also study rather to save them from murder, (although by the wicked councels of many ye were provoked to the contrary) then to engage your self to the corrupt Clergie, who are servants to sinne and Sathan; whose fury is bent against God and his verity: But this after followeth in our Letwhich thus proceedeth.

Letter.

YOur Majestie perchance doth wonder to what purpose these things be recited, and I in very deed cannot wonder enough, that occasion is offered to me (a worme most wretched) to recite the same at this present; for I have looked rather for the sentence of death, then to have written to your Majestie in these last and most wicked

wicked dayes, in which Sathan ſo blindeth the hearts of many, that innocents are condemned, their Cauſe never tried. Anno

Addition.

HEreof ye cannot be ignorant: For beſides theſe whom ye hear from time to time moſt cruelly to be murthered in *France, Italy, Spaine, Flanders*, and now of late yeers beſides you in *England*, for no other cauſe, but that they profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus to be the onely Saviour of the world, The onely Mediator betwixt God and man, The onely Sacrifice acceptable for the ſins of all faithfull; and finally, The onely Head to his Church. Beſides theſe, I ſay (of whom ye hear the brute) ye have been witneſſe, That ſome within the Realm of *Scotland*, for the ſame cauſe, moſt cruelly have been murthered, whoſe cauſe was never heard with indifferency; But murtherers ſitting in the Seat of Juſtice, have ſhed the blood of Chriſts true Witneſſes; which albeit did then appear to be conſumed away with fire, yet it is reſent in the preſence of him for whoſe cauſe they did ſuffer, and ceaſeth not to call for vengeance, with the blood of *Abel*, to fall upon, not onely ſuch as were immediate and next authors of that murther, but alſo upon all thoſe that maintain thoſe tyrants in their tyranny, or that do conſent to their beaſtly cruelty, or that do not ſtop, having the power in hand. Take not this as the affirmation of any man, but hear and conſider the voice of the Son of God; *Fulfill* (ſaith he) *the meaſure of your fathers, that all the blood which hath been ſhed ſince the blood of* Abel *the juſt, till the blood of* Zachariah, &c. *may come upon this generation.* Hereby it is evident, That the murtherers of our time, as well as in the time of Chriſt, are guilty of all the blood that hath been ſhed from the beginning. Fearfull, I grant, is the ſentence; yet it is moſt equall and juſt: For whoſoever ſheddeth the blood of any one of Chriſt Jeſus his members, for profeſſing of his Truth, conſenteth to all the murther which hath been made ſince the beginning for that cauſe. So that as there is one communion of all Gods Elect, of whom every member is participant of the holy Juſtice of Chriſt; ſo is there a communion among the reprobate, by which every one of the Serpents ſeed are criminall and guilty of all iniquity which the whole Body committeth, becauſe they are altogether againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt his eternall Verity; every one ſerving Sathan the Prince of this world in their rank, age, degree and eſtate. The murtherers of their brethren which this day live, are guilty with *Cain* of the blood of *Abel*: The Kings and Princes which by power oppreſſe the people of God, and will not ſuffer that the people truely worſhip God as he hath commanded, but will retain them in *Egypt*, are brethren and companions to *Pharaoh*: The Prelats and Prieſts, whoſe horrible iniquities and inſolent life have infected all Realmes where they raigne, have with their fathers the old Phariſees, taken away the key of knowledge, and have ſhut up the Kingdom of heaven before men; ſo that neither they themſelves will enter, neither yet will they ſuffer others to enter into the ſame: And the multitude blinded, ſome by ignorance, ſome by fear, and by inſatiable appetite of their part of the ſpoyl (for Chriſt being crucified, the ſouldiers parted amongſt them his garments) are conjured to defend thoſe (which

The cauſes why the Saints of God be this day perſecuted 1 Joh. 1. 2. Heb. 6. & 10. Epheſ. 5.

Matth. 23.

Whoſoever ſheddeth the Blood of one of Chriſts members, for his Names ſake, conſenteth to the blood of all that have ſuffered ſince the beginning. *Note.* Gen. 4.

Anno murtherers, proud peſtilent Prelats, againſt Chriſt Jeſus, and againſt his poor Flock: And therefore, becauſe of one crime, they are all guilty (which is, of treaſon and rebellion againſt Chriſt) of one torment they ſhall all taſte, which is, Of the fire that never ſhall be quenched. And herein ought you, Madame, be circumſpect and carefull, if that ye hope for the life to come: For if the conſent which proceedeth of ignorance and blindeneſſe bringeth deſtruction and death (as Chriſt our Maſter doth witneſſe, ſaying, *If the blinde lead the blinde, they ſhall both fall into the ditch*) What ſhall become of the proud and malicious contemners of Gods Verity offered? But our Doctrine, perchance, ſhall be denyed to be the Verity: Whereunto I anſwer, That ſo was the Doctrine of *Noah*, of *Moſes*, of the Prophets, of Chriſt Jeſus, and of his Apoſtles; and yet the originall world periſhed by water, *Sodome* and *Gomorra* by fire deſcending from heaven; *Pharaoh* and his adherents in the Red Sea; the City of *Jeruſalem*, and the whole Nation of the Jews, by puniſhments and plagues, notwithſtanding that the whole multitude cryed, This is a new doctrine, this is hereſie, and tendeth to ſedition. Our Petition is, That our Doctrine may be tryed by the plain Word of God; That liberty be granted to utter and declare our mindes at large in every Article and Point which now are in controverſie: Which if ye deny, giving ear to Chriſts enemies (who condemne his doctrine for hereſie) ye ſhall drink the Cup of Gods wrath with them. But now to the former Letter.

Matth. 15.

Anſwer to an Objection. Gen. 19. Exod. 14. *Ioſephus.*

The Petition of ſuch as be perſecuted.

Letter.

I doubt not but the rumors which have come to your Majeſties ears, of me, have been ſuch, that if all reports were true, I were unworthy to live upon the earth: And wonder it is, That the voices of the multitude ſhould not ſo have enflamed your Majeſties heart with juſt hatred of ſuch a one as I am accuſed to be, that all acceſſe to pity ſhould have been ſhut up. I am traduced as an heretick, accuſed as a falſe teacher and ſeducer of the people, beſides other opprobries, which (affirmed by men of worldly honour and eſtimation) may eaſily kindle the wrath of Magiſtrates, where innocence is not known. But bleſſed be God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who by the dew of his heavenly grace, hath ſo quenched the fire of diſpleaſure, as yet, in your Majeſties heart (which of late dayes I have underſtood) that Sathan is fruſtrate of hit enterpriſe and purpoſe; which is to my heart no ſmall comfort; Not ſo much (God is my witneſſe) for any benefit that I can receive in this miſerable life, by protection of any earthly creature (for the cup which it behoveth me to drink, is appointed by the wiſedom of him whoſe counſels are not changeable) as that I am for that benefit which I am aſſured your Majeſtie ſhall receive, if that ye continue in like moderation and clemency towards others that moſt unjuſtly are and ſhall be accuſed, as that your Majeſtie hath begun towards me, and my moſt deſperate Cauſe: that is, If that by godly wiſedome ye ſhall ſtudie to bridle the fury and rage of them, who, for the maintenance of their worldly pomp, regard nothing the cruell murthering of ſimple innocents. Then ſhall he who doth pronounce mercy to appertain to the merciſull, and promiſeth that a cup of cold water given for his Names ſake ſhall not lack reward, firſt cauſe your happy Government to be praiſed in this preſent age, and in poſterities to come; and laſt recompence your godly pains and ſtudy with that joy and glory, which eye hath not ſeen, nor yet can enter into the heart of mortall creature. Ad-

Matth. 5. Matth. 10.

1 Cor. 2.

Anno

Addition.

IF Chriſts words were eſteemed true, That of every idle word an accompt ſhall be given; and that nothing is ſo ſecretly done, which ſhall not come to knowledge and light; I ſuppoſe that the tongues of men ſhould be better bridled, then impudently to ſpeak their pleaſure in matters unknown. For albeit that the true fear of God ſhould not move them to ſpeak truth; yet would I think (if any ſpark of humanity remained) that worldly ſhame ſhould impede them to lye. When reaſoning was, before your Majeſty, what man it was that preached in *Aire*, and divers men were of divers opinions; ſome affirming, that it was an Engliſhman, and ſome ſuppoſing the contrary; a Prelate, not of the leaſt pride, ſaid, Nay, no Engliſhman, but it is *Knox* that Knave. It was my Lords pleaſure ſo to Baptize a poor man. The reaſon whereof, if it ſhould be required, his Rochet and Miter muſt ſtand for Authority. What further liberty he uſed in defining things like uncertain to him, to wit, of my learning and doctrine, at this preſent I omit, Lamenting more that ſuch peſtilent tongues have liberty to ſpeak in the preſence of Princes, then that I am ſorry for any hurt that their venome can do to me in body or fame: For what hath my life and converſation been, ſince it hath pleaſed God to call me from the puddle of Papiſtry, let my very enemies ſpeak; And what learning I have, they may prove when they pleaſe. The report of your Majeſties moderation, as well at that time, as after, when ſuite was made for my taking, moved me to write this my other Letter; in which, albeit, I have not played the Orator, trimming and decking the matter for the pleaſure of itching, and delicate ears; yet doth my conſcience bear me record, That with ſimplicity I have advertiſed you of a mortall danger; As this portion ſubſequent ſhall prove. Matth 12.

Letter.

SUperfluous and fooliſh it ſhall appear to many, That I, a man of low eſtate and condition, dare enterpriſe to admoniſh a Princeſſe ſo honourable, indued with wiſedom, and graces ſingular. But when I conſider the honour which God commandeth to be given to Magiſtrates, which no doubt (if it be true honour) containeth in it ſelf, in lawfull things, obedience, and in all things, love and reverence. When further I conſider the troubleſome ſtate of Chriſts true Religion, this day oppreſſed by blindneſſe of men; and laſtly, The great multitude of flatterers, and the rare number of them that boldly and plainly, dare ſpeak the naked verity in preſence of their Princeſſe, and principally in the cauſe of Chriſt Jeſus: Theſe things I ſay, conſidered, whatſoever any man ſhall judge of my enterpriſe, I am compelled to ſay, That Exod. 20. Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2.

Unleſſe in your Regiment, and in uſing of Power, your Majeſty be found different from the multitude of Princes, and head Rulers, That this pre-eminence wherein ye are placed, ſhall be your dejection to torment, and pain everlaſting. This propoſition is ſore, but alas it is ſo true, That if I ſhould conceal and hide it from your Majeſty, I committed no leſſe treaſon againſt your Majeſtie, then if I did ſee The firſt proportion.

Anno *you by imprudency take a Cup which I knew to be poyſoned, or invenomed, and yet would not admoniſh you to abſtain from drinking of the ſame.*

The ſecond propoſition. John 4. Apo. 14. & 17. *The Religion which this day men defend by fire and ſword, is a Cup invenomed, of which whoſoever drinketh, (except that by true repentance, he after drink of the water of life) drinketh therewith damnation and death.*

How, and by whom it hath been invenomed, if it were no more tidious to your Majeſtie to read or hear, then it is painfull to me to write or rehearſe, I would not ſpare the labour. But for this preſent, I have thought it ſome diſcharge of one part of my duty, if I, of very love, admoniſh your Majeſty of the danger; which I do, as God one day ſhall declare, preferring your Majeſties ſalvation, and the ſalvation of the People (now committed to your charge) before any corporall benefit that can redound to my ſelf.

Addition.

AS Satan by craft hath corrupted the moſt holy Ordinances of Gods precepts, I mean of the firſt Table, in the place of the ſpirituall honouring of God, introducing mens dreams, inventions, and fantaſies. So hath he, abuſing the weakneſſe of man, corrupted the precepts of the ſecond Table, Touching the honour which is due to Parents, under whom are comprehended Princes and Teachers. For now the devill hath ſo blinded the ſenſes of many, that they cannot, or at leaſt, will not learn what appertaineth to God, and what to *Caſar*. But becauſe the ſpirit of God hath ſaid, *Honour the King*; therefore, whatſoever they command, be it right or wrong, muſt be obeyed. But heavy ſhall the judgement be, which ſhall apprehend ſuch blaſphemers of Gods Majeſty, who dare be ſo bold as to affirm, That God hath commanded any creature to be obeyed againſt himſelf. Againſt God it is, That for the commandment of any Prince, be he never ſo potent, men ſhall commit Idolatry, embrace a Religion which God hath not approved by his Word, or confirm, by their ſilence, wicked and blaſphemous Laws, made againſt the honour of his Majeſtie. Men I ſay, that ſo do, give no true obedience, but as they are Apoſtates from God, ſo are they Traytors to their Princes, whom by flattery they confirm in rebelling againſt God; onely, they which to the death reſiſt ſuch wicked laws and decrees, are acceptable to God, and faithfull to their Princes; As were the three children in the preſence of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and *Daniel* in the dayes of *Darius* (the *Perſian* Emperour) whoſe conſtant and free confeſſion, as it glorified God, ſo did it notifie as well to thoſe tyrants, as to all ages following, the great blaſphemy which in their rage and fury they committed againſt God, from the which (by all appearance) neither of both ſo ſuddenly ſhould have been called, if the three children had bowed among the reſt, and *Daniel* had not declared the confeſſion of his faith; Which was, with Windows open to pray towards *Jeruſalem*, manifeſtly thereby declaring, That he did not conſent to the blaſphemous law, and decree, which was eſtabliſhed by the King and his Counſell. Experience hath taught us what ſurmiſes and blaſphemies the adverſaries of Chriſt Jeſus, of his eternall verity, do invent and deviſe againſt ſuch as begin to detect their impiety. They are accuſed to be Authors of ſedition, raiſers of tumults, violators of common orders, &c.

Note.

Take heed of unlawfull obedience.

Dan 3. Dan. 6.

I an-

I anſwer with the Prophet *Eſay*, That all is not reputed before God ſedition and conjuration, which the fooliſh multitude ſo eſteemeth; neither yet is every tumult and breach of publike order, contrary to Gods commandment; for Chriſt Jeſus himſelf coming to take the ſpoil from the ſtrong armed, who before did keepe his houſe in quietneſſe, is not come to ſend Peace, but a Sword, and to make a man diſaſſent from his Father, &c. His Prophets before him, and Apoſtles after him, feared not to break publike Orders, eſtabliſhed againſt God, and in ſo doing, to move (as it were) the one half of peoples, nations, and cities againſt the other; and yet I truſt that none, except the hired ſervant of Sathan, will accuſe Chriſt of ſedition, nor the Apoſtles of the troubling of Common wealths. True it is, that the moſt wholeſome Medicine moſt troubleth (for a time) the body repleniſhed with wicked and corrupted humours, but the cauſe hereof is known to be, not in the Medicine, but in the Bodie ſubject to Maladie; even ſo the true Word of God, when it entreth to fight where Sathan hath born dominion, (as he ſtill doth in the whole Papiſtrie) cannot but appear to be occaſion of great trouble. But Madame, more profitable it is, that the peſtilent humours be expelled with pain, then that they be nouriſhed, to the diſtruction of the body. The Papiſticall Religion is a mortall peſtilence, which ſhall aſſuredly bring to death eternall the bodies and ſouls, from the which it is not purged in this life; and therefore take heed betimes, God calleth upon you, beware that ye ſhut not up your ears: Judge not the matter after the vileneſſe of my body, whom God hath appointed Ambaſſadour and Meſſenger unto you, but with reverence and fear conſider him whoſe Meſſage I bear. I come to you in the name of the Eternall God, and of Chriſt Jeſus his Son, to whom the Father hath committed all power, whom he hath eſtabliſhed Soveraign Judge over all fleſh, before whoſe Throne you muſt make accompt with what reverence you hear ſuch as he ſendeth. It ſhall not excuſe you to ſay or think, That you doubt whether I be ſent of God or no; I crie unto you, That the Religion which the Princes and blinded Papiſts maintain with fire and ſword, is not the Religion of Chriſt; That your proud Prelates are none of Chriſts Biſhops; I admoniſh you, That Chriſts Flock is oppreſſed by them, and therefore I require, and that yet again in the name of the Lord Jeſus, That with indifferency I may be heard to preach, to reaſon, and to diſpute in that Cauſe; which if you deny, you declare your ſelf to bear no reverence to Chriſt, nor love to his true Religion.

Anno

Anſw. Matth. 10.

Act. 14.

Note.

The Papiſticall Religion a mortall Peſtilence.

The Admonition.

Letter.

But you think (peradventure) That the care of Religion is not committed to Magiſtrates, but to the Biſhops and ſtate Eccleſiaſticall, as they term it; but deceive not your ſelf, for the negligence of Biſhops ſhall no leſſe be required of the hands of the Magiſtrates, then ſhall the oppeſſion of falſe Judges; for they injuſtly promote, foſter and maintain the one and the other: The falſe and corrupt Judge to ſpoil the Goods, and to oppreſſe the bodies of the ſimple, but the proud Prelates do Kings maintain to murther the ſouls, for the which the blood of Chriſt Jeſus was

Anſwer to an Objection.

Anno

ſhed; and that they do either by withholding from them the true Word of life, or elſe by cauſing a peſtilent Doctrine to be taught unto them, ſuch as now is taught in the Papiſticall Churches. I know that you wonder, how that the Religion which is univerſally received, can be ſo damnable, and corrupted: But if you conſider, That ever from the beginning, the multitude hath declined from God (yea, even in the people, to whom he ſpake by his Law and Prophets) if ye ſhall conſider the complaint of the Holy Ghoſt, complaining, that Nations, People, Princes and Kings of the earth have raged, made Conſpiracies, and holden Councels againſt the Lord, and againſt his Annointed Chriſt Jeſus; further, if ye ſhall conſider the queſtion which Jeſus himſelf doth move in theſe words, When the Sonne of Man ſhall come, ſhall he finde faith on the earth? *And laſtly, if your Majeſtie ſhall conſider the manifeſt contempt of God, and of all his holy Precepts, which this day reigne without puniſhment, upon the face of the whole earth; for as* Hoſea *complaineth, There is no verity, There is no mercy, There is no truth this day among men, but lies, periury, and oppreſſion overflow all, and blood toucheth blood; that is, Every iniquitie is joyned to another: If deeply (I ſay) your Majeſtie will contemplate the univerſall corruption that this day reigneth in all ſtates, then ſhall your Majeſtie ceaſe to wonder, That many are called, and few choſen; and you ſhall begin to tremble and fear to follow the multitude to perdition: The univerſall defection, whereof Saint* Paul *doth propheſie, is eaſie to be eſpied, as well in religion as in manners. The corruption of life is evident, and Religion is not judged, nor meaſured by the plain Word of God, but by cuſtome, conſuetude, will, conſent, and determinations of men. But ſhall he who hath pronounced all cogitations of mans heart to be vain at all times, accept the counſels and conſents of men, for a Religion pleaſing and acceptable before him? Let not your Majeſtie be deceived, God cannot lie, God cannot deny himſelf, he hath witneſſed from the beginning, That no religion pleaſeth him, except that which he by his own Word hath commanded and eſtabliſhed: The verity it ſelfe pronounceth this ſentence; In vain do they worſhip me, teaching doctrines the precepts of men. And alſo, All plantation, which my Heavenly father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out. Before the comming of his welbeloved Sonne in the fleſh, ſeverely he puniſhed all ſuch, as durſt enterpriſe to alter or change his Ceremonies and Statutes, as in* Saul, Uzziah, Nadab, Abihu, *is to be read: And will he now, after that he hath opened his counſell to the world by his onely Son, whom he commandeth to be heard, and after that by his Holy Spirit, ſpeaking in his Apoſtles, he hath eſtabliſhed the Religion, in which he would have his true worſhippers to abide unto the end; will he, now (I ſay) admit mens inventions in the matter of Religion which he reputed for damnable Idolatry? If men and Angels would affirm, That he will or may do it, his own verity ſhall convince them of a lie; for this ſentence he pronounceth,* Not that which ſeemeth good in thy eyes, ſhalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but that which the Lord thy God hath commandeth thee, that do thou; adde nothing unto it, deminiſh nothing from it. *Which, ſealing up his New Teſtament, he repeateth in theſe words,* That which ye have, hold till I come, &c. *And therefore yet againe, it repenteth me not to ſay, That in this point, which is chief and principall, your Majeſty muſt diſaſſent from the multitude of Rulers, or elſe you can poſſeſſe no portion with Chriſt Jeſus in his Kingdom and glory.*

Gen. 6.
Pſal 14.
Pſal 2.
Act. 4.
Luk 18.
Hoſea 4
Matth 20
Matth. 7.
2 Theſſ 2.
Note.
Deu 4 and 12
Matth. 15.
1 Reg. 13 & 15
2 Par. 26.
Levit. 10.
Matt. 17
Act 1 2, & 3.
1 Cor. 11.
Col. 2.
Deut 4. & 12.
Apoc. 2.

Addition

Anno

Addition.

KNowing by what craft Sathan laboureth continually to keep the world in blindneſſe, I added theſe two former points, to wit, That ye ſhould not think your ſelf free from the Reformation of Religion, becauſe ye have Biſhops within your Realm, neither yet that ye ſhould judge that Religion moſt perfect, which the multitude by wrong cuſtome have embraced. In theſe two points doth Sathan buſily labour; Firſt, That no civill Magiſtrate preſume to take cogniſance in the cauſe of Religion, for that muſt be deferred to the determinations of the Church. Secondly, That impoſſible it is, that that Religion ſhould be falſe, which ſo long time (ſo many Councels, and ſo great a multitude of men, ſo divers Nations have allowed, authoriſed and confirmed. What is the duty of Magiſtrates, and what power the people hath in ſuch caſes granted by God, my purpoſe is to write in a ſeverall Letter to the Nobility and States of the Realm; and therefore to avoid tedioufneſſe and repetition of one thing, I now ſuperſede. And as touching the ſecond, if ye rightly conſider the teſtimonies of Scriptures, which I have before alleadged, I truſt ye ſhall finde that Objection ſufficiently anſwered; for, if the opinion of the multitude ought alwayes to be preferred, then did God injury to the originall World, for they were all of one minde, to wit, conjured againſt God (except *Noah* and his familie.) And if antiquity of time ſhall be conſidered in ſuch caſes, then ſhall not onely the Idolatrie of the *Gentiles*, but alſo the falſe Religion of *Mahomet* be preferred to the Papiſtrie; for both the one and the other is more ancient then is the Papiſticall religion; yea, *Mahomet* had eſtabliſhed his *Alcoram*, before any Pope in *Rome* was crowned with a Triple Crown. But as touching antiquitie, I am content with *Tertullian* to ſay, Let that be the moſt pure and perfect Religion, which ſhall be proved moſt ancient; for this is a chief point, wherein I will joyn with all the Papiſts on the earth, That their Religion (ſuch as it is this day) is not of ſuch antiquitie, as is that which we contend to be the true and onely Religion, acceptable before God; neither yet that their Church is the Catholike Church, but that it is of late dayes in reſpect of Chriſts Inſtitution, crept in and deviſed by man, and therefore am bold to affirme it odious and abominable; for this is our chief Propoſition, That in the Religion of God, his own Word ought onely to be conſidered; That no Authority of man or Angell ought in that caſe to be reſpected. And as for their Councels, when the matter ſhall come to triall, it ſhall be eaſily ſeen for whom the moſt godly and moſt ancient Councels ſhall moſt plainly ſpeak. I will prove by a Councell, That of more authority is the ſentence of one man (founded upon the ſimple Truth of God) then is the determination of the whole Councell without the aſſurance of the Word; But that all their determinations, which we oppugne, are not onely maintained without an aſſurance of Scriptures, but alſo are eſtabliſhed againſt the truth of the ſame; yea, and for the moſt part againſt the Decrees of the former Councels, I offer my ſelf evidently to prove. But now to the reſt of the former Letter.

The craft of Sathan.

The ground of Papiſticall Religion.

Note.

Tertul. in Apol.

The chief Propoſition.

Nicen. 1.

Anno

Letter.

AN Oratour and Gods Meſſenger alſo might juſtly require of you now (by Gods hand promoted to high dignity) A motherly pitie upon your ſubjects, A juſtice inflexible to be uſed againſt murtherers and common oppreſſours, A heart void of avarice and partiality, A minde ſtudious and carefull for maintenance of that Realm and Common-wealth (above whom God hath placed you) and by it hath made you honourable, with the reſt of vertues, which not onely Gods Scriptures, but alſo Writers (illuminated onely with the light of Nature) require in Gods Rulers. But vain it is to crave reformation of manners, where Religion is corrupted; for like as a man cannot do the office of a man, till firſt he have a beeing and life, ſo to work works pleaſant in the ſight of God the Father, can no man do without the Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, which doth not abide in the hearts of Idolaters: And therefore the moſt godly Princes Juſtin, Hezekiah, *and* Jehoſaphat, *ſeeking Gods favour to reſt upon them and upon their people, before all things, began to reform the Religion; for it is as the ſtomack within the body, which, if it be corrupted, of neceſſitie it infecteth the whole body: And therefore (often I repeate that, which to be done is moſt neceſſary) if your Majeſtie pretend to reign with Chriſt Jeſus, Then it behoveth you to take care of his true Religion, which this day within your Realm is ſo deformed, that no part of Chriſts Ordinances remain in their firſt ſtrength, and originall puritie; which (I praiſe God) to me is leſſe difficile to prove then dangerous to ſpeak: And yet neither the one nor the other I fear, partly becauſe the love of eternall life quencheth the terrour of temporall death, and partly becauſe I would with Saint* Paul, *wiſh my ſelf accurſed from Chriſt (as touching earthly pleaſure) for the ſalvation of my brethren, and illumination of your Majeſtie; which thing, Work, and very deed, and not bare writing, ſhall witneſſe and declare, if I may purchaſe the liberty of tongue, but fourty dayes onely.*

The dutie of Magiſtrates.

The Spirit of God abideth not with Idolaters.
3. Reg. 15.
2 Par. 17.
4 Reg 22.
2 Par. 34.
4 Reg 18.
2 Par 29, 30, &c. 31.

The ſecond propoſition.

Addition.

THe wiſe and facund *Democritus* had ſometimes a familiar ſentence, that, Honeſt it was to commend ſuch works as were worthy of praiſe, but to praiſe things that were wicked, could not proceed but from a deceivable minde; and *Themiſtius* a Philoſopher of great fame, ſeeing the Hall of *Jovinian* the *Romane Emperour* repleniſhed with flatterers, ſaid, Of their manners it may be eſpied, that more they worſhip the Scepter and the purple, then God; ſignifying that they little regarded whether the Emperour were godly or ungodly, ſo that they might retain themſelves in favour with him. Albeit that thoſe were Ethnicks, and neither had the knowledge of God, as we pretend, neither had given ſo plain a confeſſion to declare themſelves enemies to all iniquity (as we have done by Baptiſme, and by our whole profeſſion of Chriſtianity) yet do their words condemne no ſmall number of us, and chiefly ſuch as be converſant with Princes; for who in theſe miſerable dayes judgeth himſelf to have offended, albeit he praiſe, allow and maintain, whatſoever the Princes and upper powers deviſe: yea, although it bee to oppreſſe

Stob. ſer. 12.

Niceph. Caliſt. Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Lib 10. cap. 42.
Note.

preſſe, and to ſpoil the poor, to pull from them their very skins, and as the Prophet ſayeth, To break their bones, and to cut them in pieces, as fleſh for the Caldron or Pot. Yet I ſay, That the Princes ſhall not lack Judges to cry, It is right, It is for the Common-wealth, for defence of the Realm, and eaſe of the Subjects; ſo that the ſtate of times is even now ſuch, as when the Prophet complained, ſaying: The Princes ask, and the Judge is ready to give, not his own, but the life and blood of the poor. How ſoon a great man hath ſpoken the corruption of his minde, he hath his flatterers ready to applaud and confirm whatſoever he ſpeaketh. And let the Princes be of what Religion they pleaſe, that is all one to the moſt part of men; ſo that with abnegation of God, of his honour, and Religion, they may retain the friendſhip of the Court. But alas, how miſerable be Princes that ſo are abuſed, and how contageous a peſtilence be ſuch flatterers to Common-Wealths, Empires, and Realms, God hath declared even from the beginning, to paint out the miſchief, which from them proceedeth to ſuch as give ear unto them. The ancient Writers compare them to Harlots, to Ravens, and to moſt ravenous Beaſts, and not without cauſe. For as Harlots can never abide, that their lovers ſhould return to repentance and ſoberneſſe of minde, ſo cannot flatterers ſuſtain, that ſuch as they deceive, ſhall come to right judgement. And as Ravens pike out the eyes of dead carions, and as ravenous Beaſts devour the ſame, ſo do flatterers (being more cruell) pike at the eyes of living men, and blinding the eyes of their underſtanding, and judgement, do expoſe them to be devoured in body and ſoul, to Satan. This we have by prophane Writers onely, but the holy Spirit teacheth us this infallible Trueth, That where iniquitie reigneth in a Common-wealth, and none is found boldly and openly to reprehend the ſame, that there ſhall ſudden vengeance and deſtruction follow. For thus it is written and pronounced by the Prophet *Ezekiel. Shalt thou not judge the Citie of blood, which hath made Idols? Whoſe Rulers ſhed blood to the uttermoſt of their power? They have deſpiſed my holy things, they have deviſed iniquitie, and have performed the ſame. The conjuration of Prophets, hath gathered up the riches, and whatſoever is precious within the ſame. The Prieſts violently have torn and rent my Law. The people of the Land hath wrought deceitfully. They have oppreſſed the poor, and have done violence to the ſtranger without judgement, and I have ſought of them a man to repair the hedge, and to ſtand in the gap before me, but I have found none. Therefore have I poured forth my wrath upon them, and in the fire of my hote diſpleaſure, I have conſumed them.* Advert Madam, for theſe are not the words of mortall man, but of the eternall God, and were not ſpoken againſt *Jeruſalem* onely, but againſt every Realm and Nation, that ſo offendeth. The ſins that here be named, are Idolatry in all, avarice and crueltie in the Princes and Rulers, conjuration of the Prophets to defend the wicked, deceit, fraud, and violence in the common people; and finally, an univerſall ſilence of all men, none being found to reprehend theſe enormities. Would to God that I might with ſafetie of conſcience excuſe you, your Counſell, and the Idolaters of that Realm from any of theſe crimes aforenamed. The Idolatry which is committed, is more evident then that it can be denyed, the avarice and crueltie as well of your ſelf, as of ſuch

Anno

Mich. 3. *Note.*

Flatterers contagious ſilence.

Ezek. 22.

Note.

Anno

ſuch as be in authority, may be known by the facts; For fame carrieth the voices of the poor (oppreſſed by intolerable taxes) not onely to us here, in a ſtrange Country; but I am aſſured, to the ears of the God of hoſtes. The conſpiracy and conjuration of your falſe Prophets is known to the world, and yet is none found ſo faithfull to God, nor mercifull to your Majeſtie, that freely will and dare admoniſh you to repent before that God riſe himſelf in judgement. When I name repentance, I mean no outward ſhew of holineſſe, which commonly is found in Hypocrites, but I mean a true converſion to the Lord God from your whole heart, with a damning of all ſuperſtition and idolatry. In which ye have been nouriſhed, which with your preſence ye have decored, and to your power maintained and defended. Unleſſe I ſay, that this poyſon be purged from your heart, (be your outward life never ſo gliſtering before the world) yet in the preſence of God, it is but abominable. Yea further, I ſay, that where this venome of the Serpent (idolatry I mean) lurketh in the heart, it is impoſſible, but that at one time or other, it ſhall produce peſtilent fruits; albeit peradventure not openly before men, yet before God no leſſe odious, then the facts of Murtherers, Publicanes, and Harlots; and therefore in my former Letter, I ſaid, that ſuperfluous it was to require Reformation of manners, where the Religion is corrupted. Which yet again I repeat to the end, that your Majeſtie more deeply may weigh the matter. But now to the reſt of the ſame my former Letter.

Idolatry is mother to all vice.

Letter.

I Am not ignorant how dangerous a thing it appeareth to the naturall man, to innovate any thing in matters of Religion; and partly I conſider, That your power Madam is not ſo free, as a publike Reformation perchance would require. But if your Majeſtie ſhall conſider the danger and damnation perpetuall, which inevitable hangeth upon all maintainers of a falſe Religion, then ſhall the greateſt danger eaſily devour and ſwallow up the ſmaller. If you ſhall conſider, That either ye muſt ſerve God to life everlaſting, or elſe ſerve the World to death and damnation, then albeit, that man and angel ſhould diſſwade you, ye will chooſe life and refuſe death. And if further ye ſhall conſider, that the very life conſiſteth in the knowledge of the onely true God, and of his Son Chriſt Jeſus, and that true knowledge hath annexed with it, Gods true worſhip and honour, which requireth a teſtimony of his own Will, expreſſed by his Word, That ſuch honour doth pleaſe him, if you do earneſtly meditate theſe things aforeſaid; then albeit ye cannot do ſuddenly what ye would, yet ſhall ye not ceaſe to do what ye may. Your Majeſtie cannot haſtily abolish Superſtition, and remove from offices unprofitable Paſtours, of whom ſpeaketh Ezekiel *the Prophet, which to a publike Reformation, is requiſite and neceſſary. But if the Zeal of Gods glory be fervent in your Majeſties heart, ye will not by wicked Laws maintain Idolatry, neither will ye ſuffer the fury of Biſhops to murther and devour the poor Members of Chriſts body, as in times paſt they have been accuſtomed; which thing, if either by blind ignorance ye do,*

Matth 6. Rom. 8. 2 Reg. 18.

John 17.

Ezek. 34.

or

or yet for pleaſure of others within this Realm, permit to be done, then except you ſpeedily repent, ye and your poſteritie ſhall ſuddenly feel the depreſſing hand of him, who hath exalted you. Ye ſhall be compelled, will ye or not, to know that he is eternall, againſt whom ye addreſſe the Battell, and that it is he, that moderateth the times, and diſpoſeth Kingdoms, ejecting from authoritie ſuch as be inobedient, and placing others according to his good pleaſure: That it is he that glorifieth them, that do glorifie him, and powreth forth contempt upon Princes that rebell againſt his graces offered.

Anno

Note this for our time. Daniel 2.

1 Reg. 2. Job 12. Pſal. 107. Daniel 2.

Addition.

IN writing of this parcell, as I remembred the impediments which might call you back from God, and from his true obedience; ſo did I conſider what occaſion you had to tremble and to fear before his Majeſtie, and to undergo the loſſe of all the worldly glory, for the promoting of the glory of God. I do conſider, that your power is but borrowed, extraordinary, and unſtable, for you have it but by permiſſion of others. And ſeldom it is, that women do long raign with felicitie and joy. *Note.* Your moſt eſpeciall friends moreover, blinded by the vanitie of this World; yea, being drunken with the Cup of that *Roman* Harlot, are mortall enemies to Chriſt Jeſus, and to his true Religion. Theſe things may eaſily abaſh the minde of a Woman not confirmed by grace; But yet, if you will a little conſider with me the cauſes why, that ye ought to hazard all for the glory of God in this behalf, the former terrours ſhall ſuddenly vaniſh. I do not eſteem that thing greateſt, which peradventure ſome others do: to wit, That if ye ſhall enterpriſe to innovate any thing in matters of Religion, that then ye ſhall loſe your Authoritie, and alſo the favours of your carnall friends.

I look further, to wit, To the judgements of God, who hath begun already to declare himſelf angry with you, with your Seed, and Poſteritie; yea, with the whole Realm, above which it ſhould have ruled. Impute not to fortune, that firſt your two ſons were ſuddenly taken from you, within the ſpace of ſix houres, and after your Husband, raft as it were, by violence, from life and honour; the memoriall of his name, ſucceſſion, and royall dignitie, periſhing with himſelf. *Note.* For albeit, the uſurped abuſe, or rather tyranny of ſome REALMS, have permitted Women to ſucceed to the honour of their Fathers; yet muſt their glory be transferred to the houſe of a ſtranger. And ſo I ſay, That with himſelf was buried, his name, ſucceſſion, and royall dignitie, as he himſelf did apprehend in dying; And in this, If ye eſpy not the anger and hot diſpleaſure of GOD (threatning you and the reſt of your Poſteritie with the ſame plague) ye are more obſtinate, then I would wiſh you to be. I would ye ſhould ponder and conſider, *Note.* deeply with your ſelf, That God uſeth not to puniſh Realms and Nations with ſuch rare plagues without great cauſe; neither uſeth he to

reſtore

Anno restore to honours and glory, the houſe which he beginneth once to deject, till repentance of the former crimes be found; you may perchance, doubt what crimes ſhould have been in your Husband, you, or the Realm, for the which God ſhould ſo grievouſly have puniſhed you.

I anſwer, The maintenance, and defence of moſt horrible Idolatry, with the ſhedding of the blood of the Saints of God, who laboured to notifie and rebuke the ſame. This I ſay, (other iniquities omitted) is ſuch a crime before the eyes of his Majeſtie, That for the ſame, he hath poured forth his extreme vengenance upon Kings, and upon their Poſteritie, depriving them from honours and dignitie for ever; As by the Hiſtories of the Books of the Kings is moſt evident. To *Jeroboam* it is ſaid, *Becauſe I have exalted thee from the midſt of the people, and have made thee Prince over my people* Iſrael, *I have rent the Kingdom from the houſe of* David, *for Idolatry alſo, and have given it unto thee, but thou haſt not been as* David *my ſervant, &c. But thou haſt done wickedly above all that have gone before thee; For thou haſt made to thee, other gods, and molten images, to provoke me, and haſt caſt me behinde thy back; Therefore ſhall I bring affliction upon the houſe of* Jeroboam, *and I ſhall deſtroy to* Jeroboam, *all that piſſeth againſt the Wall (ſignifying thereby the Male children) and ſhall caſt forth the Poſteritie of* Jeroboam, *as dung is caſt forth, till it be conſumed.*

1 Reg. 14

This ſentence was not onely executed againſt this Idolater, but alſo againſt the reſt of Idolaters in that Realm, as they ſucceeded one after another, for to *Baaſa*, whom God uſed as an Inſtrument to root out the ſeed of *Jeroboam*, it is ſaid: *Becauſe thou haſt walked in the way of* Jeroboam, *and haſt cauſed my people to ſin, that thou ſhouldeſt provoke me in their ſins; therefore ſhall I cut down the poſteritie of* Baaſa, *and the poſterity of his houſe, and ſhall make thy houſe as the houſe of* Jeroboam. *He that ſhall die to* Baaſa *in the City, him ſhall dogs eat; and he that ſhall die in the field, him ſhall the fowls devour:* Of the ſame Cup, and for the ſame cauſe, drank *Ela* and *Achab*, yea, and the Poſterity of *Jehu*, following the footſteps of their forefathers.

1 Reg. 16.
2 Reg. 10.
2 Reg. 17.

By theſe examples, you may evidently eſpy, That Idolatry is the cauſe, why God deſtroyeth the poſteritie of Princes; not onely of thoſe that firſt invent abominations, but alſo of ſuch as follow and defend the ſame. Conſider Madame, That God hath begun very ſharply with you, taking from you, as it were together, two children and a husband; He hath begun I ſay, to declare himſelf angry, beware that you provoke not the eyes of his Majeſty; It will not be the haughty looks of the proud, the ſtrength of your friends, nor multitude of men that can juſtifie your cauſe in his preſence; If you preſume to rebell againſt him (and againſt him you rebell) if you deny my moſt humble requeſt which I make in his Name, and it is this: With the hazard of mine own life, I offer to prove, That Religion which now you maintain, to be falſe, deceiveable, and abomination before God; And that I ſhall do by moſt evident teſtimonies of his bleſſed, holy, and infallible Word: If this, I ſay, you deny, (rebelling againſt God) The

The offer of *John Knox*.

favour

favour of your friends, ſhall little avail you, when he ſhall declare himſelf enemy to you. Which aſſure your ſelf, he will ſhortly do, if you begin to diſplay the banner of your malice againſt him. Let not the proſperity of others, be they Princes, Queens, Kings, or Emperours, bolden you to contemn God, and his loving Admonition. They ſhall drink the Cup of his wrath, every one in their rank, as he hath appointed them. No Realme in theſe quarters (except it, that next lieth to you) hath he ſo manifeſtly ſtricken with his terrible rod, as he hath done you, and your Realme; And therefore, it becometh you firſt to ſtoup, except that you will have the threatnings pronounced by *Iſaiah* the Prophet, ratified unto you. To wit, That your ſudden deſtruction be as the rotten Wall, and your breaking, as the breaking of a Potſherd, which is broken without pitty; ſo that no portion of it can be found able either to carry fire or water. Whereby the Prophet doth ſignifie, That the proud contemners of God, and of his Admonitions, ſhall ſo periſh from all honours; That they ſhall have nothing worthy of memoriall behinde them in the Earth. Yea, If they do leave any thing, as it ſhall be unprofitable, ſo ſhall it be in execration and hatred to the elect of God; and therefore, Thus proceedeth my former Letter.

Anno

Advert. Proſperity for a time proveth not Religion good.

No Realme, England except, ſo grievouſly plagued at Scotland.

Iſai. 30.

Iſai. 14.

Iſai 6.

Letter.

HOw dangerous ſoever, it ſhall appear to the fleſh, to obey God and to make warre againſt the divell, the prince of darkneſſe, pride, and ſuperſtition; yet if your Majeſty look to have your ſelf, and ſeed to continue in honour, worldly, and everlaſting, ſubject your ſelf betimes, under the hand of him, that is omnipotent. Embrace his Will, deſpiſe not his Teſtament, refuſe not his Graces offered. When he calleth upon you, withdraw not your ear; Be not led away with the vain opinion, that your Church cannot erre. Be ye moſt aſſuredly perſwaded, That ſo farre as in life, ye ſee them degenerate from Chriſts true Apoſtles, ſo in Religion are they further corrupted. Lay the Book of God before your eyes, and let it be judge to that, which I ſay. Which if ye, with fear, and reverence, obey, as did Joſias *the admonitions of the Prophateſſe, then ſhall he (by whom Kings do reign) crown your Battell with double benediction, and reward you with wiſedome, riches, glory, honour, and long life in this Regiment temporall, and with life everlaſting, when the King of kings (whoſe Members now do cry for your help) the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear in judgement, accompanied with his Angels, before whom yee ſhall make accompt of your preſent Regiment, when the proud and diſobedient ſhall cry:* Mountains fall upon us, and hide us from the face of the Lord. *But then it ſhall be too late, becauſe they contemned his voice, when he lovingly called.*

Exhortation.

Joſh. 1.

2 Par 34.

2 Par. 1.

God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the power of his holy Spirit, move your heart ſo to conſider, and accept the things that be ſaid, That they be not a Teſtimony of your juſt condemnation in that great day of the Lord Jeſus; to whoſe omnipotent Spirit, I unfainedly commit your Majeſties.

Anno

Addition.

WHen *Jeremiah* the Prophet, at the Commandment of God, had written the Sermons, threatnings, and plagues, which he had ſpo-
Jerem. 36. ken againſt *Iſrael* and *Judah*, and had commanded them to be read by *Baruch* his Scribe, becauſe himſelf was excommunicated, and forbidden to enter into the Temple; by the providence of God it came to paſſe, That *Michaiah* the ſon of *Gemariah*, hearing the ſaid Sermons, paſſed to the Kings Houſe, and did communicate the matter with the reſt of the Princes; who alſo, after they had read the ſame Volume of *Jeremiah* his Preachings, did not conceal the truth from *Jehoiakim*, who then did raigne in *Jeruſalem*. But the proud and deſperate Prince commanding the Book to be read in his preſence, before he had heard three or four leaves of the ſame, did cut it, and caſt it into the fire, notwithſtanding that ſome of the Princes (I think not all) made requeſt in the contrary. But the Prophet was charged by God to write again, and to ſay to *Jehoiakim*, *Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou haſt burnt this Book, ſaying, Why haſt thou written in it according to this ſentence? Aſſuredly the King of Babylon ſhall come, and ſhall deſtroy this land, and ſhall make it void of men and beaſts. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord, of* Jehoiakim *the King, There ſhall not be one left alive to ſit in the Seat of* David: *Their carkaſes ſhall be caſt to the heat of the day, and to the froſt of the night* (whereby the Prophet did ſignifie, the moſt vile death, and moſt cruell torment) *and I ſhall viſite the iniquity of himſelf, and of his ſeed and ſervants: And I ſhall bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, and upon all Judah, all the calamities which I have ſpoken againſt them: Albeit they would not hear.* This is not written, Madame, for that time onely, but to aſſure us, That the like puniſhment abideth the like contemners, of what ſtate, condition, or degree that ever they be. I did write unto you before, having teſtimony of a good conſcience, That I did it in the fear of my God, and by the motion of his holy Spirit (for the requeſt of the faithfull brethren, in things lawfull, and appertaining to Gods glory, I cannot but judge to be the voice of the holy Ghoſt.) But how ye did accept the ſame my former writing, I do not otherwiſe then by conjectures underſtand: whether ye did reade it to the end, or not, I am uncertain: One thing I know, That ye did deliver it to one of your Prelats, ſaying, *My Lord, Will ye reade a Paſquill?* As charity perſwadeth me to interpret things (doubtfully ſpoken) in the beſt ſenſe; ſo my duty to God (who hath commanded me to flatter no Prince on the earth) compelleth me to ſay, That if no more ye eſteem the Admonition of God, then the Cardinalls do the ſcoffing of Paſquills, that then he ſhall ſhortly ſend you meſſengers with whom ye ſhall not be able on that manner to jeſt. If my perſon be conſidered, I grant my thteatnings are no more to be feared, then be the merry ſports which fearfull men do father upon *Piſquillus* in *Rome*. But, Madame, if ye ſhall deeply conſider, That GOD uſeth men (yea, and moſt commonly, thoſe that be of loweſt degree, and moſt abject before the world) to be his Meſſengers and Ambaſſadours, not onely to notifie his will to the ſimple people,

but alſo to rebuke the moſt proud Tyrants and potent Princes, then will ye not judge the liquor by the outward appearance and nature of the veſſell. For ye are not ignorant, That the moſt noble Wine is incloſed within the Tun made of Fraile wood, and that the precious oyntment is often kept within the pot made of Clay. If further ye ſhall conſider, that God will do nothing touching the puniſhment of Realms and Nations, which he will not reveale to his ſervants the Prophets, whoſe tongues he will compell to ſpeak ſomtimes contrary to the appetites and deſires of their own hearts, and whoſe words he will perform, be they never ſo unapparent to the judgement of men. If theſe ye do deeply weigh, then will ye fear the thing, which preſently is not ſeen. *Elias* was but a man, as Saint *James* doth witneſſe, like to his Brethren, and yet at his prayer was *Achab* the Idolater, and all Iſrael with him puniſhed three yeares and ſix moneths, God ſhutting up the heaven, that neither rain nor dew fell upon the earth the ſpace afore written. And in the end, God ſo wrought by him, that *Baals* Prieſts were firſt confounded, and after juſtly puniſhed. And albeit that *Jeſabel* ſought his blood, and by oath had determined his death, yet as ſhe was fruſtrate of her intent, ſo could ſhe not keep her own bones from the dogs, which puniſhment, the Prophet (God ſo ruling his tongue) had before appointed to that wicked woman. Albeit Madam, that the Meſſengers of God are not ſent this day with viſible miracles, becauſe they teach none other doctrine then that which is confirmed with miracles from the beginning of the world: yet will not he (who hath promiſed to take charge over his poor and little flock, to the end) ſuffer the contempt of their Embaſſage, eſcape puniſhment and vengeance. For the truth it ſelf hath ſaid: *He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that contemneth you, contemneth me.* I did not ſpeak unto you, Madam, by my former letter, neither yet do I now as *Paſquillus* doth to the Pope, and his carnall Cardinals in the behalf of ſuch as dare not utter their names, but I come in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, affirming, that the Religion, which ye maintain, is damnable Idolatry: the which I offer my ſelf to prove by the moſt evident teſtimony of Gods Scriptures. And in this quarrell I preſent my ſelf againſt all the Papiſts in the Realm, deſiring none other Armour but Gods holy Word, and the liberty of my tongue. God move your heart to underſtand my Petition, to know the truth, and unfeinedly to follow the ſame, *Amen.*

Anno.

Amos 2.

Zach 13

James 5.

1 Reg 17.

1 Reg 18.

1 Reg 19.

2 Reg 9.

1 Reg 19.

Mat 10.

REVEL. JOH. 21.

I am the beginning and the end. I will give to him that is a thirſt, of the well of the water of life freely. He that overcommeth, ſhall inherit all things, and I will be his God, and he ſhall be my ſon. But the fearfull and unbeleeving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and ſorcerers, and idolaters, and all lyers ſhall have their part in the lake, which burneth with fire and brimſtone, which is the ſecond death.

Anno

JOHN KNOX,
THE
SERVANT
OF
JESUS CHRIST,

In preaching of his Holy Evangell, To the benevolent Reader, desireth grace and peace, with the spirit of righteous judgement.

WOnder not, Christian Reader, that all my studie and travell within the Scriptures of God, these twenty yeirs, I have set forth nothing in expounding any portion of Scripture, except this onely rude and indigested Sermon, preached by me in the publike audience of the Church of Edinburgh, *the nineteenth day of August,* Anno 1565. *That I did not in writing communicate my judgement upon the Scriptures, I have ever thought my self to have most just reason; for, considering my self rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowfull, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue and lively voyce, in these most corrupt dayes, then to compose Books for the age to come, seeing that so much is written (and by men of most singular erudition) and yet so little well observed; I decreed to contain my self within the bounds of that Vocation, whereunto I found my self especially called. I dare not deny (lest that in so doing I should be injurious to the Giver) but that God hath revealed unto me, secrets unknown to the world, and also that he hath made my tongue a Trumpet to forewarn Realms & Nations, yea, certain great revelations of mutations and changes, when no such things were feared, nor yet was appearing; a portion whereof cannot the world deny, (be it never so blinde) to be fulfilled; and the rest (alas) I fear shall follow with greater haste, and in more full perfection then my sorrowfull*

ſorrowfull heart deſireth: Notwithſtanding theſe revelations and aſſurances, I did ever abſtain to commit any thing to writing, contented onely to have obeyed the charge of him, who commanded me to crie. If any then will ask to what purpoſe this onely Sermon is ſet forth, and greater matters omitted; I anſwer, to let ſuch as Satan hath not altogether blinded ſo, upon how ſmall occaſions, great offence is now conceived, This Sermon is it, for the which (from my Bed) I was called before the Councell, and after long reaſoning, I was by ſome forbidden to Preach in Edinburgh ſo long as the King and Queen were in Town; This Sermon is it that ſo offendeth ſuch as would pleaſe Court, and will not appear to be enemies to the Truth, yet they dare affirm, That I exceeded the bounds of Gods Meſſenger: I have therefore faithfully committed unto writing whatſoever I could remember might have been offenſive in that Sermon, to the end, That as well the enemies of Gods truth, as the profeſſors of the ſame, may either note unto me wherein I have offended, or at the leaſt ceaſe to condemn me before they have convinced me by Gods manifeſt Word. If any man think it eaſie unto me to mitigate by my pen the inconſiderate ſharpneſſe of my Tongue, and ſo cannot men freely judge of that my Sermon; I anſwer, That I am neither ſo impudent, that I will ſtudie to abuſe the world in this great light, neither yet ſo void of the fear of my God, that I will avow a lie in his own preſence; and no leſſe do I eſteem it to be a lie, To deny or conceale that which in his Name I have once pronounced, then to affirm, That God hath ſpoken, when his Word aſſures me not of the ſame; for in the publike place I conſult not with fleſh and blood what I ſhall propoſe to the people, but as the Spirit of my God, who hath ſent me, and unto whom I muſt anſwer, moveth me, ſo I ſpeak; and when I have once pronounced threatnings in his Name (how unpleaſant ſoever they be to the World) I dare no more deny them, then I dare deny that God hath made me his Meſſenger to forewarn the inobedient of their aſſured deſtruction. At that Sermon were auditors unto me, not onely profeſſors of the truth, and ſuch as favour me, but rank Papiſts, diſſembling Hypocrites, and no ſmall number of covetous Clawbacks of the new Court; now I will appeal to the conſcience of them all, as they will anſwer in the preſence of the Eternall God, that either they bear me record, now writing the truth, or elſe note unto me the ſentences offenſive then by me pronounced, and now omitted in writing; for in Gods preſence I proteſt, That ſo far as memory would ſerve me, I have written more vehemently then in the action I ſpake and pronounced; but of purpoſe I have omitted perſwaſions and exhortations which then were made Quædam hîc deſunt. Anno

Anno

A SERMON

Preached

By John Knox.

Eſay 26. 13,14,15,16,&c.

O Lord our God, other lords beſides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee onely will we make mention of thy Name.

They are dead, they ſhall not live; they are deceaſed, they ſhall not riſe; therefore haſt thou viſited and deſtroyed them, and made all their memory to periſh.

Thou haſt increaſed the Nation, O Lord, thou haſt increaſed the Nation, thou art glorified, thou haſt removed it farre unto the ends of the earth.

Lord, in trouble have they viſited thee, they powred out a prayer when thy chaſtening was upon them. &c.

AS the cunning Marriner (being Maſter) having his Ship toſſed with a vehement tempeſt, and contrary windes, is compelled oft to traverſe, leſt that either by too much reſiſting to the violence of the Waves, his Veſſell might be over whelmed; or by too much libertie granted, to be carried whither the fury of the tempeſt would, his Ship ſhould be driven upon the ſhore, and ſo make ſhipwrack; even ſo doth our Prophet *Iſaiah* in this Text, which now you have heard read; for he foreſeeing the great deſolation that was decreed in the Councell of the Eternall, againſt *Hieruſalem* and *Judah*, to wit, That the whole people that bare the Name of God ſhould be diſperſed; that the holy Citie ſhould be deſtroyed, the Temple wherein was the Ark of the Covenant, and where God had promiſed to give his own preſence, ſhould be burnt with fire, the King taken, his ſons in his own preſence murthered, his own eyes immediatly after to be put out, the Nobilitie, ſome cruelly murdered, ſome ſhamefully led away

away captives; and finally, the whoſe ſeed of *Abraham* razed, as it were, from the face of the earth: The Prophet (I ſay) fearing theſe horrible calamities, doth, as it were, ſometimes ſuffer himſelf, and the people committed to his Charge, to be carryed away with the violence of the tempeſt, without further reſiſtance; then by pouring forth his and their dolorous complaints before the Majeſtie of God; as in the 13, 17, and 18 verſe of this preſent Text we may reade. At other times he valiantly reſiſteth the deſperate tempeſt, and pronounceth the fearfull deſtruction of all ſuch as trouble the Church of God; which he pronounceth, that God will multiply, even in ſuch time as when it appeareth utterly to be exterminate. But becauſe there is no ſmall reſt to the whole Body, till that the Head returne to judgement, he calleth the afflicted to patience, and promiſeth ſuch a Viſitation, as whereby the wickedneſſe of the wicked ſhall be diſcloſed, and finally recompenced in their own boſoms. Anno

The diſpoſition.

Note.

Theſe are the chiefeſt Points of which by the grace of God we intend more largely at this preſent to ſpeak:

Firſt, the Prophet ſaith, *O Lord our God, other lords beſides thee have ruled us.* Verſe 13.

This, no doubt, is the beginning of the dolorous complaint in the which he complaineth of the unjuſt tyranny that the poor afflicted *Iſraelites* ſuſtained, during the time of their Captivity. True it is, That the Prophet was gathered to his fathers in peace, before that this apprehended the people: For a hundred yeers after his deceaſe, was not the people led away captive: Yet he fore-ſeeing the aſſurance of the calamity, did beforehand endite and dictate unto them the complaint that after they ſhould make. But at the firſt ſight it appeareth, That the complaint hath but ſmall weight: For what new thing was it, that other lords then God in his own perſon ruled them, ſeeing that ſuch had been their Regiment from the beginning? For who knoweth not that *Moſes*, *Aaron*, and *Joſhua*, the Judges, *Samuel*, *David*, and other godly Rulers, were men, and not God; And ſo other lords then God, ruled them in their greateſt proſperity.

For the better underſtanding of this complaint, and of the minde of the Prophet, we muſt firſt obſerve from whence all Authority floweth; and ſecondly, To what end Powers are appointed by God: The which two points being diſcuſſed, we ſhall the better underſtand, what lords, and what authority rules beſide God; and who they are in whom God and his mercifull preſence rules.

From whence all Authority floweth.

The firſt is reſolved to us by the words of the Apoſtle, ſaying, *There is no Power but of God.* *David* bringeth in the Eternall God, ſpeaking to Judges and Rulers, ſaying, *I have ſaid, Ye are gods, and Sons of the Moſt High.* And *Solomon*, in the perſon of God, affirmeth the ſame, ſaying, *By me Kings raigne, and Princes diſcern the things that are juſt.* Of which place it is evident, That it is neither Birth, influence of Stars, election of people, force of Arms; nor finally, whatſoever can be comprehended under the power of nature, that maketh the diſtinction betwixt the ſuperiour power and the inferiour, or that doth eſtabliſh the Royall Throne of Kings, but it is the onely and perfect Ordinance of God, who willeth his Terrour, Power, and Majeſtie in a part to ſhine in the Thrones Pſal. 82.

of

Anno of Kings, and in the faces of Judges, and that for the profit and comfort of man; So that whosoever would studie to deface that order of Regiment that God hath established, and by his holy Word allowed, and bring in such a confusion, as no difference should be betwixt the upper Powers and the subjects, doth nothing but evert and turne upside downe the very Throne of God, which he will to be fixed here upon earth; as in the end and cause of this Ordinance more plainly shall appear: which is the second Point we have to observe, for the better understanding of the Prophets words and minde.

2. Point. The end and cause then, why God printeth in the weak and feeble flesh of man this Image of his own Power and Majestie, is not to puff up flesh in opinion of it self; neither yet that the heart of him that is exalted above others, shall be lifted up by presumption and pride, and so despise others, but that he shall consider, that he is appointed Lieutenant to one, whose eyes continually watch upon him, to see and examine how he behaveth himself in his Office. Saint *Paul* in few words declareth the end, wherefore the sword is committed to the powers, saying, *It is to the punishment of the wicked doers, and unto the praise of such as do well.* Rom. 13.

Note. Of which words, it is evident, That the sword of God is not committed to the hand of man, to use as it pleaseth him, but onely to punish vice, and maintain vertue, that men may live in such society, as before God is acceptable. And this is the very and onely cause, why God hath appointed powers in this Earth.

For such is the furious rage of mans corrupt nature, That unlesse severe punishment were appointed, and put in execution upon malefactors; Better it were, that man should live among brute and wilde Beasts, then among men. But at this present, I dare not enter into the description of this common place; for so should I not satisfie the Text, which by Gods grace I purpose to absolve. This onely by the way, I would that such as are placed in Authority, should consider, Whether they raign and rule by God, so that God ruleth them or if they rule without, besides, and against God, of whom our Prophet here doth complain.

Note. If any list to take tryall of this point, it is not hard: For *Moses* in the election of Judges, and of a King, describeth, not onely, what persons shall be chosen to that honour, but doth also give to him that is elected and chosen, the rule by the which he shall try himself, whether God raign in him or not, saying: When he shall sit upon the throne of his Kingdom, he shall write to himself an examplar of this Law, in a Book by the Priests and Levites; it shall be with him, and he shall read therein, all the dayes of his life, That he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this Law, and these Statutes, that he may do them, that his heart be not lifted up above his Brethren, and that he turn not from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left.

Josh. 1. The same is repeated to *Joshuah* in his inanguration to the Regiment of the people by God himself, saying; Let not the Book of this Law depart from thy mouth, but meditate in it day and night, that thou mayst keep it, and do according to all that which is written in it. For then shall thy way be prosperous, and thou shalt do prudently.

The

Anno

The first thing then that God craveth of him that is called to the Honour of a King, is, *The knowledge of his Will revealed in his Word.*

The second is, *An upright and willing minde to put in execution such things as God commandeth in his Law, without declining to the right, or to the left hand.*

What is required of a King or Prince.

Kings then have not an absolute Power to do in their Regiment what pleaseth them; but their Power is limited by Gods Word: So that if they strike where GOD hath not commanded, they are but murtherers; and if they spare where GOD hath commanded to strike, they and their Throne are criminall and guilty of the wickednesse that aboundeth upon the face of the earth, for lack of punishment.

The Authority and Power of Kings is limited.

O that Kings and Princes would consider what account shall be craved of them, as well of their ignorance and misknowledge of Gods Will, as for the neglecting of their Office. But now to returne to the words of the Prophet. In the person of the whole people he doth complain unto God, That the *Babilonians* (whom he calleth, *Other lords besides* God, both because of their ignorance of God, and by reason of their cruelty and inhumanity) had long ruled over them in great rigour, without pity or compassion had upon the ancient men, and famous matrons: For they being mortall enemies to the people of God, sought by all meanes to aggravate their yoke, yea, utterly to have exterminate the memory of them, and of their Religion, from the face of the earth.

Note.

After the first part of this dolorous complaint, the Prophet declareth the Protestation of the people, saying, *Nevertheless in thee shall we remember thy Name:* (others reade it, *But we will remember thee onely, and thy Name:*) But in the Hebrew there is no Conjunction Copulative in that sentence. The minde of the Prophet is plaine, to wit, That notwithstanding the long-sustained affliction, the people of God declined not to a false and vain Religion, but remembred God, that sometime appeared to them in his mercifull presence; which albeit then they saw not, yet would they still remember his Name, that is, They would call to minde the Doctrine and Promise which at sometimes they heard, albeit in their prosperity they did not sufficiently glorifie God, who so mercifully ruled in the midst of them. The temptation, no doubt, of the Israelites, was great in those dayes: They were carried captives from the Land of *Canaan*, which was to them the gage and pledge of Gods favour towards them; for it was the inheritance that God promised to *Abraham*, and to his seed for ever. The League and Covenant of Gods Protection, appeared to have been broken: They lamentably complain, That they saw not their accustomed signes of Gods mercifull presence; The true Prophets were few, and the abominations used in *Babylon* were exceeding many: And so it might have appeared to them, That in vain it was, that they were called the Posterity of *Abraham*, or that ever they had received the Law, or Forme of right Religion from God. That we may the better feel it in our selves, the temptation, I say, was even such, as if God should utterly destroy all Order and Policie that this day is within his Church, that the

Anno true preaching of the Word ſhould be ſuppreſſed, The right uſe of Sacraments aboliſhed, Idolatry and Papiſticall abomination erected up again; And therewith, That our bodies ſhould be taken priſoners by Turks or other manifeſt enemies of God, and of all godlineſſe. Such, I ſay, was their temptation; How notable, then is this their confeſſion, that in bondage they make, to wit, That they will remember God onely, albeit, he hath appeared to turn his face from them, They will remember his name, and will call to minde the deliverance promiſed.

Uſe. Hereof have we to conſider, what is our duty, If God bring us (as for our offences and unthankfulneſſe juſtly he may) to the like extremity. This confeſſion is not the fair flattering words of hypocrites, lying and bathing in their pleaſures, but it is the mighty operation of the Spirit of God, who leaveth not his own deſtitute of ſome comfort, in their moſt deſperate calamities. This is then our duty, not onely to confeſſe our God in time of peace and quieteneſſe, but he chiefly craveth, that we avow him in the midſt of his, and our enemies. And this is not in us to do, but it behoveth, That the Spirit of God work in us, above all power of nature. And thus we ought earneſtly, to meditate before the battell riſe more vehement, which appeareth not to be far off. But now muſt we enter in ſomewhat more deeply to conſider theſe judgements of God.

The duty of Gods people.

This people dealt with all, as we have heard, was the onely people upon the face of the Earth, to whom God was rightly known; among them onely were his Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Sacrifices uſed, and put in practiſe; They onely invocated his Name, and to them alone had he promiſed his protection and aſſiſtance: What then ſhould be the cauſe, that he ſhould give them over into this great reproach, and bring them into ſuch extremity, as his own name, in them, ſhould be blaſphemed. The Prophet *Ezekiel*, that ſaw this horrible deſtruction foreſpoken by *Iſaiah*, put in juſt execution, giveth an anſwer in theſe words, Ezek 20. *I gave unto them Laws that were good, in the which, Whoſoever ſhould walk, ſhould live in them; But they would not walk in my wayes, but rebelled againſt me; And therefore, I have given unto them Laws that are not good, and Judgements, in the which they ſhall not live.* The Writers of the Books of Kings, and Chronicles, declare this in more plain words, ſaying: *The Lord ſent unto them his Prophets, riſing early, deſiring of them to return unto the Lord, and to amend their wicked wayes* (for he would have ſpared his people, and his Tabernacle) *but they mocked his ſervants, and would not* 2 Reg. 17. *return unto the Lord their God to walk in his wayes.* Yea, *Judah* it ſelf kept not the precepts of the Lord God, but walked in the Manners and Ordinances of *Iſrael*; That is, Of ſuch as then had declined to Idolatry from the dayes of *Jeroboam*. And therefore, the Lord God abhorred the whole ſeed of *Iſrael*, that is, The whole body of the people, he promiſed them, and gave them into the hands of thoſe that ſpoiled them, and ſo he caſt them out from his preſence.

Hereof it is evident, That their diſobedience unto God, and unto the voices of his Prophets, was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Now, have we to take heed how we ſhould uſe the good Laws of God, that is, his Will revealed unto us in his Word, and that Order of Juſtice, that by him, for

reſurrection this ſtate ſhall be changed; for then ſhall ſuch as now by their abominable living and crueltie, deſtroy the earth and moleſt Gods children, ſee him whom they have pierced; they ſhall ſee the glory of ſuch as now they perſecute, to their terrour and everlaſting confuſion. The remembrance hereof ought to make us patient in the dayes of affliction, and ſo to comfort us, that when we ſee Tyrants in their blinde rage, tread under foot the Saints of God, that utterly we deſpaire not, as if there were neither Wiſdome, Juſtice nor Power above in the Heavens to repreſſe ſuch Tyrants, and to redreſſe the dolours of the unjuſtly afflicted; No brethren, let us be aſſured that the right hand of the Lord will change the ſtate of things that be moſt deſperate: In our God there is Wiſdome and Power in a moment, to change the joy and mirth of our enemies, into everlaſting mourning, and our ſorrows into joy and gladneſſe that ſhall have no end. Anno Apoc.

Let us therefore in theſe apparent calamities (and marvel not that I ſay calamities apparent, for he that ſeeth not a fire begun, that ſhall burn more then we look for, unleſſe God of his mercy quench it, is more then blinde,) not bee diſcouraged, but with unfained repentance, let us return to the Lord our God, let us accuſe and condemne our former negligence, and ſtedfaſtly depend upon his promiſed deliverance, ſo ſhall our temporall ſorrows be converted into everlaſting joy. The doubt that might be moved concerning the deſtruction of thoſe whom God exalteth, ſhall be diſcuſſed, if time will ſuffer, after that we have paſſed thorowout the Text; now proceedeth the Prophet, and ſaith;

Thou haſt increaſed the Nations, O Lord, thou haſt increaſed the Nations, thou art made glorious, thou haſt inlarged all the coaſts of the earth. Verſ. 15.

Lord in trouble, &c. Verſ. 16.

In theſe words the Prophet giveth conſolation to the afflicted, aſſuring them, That how horrible ſoever that deſolation ſhould be, yet ſhould the Seed of *Abraham* be ſo multiplied, that it ſhould repleniſh the coaſts of the earth; yea, that God ſhould be more glorified in their affliction, then he was during the time of their proſperitie: This promiſe (no doubt) was incredible when it was made, for who could have been perſwaded, That the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* ſhould have been the meanes whereby the Nation of the *Iews* ſhould have beene increaſed, ſeeing that much rather it appeared, That the overthrow of *Jeruſalem* ſhould have been the very aboliſhing of the ſeed of *Abraham*: But we muſt conſider, to what end it was that God revealed himſelf to *Abraham*, and what is contained in the promiſe of the multiplication of his Seed, and the benediction promiſed thereto.

Firſt, God revealed himſelf to *Abraham*, and that by the means of his Word; to let all fleſh after underſtand, That God firſt called man, and revealed himſelf unto him, that *fleſh can do nothing but rebell againſt God*; for *Abraham* (no doubt) was an Idolater before that God called him from *Ur* of the *Caldees*; The Promiſe was made, *That the Seed of* Abraham *ſhould be multiplyed as the Stars of heaven, and as the ſand of the ſea*; which is Joſh. 24. Rom. 9.

Anno not ſimply to be underſtood of his naturall Seed, as though it was ſometimes greatly increaſed; but rather of ſuch as ſhould become the ſpirituall Seed of *Abraham*, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh; Now if we be able to prove, That the right knowledge of God, his Wiſdom, Juſtice, Mercy and Power, was more amply declared in their captivity, then ever it was at any time before, then can we not deny, but that God (even when to mans judgement he had utterly raſed them from the face of the earth) did increaſe the Nation of the *Jews*, ſo that he was glorified in them, and did extend the Coaſts of the earth for their habitation. And for the better undeſtanding hereof, let us ſhortly trie the Hiſtories, from their Captivitie to their deliverance, and after the ſame, to the comming of the *Meſsias*.

It is no doubt, but that Sathan intended by the diſperſion of the *Jewes*, ſo to have prophaned the whole Seed of *Abraham*, that among them ſhould neither have remained the true knowledge of God, nor yet the Spirit of Sanctification; but that all ſhould have come to a like contempt
Dan. 1. of God: For I pray you, for what purpoſe was it, that *Daniel* and his fellows were taken into the Kings Court, were commanded to be fed at the Kings Table, and were put to the Schools of their Divines, Southſayers and Aſtrologians? It may be thought that it proceeded of the Kings humanity, and of a zeal that he had, that they ſhould be brought up in vertue and good learning; and I doubt not but it was ſo underſtood of a great number of the *Jews*; but the ſecret practiſe of the Devill was underſtood of *Daniel*, when he refuſed to defile himſelf with the Kings meat, which was forbidden to the Seed of *Abraham* in the Law of their GOD. Well, God beginneth ſhortly after to ſhew himſelf mindefull of his promiſe made by his Prophet, and to trouble *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelfe, by ſhewing to him a viſion in his dream, which did the more trouble him, becauſe he could not forget the terror of it; neither yet could he remember what the Viſion and the parcels thereof were: Whereupon were called all Divines, Interpreters of dreams, and Southſayers, of whom the King demanded, If they could let him underſtand what he had dreamed; But while that they anſwer, That ſuch a queſtion uſed not to be demanded of any Southſayer or Magician, for the reſolution thereof onely appertained to the gods, whoſe habitation was not with men; the charge was given, That
Dan 2. they all ſhould be ſlain; and amongſt the reſt *Daniel* was ſought (whoſe innocency the Devill envyed) to have ſuffered the ſame judgement: He reclaimeth, and asketh time to diſcloſe that ſecret; (I onely touch the Hiſtory, to let you ſee by what means God increaſeth his knowledge) which being granted, the viſion is revealed unto him, he ſheweth the ſame unto the King, with the true interpretation of it; adding, That the knowledge thereof came not from the Stars, but onely from the God of *Abraham*, who onely was, and is, the true God: which thing underſtood, the King burſt forth in his confeſſion, ſaying, *Of a truth your God is the moſt excellent of all gods, and he is Lord of Kings, and onely he that revealeth the ſecrets, ſeeing that thou couldeſt open this ſecret.* And when *Nebuchadnezzar*, after that, puffed up in pride by the counſell of his wicked Nobilitie, would make an Image, before the which he would that all Tongues and Nations, ſubject to him, ſhould make adoration, and that *Sydrack*, *Meſhack* and *Abednego*

for the comfort of man is eſtabliſhed amongſt men. It is no doubt, but that obedience is the moſt acceptable ſacrifice unto God, and that which above all things he requireth; That when he manifeſteth himſelfe by his word, that men follow according to their vocation and commandment. Now ſo it is, that God by that great Paſtor, our Lord Jeſus, now manifeſtly in his word calleth us from all impiety, as well of body, as of mind, to holineſſe of life, and to his ſpirituall ſervice: And for this purpoſe, he hath erected the throne of his mercy among us, the true preaching of his word, together with the right adminiſtration of his Sacraments: But what is our obedience, let every man examine his own conſcience, and conſider what ſtatutes and lawes we would have to be given unto us. Anno

Wouldſt thou, O *Scotland*, have a King to raign over thee in juſtice, equity, and mercy? ſubject thou thy ſelfe to the Lord thy God, obey his commandments, and magnifie thou that word that calleth unto thee, *This is the way, walke into it*, and if thou wilt not, flatter not thy ſelf, the ſame juſtice remaineth this day in God to puniſh thee *Scotland*, and thee *Edinburgh* in eſpeciall, that before puniſhed the land of *Juda*, and the City of *Jeruſalem*. Every Realm or Nation (ſaith the Prophet *Jeremy*) that likewiſe offendeth, ſhall be likewiſe puniſhed. But if thou ſhalt ſee impiety placed in the ſeat of juſtice above thee, ſo that in the Throne of God (as *Salomon* doth complain) raigneth nothing but fraud, & violence, accuſe thy own ingratitude and rebellion againſt God, for that is the only cauſe, why God taketh away (as the ſame Prophet in another place doth ſpeak) the ſtrong man and the man of war, the Judge and the Prophet, the prudent and the aged, the Captain and the honourable, the Counſellor and the cunning Artificer. And I will appoint, ſaith the Lord, children to be their Princes, and babes ſhall rule over them. Children are extortioners of my people, and women have rule over them. Iſai. Jere. 9. Eccleſ 3. Iſa 3.

If theſe calamities, I ſay, apprehend us, ſo that we ſee nothing but the oppreſſion of good men, and of all godlineſſe, and wicked men without God, to reigne above us; Let us accuſe and condemn our ſelves, as the onely cauſe of our own miſeries. For if we had heard the voyce of the Lord our God, & given upright obedience unto the ſame, God ſhould have multiplyed our peace, & ſhould have rewarded our obedience before the eyes of the world. But now let us hear what the Prophet ſaith further.

The dead ſhall not live, ſaith he, neither ſhall the tyrants, or the dead ariſe, becauſe thou haſt viſited and ſcattered them, and deſtroyed all their memory. Verſe 14.

From this 14 verſe, unto the end of the 19, it appeareth, That the Prophet obſerveth no order; yea, that he ſpeaketh things directly repugning one to another: For firſt he ſaith, *The dead ſhall not live*: After, he affirmeth, *Thy dead men ſhall live*. Secondly, he ſaith, *Thou haſt viſited and ſcattered them, and deſtroyed all their memory*: Immediately after he ſaith, *Thou haſt increaſed thy Nation, O Lord, thou haſt increaſed thy Nation*. They have viſited thee, and have poured forth a prayer before thee. Verſe 15.

Who, I ſay, would not think, that theſe are things not onely ſpoken forth of good order and purpoſe, but alſo manifeſtly repugning one to another. For, to live, and not to live, to be ſo deſtroyed that no memoriall remaineth; and to be ſo increaſed, that the coaſts of the earth ſhalbe

Anno repleniſhed, ſeem to import plain contradiction. For removing of this doubt, and for better underſtanding of the Prophets minde, we muſt underſtand, that the Prophet had to do with divers ſorts of men; he had to do with the conjured and manifeſt enemies of Gods people, the *Caldees* or *Babylonians*; even ſo ſuch as profeſſe CHRIST JESUS, have to doe with the *Turke* and *Sarazens*. He had to doe with the Seed of *Abraham*, whereof there were three ſorts. The ten Tribes all degenerate from the true worſhipping of GOD, and corrupted with Idolatry, as this day are our peſtilent Papiſts in all Realms and Nations, there reſted onely the Tribe of *Judah* at *Jeruſalem*, where the form of true Religion was obſerved, the Law taught, and Ordinances of God outwardly kept; but yet there were in that body (I mean, in the body of the viſible Church) a great number that were Hypocrites, as this day yet are among us that do profeſſe the Lord Jeſus, and have refuſed Papiſtrie; not a few that were licentious livers, ſome that turned their backe to God; that is, Had forſaken all true Religion, and ſom that lived a moſt abominable life, as *Ezekiel* ſaith in his viſion; and yet there were ſome godly, as a few Wheat Cornes oppreſſed and hid among the multitude of Chaffe: Now according to this diverſitie, the Prophet keepeth divers purpoſes, and yet in moſt perfect order.

Ezek. 8.

And firſt (after the firſt part of the complaint of the afflicted, as we have heard in vehemency of ſpirit) he burſteth forth againſt all the proud enemies of Gods people, againſt all ſuch as trouble them, and againſt all ſuch as mock and forſake God, and ſaith, *The dead ſhall not live, the proud Giants ſhall not riſe, thou haſt ſcattered them, and deſtroyed their memoriall.* In which words he fighteth againſt the preſent temptation and dolorous ſtate of Gods people, and againſt the inſolent pride of ſuch as oppreſſed them; as if the prophet ſhould ſay, O ye troublers of Gods people, howſoever it appeareth to you in this your bloody rage, that God regardeth not your crueltie, nor conſidereth not what violence you do to his poor afflicted, yet ſhall ye be viſited, yea, your Carcaſes ſhall fall and lie as ſtinking Carrions upon the face of the earth, ye ſhall fall without hope of life or of a bleſſed reſurrection; yea, howſoever ye gather your ſubſtance, and augment your families, ye ſhalbe ſo ſcattered, that ye ſhall leave no memoriall of you to the poſterities to come, but that which ſhall be execrable and odious.

Note.

Hereof have the Tyrants their admonition, and the afflicted Church ineſtimable comfort; The Tyrants that do oppreſſe, ſhall receive the ſame end that they did which have paſſed before; that is, They ſhall die and fall with ſhame, without hope of reſurrection, as is foreſaid, not, That they ſhall not ariſe to their own confuſion and juſt condemnation; but, that they ſhall not recover power to trouble the ſervants of God, neither yet ſhall the wicked ariſe (as *David* ſaith) in the Councell of the Juſt: Now have the wicked their Councells, their Thrones, and finally handling (for the moſt part) of all things that are upon the face of the earth; but the poor ſervants of God are reputed unworthy of mens preſence, envyed, mocked; yea, they are more vile before theſe proud Tyrants, then is the very dirt and mire that is trodden under foot: But in that glorious reſurrection

Abednago, would not obey his unjuſt commandment, and ſo were caſt in the flaming furnace of fire; and yet by Gods Angel, were ſo preſerved, that no ſmell of fire remained in their perſons nor garments: This ſame King giveth a more notable confeſſion, ſaying, *The Lord God of Sydrack, Miſack and Abednago, is to be praiſed, who hath ſent his Angels, and delivered his worſhippers, that put truſt in him, who have done againſt the Kings commandment, who have rather given their own bodies to torment, then that they would worſhip another God, except their own God. By me therefore, is there made a decree, That whoſoever ſhall blaſpheme the God of Sydrack, Miſack and Abednago, that he ſhall be cut in pieces, and his houſe ſhall be made deteſtable.* Anno Dan. 3.

Thus we ſee how God began, even almoſt in the beginning of their Captivity, to notifie his name, to multiply his knowledge, and ſet forth as well his power, as his wiſedom, and true worſhipping, by thoſe that were taken priſoners; yea, that were deſpiſed, and of all men contemned, So that the name and fear of the God of *Abraham*, was never before notified to ſo many Realmes and Nations. This wondrous work of God proceeded from one Empire to another: For *Daniel*, being promoted to great honour by *Darius* King of *Perſians* and *Medes*, falleth into a deſperate danger; For he was committed to priſon among Lyons, becauſe that he was deprehended, breaking the Kings Injunction; not that the King deſired the deſtruction of Gods ſervants, but becauſe the corrupt Idolaters, that in hatred of *Daniel* had procured that Law to be made, urged the King againſt his Nature; but God by his Angel, did ſtop the Lyons mouths, and ſo preſerved his ſervant: Which conſidered with the ſudden deſtruction of *Daniels* enemies, by the ſame Lyons, King *Darius*, beſides his own confeſſion, wrote to all people, tongues, and nations after this form; *It is decreed by me, That in all the dominions of my Kingdom, men ſhall fear and reverence the God of Daniel, becauſe he is the living God, abiding for ever; whoſe Kingdom ſhall not be deſtroyed, and his dominion remaineth, who ſaveth and delivereth, and ſheweth ſignes and wonders in Heaven and in Earth, who hath delivered Daniel from the Lyons.* Dan. 6.

This knowledge was yet further increaſed, in the dayes of *Cyrus*, who giving freedom to the Captives, to return to their own Native Country, giveth this confeſſion; Thus ſaith *Cyrus*, the King of *Perſians*, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth, hath the Lord God of Heaven given unto me, and hath commanded me, that a houſe be built to him in Jeruſalem, which is in Juda. Whoſoever therefore of you, that are of his people, Let the Lord his God be with him, and let him paſſe up to Jeruſalem, and let him build the houſe of the Lord God of Iſrael; for he onely is God, that is in Jeruſalem.* 1 Eſd 2. Time will not ſuffer me to intreat the points of this confeſſion, neither yet did I for that purpoſe adduce the Hiſtory; But onely, to let us ſee how conſtantly God kept his promiſe in increaſing of his people, and in augmenting of his true knowledge, when that both they that were the ſeed of *Abraham*, and that Religion which they profeſſed, appeared utterly to have been extinguiſhed, above mens expectation; I ſay, he brought freedom out of bondage, light out of darkneſſe, and life out of death. I am not ignorant, that the building of the Temple, and reparation of the Walls of

Anno of *Jeruſalem*, were long ſtayed, ſo that the work had many enemies; But ſo did the hand of God prevail in the end, That a decree was made by *Darius* (by him I ſuppoſe, that ſucceeded to *Cambiſes*) not onely that all things neceſſary for the building of the Temple, and for the Sacrifices
1 Eſd 6. that were to be there brent, ſhould be miniſtred upon the Kings charges; but alſo, That whoſoever ſhould hinder that work, or change that decree, that a balk ſhould be taken out of his houſe, and that he ſhould be hanged thereupon; yea, that his houſe ſhould be made a dunghill; and thereto,
A Prayer. he addeth a Prayer, ſaying, *The God of Heaven, who hath placed his Name there, root out every King, and People (O that Kings and Nations ſhould underſtand) that ſhall put his hand, either to change, or to hurt this houſe of God, that is in Jeruſalem.* And ſo, in deſpight of Sathan, was the Temple builded, the walls repaired, and the City inhabited, and in the moſt deſperate dangers it was preſerved, till that the *Meſsias* promiſed, the glory of the ſecond Temple, came, manifeſted himſelf to the world, ſuffered and roſe againe, according to the Scriptures: And ſo, by ſending forth his Goſpel from *Jeruſalem*, did repleniſh the earth with the true knowledge of God; and ſo did God in perfection encreaſe the Nation, and the ſpirituall Seed of *Abraham*.

Wherefore, dear brethren, we have no ſmall conſolation, if the ſtate of all things be this day rightly conſidered; we ſee in what fury and rage the world, for the moſt part, is now raiſed, againſt the poor Church of Jeſus Chriſt, unto the which he hath proclaimed liberty, after the fearfull bondage of that Spirituall *Babylon*, in the which we have been holden captives longer ſpace, then *Iſrael* was priſoner in *Babylon* it ſelf: For if we ſhall conſider, upon the one part, the multitude of thoſe that live wholly without Chriſt; and upon the other part, the blinde rage of the peſtilent Papiſts, What ſhall we think of the ſmall number of them that do profeſſe Chriſt Jeſus, but that they are as a poor ſheep, already ſeized in the claws of the Lyon? yea, that they, and the true Religion which they profeſſe, ſhall in a moment utterly be conſumed?

But againſt this fearfull temptation, let us be armed with the Promiſe of God, to wit, That he will be the Protector of his Church; yea, That he will multiply it, even when to mans judgement it appeareth utterly to be exterminate. This Promiſe hath our God performed, in the multiplication of *Abrahams* Seed, in preſervation of it, when Sathan laboured utterly to have deſtroyed it, in deliverance of the ſame, as we have heard, from *Babylon*. He hath ſent his ſon Chriſt Jeſus, clad in our fleſh, who hath taſted of all our infirmities (ſin except) who hath promiſed to be with us to the end of the world. He hath further kept Promiſe, in publication, yea, in the reſtitution of his glorious Goſpel; Shall we then think that he will leave his Church deſtitute in this moſt dangerous age? Onely let us ſtick to his Truth, and ſtudy to conform our lives to the ſame, and he ſhall multiply his knowledge, and encreaſe his people. But now let us hear what the Prophet ſaith more.

Lord,

Lord in trouble have they viſited thee, they poured out a prayer when thy chaſtning was upon them. Anno Verſ. 16.

The Prophet meaneth, that ſuch as in the time of quietneſſe, did not rightly regard God, nor his judgements, were compelled by ſharp corrections to ſeek God, yea, by cryes and dolorous complaints, to viſite him. True it is, That ſuch obedience deſerveth ſmall praiſe before men, for who can praiſe, or accept that in good part, which cometh as it were of meer compulſion; and yet rare it is, that any of Gods children do give unfained obedience, untill the hand of God turn them; For if quietneſſe and proſperity, make them not utterly to forget their duty, both towards God and man, as *David* for a ſeaſon, yet it maketh them careleſſe, inſolent, and in many things unmindefull of thoſe things that God chiefly craveth of them; which imperfection eſpied, and the danger that thereof might enſue, our heavenly Father viſiteth the ſins of his children, but in the rod of his mercy, by the which they are moved to return to their God, to accuſe their former negligence, and to promiſe better obedience in all times hereafter; as *David* confeſſeth, ſaying, *Before I fell in affliction, I went aſtray, but now will I keep thy Statutes.*

But yet for the better underſtanding of the Prophets minde, we may conſider how God doth viſite man, and how man doth viſite God, and what difference there is, betwixt the viſitation of God upon the reprobate, and his viſitation upon the choſen.

God ſometimes viſiteth the reprobate in his hot diſpleaſure, pouring upon them his plagues for their long rebellion; as we have heard before, that he viſited the proud, and deſtroyed their memory. Other times, God is ſaid to viſite his people being in affliction, to whom he ſendeth comfort, or promiſe of deliverance, as he did viſite the ſeed of *Abraham*, being oppreſſed in *Egypt*: and *Zachary* ſaith, That God had viſited his people, and ſent unto them hope of deliverance, when *John* the Baptiſt was borne. But of none of theſe viſitations ſpeaketh our Prophet here, but of that onely which we have already touched, to wit, when that God layeth his correction upon his own children, to call them from the venemous Breaſts of this corrupt world, that they ſuck not in over-great aboundance the poyſon thereof; and doth, as it were, wean them from their mothers Paps, that they may learn to receive other nouriſhment. True it is, That this weaning (or ſpaning, as we terme it) from worldly pleaſure, is a thing ſtrange to the fleſh, and yet it is a thing ſo neceſſary to Gods children, that unleſſe they be weaned from the pleaſures of the world, they can never feed upon that delectable Milk of Gods eternall verity; For the corruption of the one, doth either hinder the other to be received, or elſe ſo troubleth the whole powers of man, that the ſoul can never ſo digeſt the truth of God, as that he ought to do.

Albeit this appeareth hard, yet it is moſt evident; For what liquor can we receive from the Breaſts of the world, but that which is in the world, what that is, the Apoſtle *John* teacheth, ſaying; *Whatſoever is in the world, is either the luſts of the eyes, the luſts of the fleſh, or the pride of life.* 1 Joh. 2.

Anno Now ſeeing that theſe are not of the Father, but of the world, how can it be, that our ſouls can feed upon chaſtitie, temperance, and humility, ſo long, as that our ſtomacks are repleniſhed with the corruption of theſe vices?

Now ſo it is, that willingly, fleſh can never refuſe theſe forenamed, but rather ſtill delighteth it ſelf in every one of them; yea, in them all, as the examples are but too evident.

It behoveth therefore, that God himſelf ſhall violently pull his children from theſe venemous breaſts, that when they lack the liquor and poyſon of the one, they may viſite him, and learn to be nouriſhed of him. Oh if the eyes of worldly Princes ſhould be opened, that they might ſee with what humour and liquor their ſouls are fed, while that their whole delight conſiſteth in pride, ambition, and luſts of the ſtinking fleſh. We underſtand then how God doth viſite men, as well by his ſevere judgements, as by his mercifull viſitation of deliverance from trouble, or by bringing trouble upon his choſen for their humiliation: And now it reſteth to underſtand how man viſiteth God: Man doth viſite God, when he appeareth in his preſence; be it to the hearing of his Word, or to the participation of his Sacraments; as the people of *Iſrael*, beſides the obſervation of their Sabbaths and daily oblations, were commanded thrice a yeer to preſent themſelves before the preſence of the Tabernacle, and as we do, and as often as we preſent our ſelves to the hearing of the Word; for there is the footſtool, yea, there is the face and throne of God himſelf, whereſoever the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is truely Preached, and his Sacraments rightly miniſtred.

But men may on this ſort viſite God hypocritically, for they may come for the faſhion, they may hear with deaf ears; yea, they may underſtand, and yet never determine with themſelves to obey that, which God requireth: And let ſuch men be aſſured, That he (who ſearcheth the ſecrets of hearts) will be avenged of all ſuch. For nothing can be to God more odious, then to mock him in his own preſence. Let every man therefore examine himſelf, with what minde, and what purpoſe, he cometh to hear the Word of God; yea, with what ear he heareth it, and what teſtimony his heart giveth unto him, when that God commandeth vertue, and forbiddeth impiety.

Repineſt thou when God requireth obedience? Thou heareſt to thine own condemnation. Mockeſt thou at Gods threatnings? Thou ſhalt feel the weight and truth of them, albeit too late, when fleſh and blood cannot deliver thee from his hand. But the viſitation (whereof our Prophet ſpeaketh,) is onely proper to the ſons of God, who in the time when God taketh from them the pleaſures of the world, or ſheweth his angry countenance unto them, have their recourſe unto him, and confeſſing their former negligence with troubled hearts, cry for his mercy. This viſitation is not proper to all afflicted, but appertaineth onely to Gods children: For the reprobates can never have acceſſe to Gods mercy in time of their tribulation, and that becauſe they abuſe as well his long patience, as the manifold benefits they receive from his hands; For as the ſame Prophet heretofore ſaith, Let the wicked obtain mercy, yet ſhall he never

never learn wiſdome, but in the land of righteouſneſſe, that is, Where the very knowledge of God aboundeth, he will do wickedly, which is a crime above all others abominable; for to what end is it that God erecteth his Throne among us, but that we ſhould fear him? Why doth he reaveal his holy will unto us, but that we ſhould obey it? Why doth he deliver us from trouble, but that we ſhould be witneſſes unto the world, that he is gracious and mercifull? Anno

Now when that men, hearing their duty, and knowing what God requireth of them, do malapertly fight againſt all equity and juſtice, what, I pray you, do they elſe, but make manifeſt warre againſt God? yea, when they have received from God ſuch deliverance, that they cannot deny, but that God himſelf hath in his great mercy viſited them, and yet that they continue wicked as before; what deſerve they, but effectually to bee given over unto a reprobate ſenſe, that headlong they may runne to ruine, both of body and ſoul? It is almoſt incredible that a man ſhould be ſo enraged againſt God, that neither his plagues, nor yet his mercy ſhewed, ſhould move them to repentance; but becauſe the Scriptures beareth witneſſe of the one, and the other, let us ceaſe to marvell, and let us firmly beleeve, that ſuch things as have beene, are even preſently before our eyes, albeit many, blinded by affection, cannot ſee them.

Ahab (as in the book of the Kings it is written) received many notable benefits of the hand of God, who did viſit him in divers ſorts; ſometimes by his plagues, ſometimes by his word, and ſometimes by his mercifull deliverance; He made him king, and for the Idolatry uſed by him and his wife, he plagued whole *Iſrael* by Famine; He revealed to him his Will and true Religion by the Prophet *Elijah*; he gave unto him ſundry deliverances, but one moſt ſpeciall, when proud *Benhadad* came to beſiege *Samaria*, and was not content to receive *Ahabs* gold, ſilver, ſons, daughters and wives, but alſo required, that his ſervants ſhould have at their pleaſure whatſoever was delectable in *Samaria*: True it is, that his Elders and people willed him not to hear the proud Tyrant, But who made unto him the promiſe of deliverance? and who appointed and put his Army in order? who aſſured him of victory? The Prophet of God onely, who aſſured him, That by the ſervants of the Princes of the Provinces, who in number were onely two hundred thirty and two, hee ſhould deface that great Army, in the which there were two and thirty Kings, with all their Forces; and as the Prophet of God promiſed, ſo it came to paſſe, victory was obtained, not once onely, but twice, and that by the mercifull viſitation of the Lord.

But how did *Ahab* viſite God again for his great benefit received? Did he remove his Idolatry? did he correct his Idolatrous wife *Jezabel*? No, we finde no ſuch thing, but the one and the other, wee finde to have continued and increaſed in former impiety: But what was the end hereof? The laſt viſitation of God was, That dogs licked the blood of the one, and did eate the fleſh of the other. In few words then wee underſtand, what difference there is betwixt the viſitation of God upon the Reprobate, and his viſitation upon his Choſen; the Reprobate are viſited, but never truly humbled, nor yet amended; the Choſen being viſited, they 1 Reg. 22. 1 Reg 9.

Anno they ſob, and they cry unto God for mercy (which obtained) they magnifie Gods Name, and after declare the fruits of repentance. Let us therefore that hear theſe judgements of our God, call for the aſſiſtance of his holy Spirit, that howſoever it pleaſeth him to viſit us, that we may ſtoop under his mercifull hands, and unfainedly cry to him when he correcteth us; And ſo ſhall we know in experience, that our cryes and complaints were not in vain. But let us hear what the Prophet ſaith further.

Verſe 17. *Like as a woman* (ſaith he) *with child that draweth neer the travell, is in ſorrow, and cryeth in her pains, ſo have we been in thy ſight, O Lord, we have conceived, we have born in vain, as though we ſhould have brought forth the wind.*

Verſe 18. *Salvations were not made to the earth, neither did the inhabitants of the earth fall.*

This is the ſecond part of the Prophets complaint, in the which he in the perſon of Gods people complaineth, that of their great affliction there appeared not end. This ſame ſimilitude is uſed by our Maſter Jeſus Chriſt; John 16. for when he ſpeaketh of the troubles of his Church, he compareth them to the pains of a woman travelling in her child-birth. But it is to another end. For there he promiſeth exceeding and permanent joy, after a ſort, though it appear trouble. But here is the trouble long & vehement, albeit the fruit of it was not ſuddenly eſpied. He ſpeaketh no doubt of that long and dolorous time of their captivity, in the which they continually travelled for deliverance, but obtained it not before the compleat end of 70 yeres; during the which time, the earth, that is, the land of *Juda*, which ſomtimes was ſanctified unto God, but was then given to be prophaned by wicked people, got no help, nor perceiving any deliverance: For the Inhabitants of the world fell not, that is, the tyrants and oppreſſors of Gods people, were not taken away, but ſtil remained and continued blaſphemers of God and troublers of his Church. But becauſe I perceive the houres to paſſe more ſwiftly then they have done at other times, I mind to contract that which reſteth of this Text into certain points.

Verſ. 19 20. *The Prophet firſt fighteth againſt the preſent deſpair. After he introduceth God himſelfe calling upon his people. And laſt of all, he aſſureth his afflicted, that God will come, and require account of all the blood-thirſty Tyrants of the earth.*

Firſt fighting againſt the preſent deſpair, he ſaith, *Thy dead ſhall live, even my Body (or with my body ſhall they ariſe,) awake and ſing ye that dwell in the duſt; For thy*
Verſe 19. *dew is as the dew of herbes.*

The Prophet here pierceth through all impediments that nature could object; And by the victory of faith, he overcommeth, not only the common enemies, but the great and laſt enemy of all, *to wit*, death it ſelfe: For this would he ſay, Lord, I ſee nothing to thy choſen, but miſery to follow miſery, & one affliction to ſucceed another, yea in the end I ſee, that death ſhall devour thy deareſt children. But yet, O Lord, I ſee thy promiſe to be true, & thy love to remain towards thy choſen, even when death appeared to have devoured them: *For thy dead ſhal live, yea not only ſhal they live,*

but

but my very dead Carcaſe ſhall ariſe; And ſo I ſee honour and glory to ſucceed this temporall ſhame, I ſee joy permanent to come after trouble, order to ſpring out of this terrible confuſion; and finally, I ſee that life ſhall devour death, ſo that death ſhall be deſtroyed, and ſo thy ſervants ſhall have life. This (I ſay) is the victory of faith, when in the midſt of death, through the light of Gods Word, the afflicted ſee life. Hypocrites, in the time of quietneſſe and proſperitie, can generally confeſſe, That God is true in his promiſes; but bring them to the extremitie, and there ceaſeth the Hypocrite further to truſt in God then he ſeeth naturall means whereby God uſeth to work: But the true faithfull, when all hope of naturall means faileth, then flie they to God himſelf, and to the truth of his Promiſe, who is above nature, yea, whoſe works are not ſo ſubject to the ordinary courſe of nature, that when Nature faileth, his Power and Promiſe fail alſo therewith. Anno

Let us further obſerve, That the Prophet here ſpeaketh not of all dead in generall, but ſaith, *Thy dead, O Lord, ſhall live:* In which words he maketh difference betwixt thoſe that die in the Lord, and thoſe that die in their naturall corruption, and in the old *Adam*. Dye in the Lord can none, except thoſe that live in him (I mean thoſe that attain to the yeers of diſcretion) and none live in him, but thoſe that with the Apoſtle can ſay, *I live, and yet not I, but Chriſt Jeſus that dwelleth in me; The life that I now live, I have by the faith of the Sonne of God.* Not that I mean, That the faithfull have at all hours ſuch ſenſe of the life everlaſting, that they fear not the death, and the troubles of this life; no, not ſo, for the faith of Gods Children is weak, yea, and in many things imperfect: But I mean, That ſuch as in death and after death ſhall live, muſt communicate in this life with Jeſus Chriſt, and muſt be regenerate by the ſeed of life; that is, by the Word of the everliving God, which whoſoever deſpiſeth, refuſeth life and joy everlaſting. Gal. 2. 1 Pet. 1.

The Prophet transferreth all the promiſes of God to himſelfe, ſaying, *Even my dead body ſhall ariſe*; and immediately after, giveth commandement and charge to the dwellers in the duſt, that is, To the dead Carcaſes of thoſe that were departed (for the ſpirit and ſoul of man dwelleth not in the duſt) *That they ſhould awake, that they ſhould ſing and rejoyce*; for they ſhould ariſe and ſpring up from the earth, even as the Herbs do, after they have received the dew from above.

Time will not ſuffer that theſe particulars be ſo largely treated as they ought to be, and as I gladly would; therefore let us conſider, That the Prophet in transferring the Power and Promiſe of God to himſelf, doth not vindicate to himſelf any particular prerogative above the people of God, as that he alone ſhould live and ariſe, and not they alſo; But he doth it, to let them underſtand, That he taught a Doctrine whereof he was certain, yea, and whereof they ſhould have experience after his death: As if he ſhould ſay, My words appear to you now to be incredible, but the day ſhall come, that I ſhall be taken from you, my Carcaſe ſhall be incloſed in the boſome of the earth, and therefore ſhall ye be led away Captives to *Babylon*, where ye ſhall remain many dayes and yeers, as it were buryed in your Sepulchres.

Anno

But then call to minde, that I ſaid unto you before hand, that my body ſhall ariſe: Even ſo ſhall ye riſe from your graves out of *Babylon*, and be reſtored to your own Countrey, and City of *Jeruſalem*. This, I doubt not, is the true meaning of the Prophets. The charge that he giveth to the dwellers in the duſt, is to expreſſe the power of Gods Word; whereby, he not onely giveth life, where death apparantly had prevailed; but alſo by it, he calleth things that are not, even as if they were. True it is, that the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaw not the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, much leſſe could he ſee the reſtitution of it with his corporall eyes; but he leaveth this, as it were, in teſtament with them, That when they were in the extremity of all bondage, they ſhould call to minde, what the Prophet of God had before ſpoken.

And leſt that his doctrine, and this promiſe of God made unto them by his mouth, ſhould have been forgotten (as we are ever prone and ready to forget Gods promiſes when we are preſſed with any ſorrow) God raiſed up unto them, in the midſt of their calamity, his Prophet *Ezekiel*, unto whom, among many otherviſions, he gave this; *The hand of the Lord firſt led him in a place, which was full of dry and diſperſed bones.* The queſtion was demanded of the Prophet, if theſe bones, being wondrous dry, ſhould live. The Prophet anſwered, The knowledge thereof appertained unto God. Charge was given unto him, that he ſhould ſpeak unto the dry bones, and ſay, *Thus ſaith the Lord God to theſe bones, Behold, I ſhall give you breath, and you ſhall live; I ſhall give unto you ſinews, fleſh, and skin, and you ſhall live.* And while the Prophet ſpake (as he was commanded) he heard a voyce, and he ſaw every bone joyn in his Marrow; he ſaw them covered with fleſh and skin, albeit, there was no ſpirit of life in them. He was commanded again, to ſpeak, and to ſay, *Thus ſaith the Lord God, Come O ſpirit from the four quarters, and blow in theſe that are ſlain, that they may live.* And as he propheſied, the ſpirit of life came; They lived and ſtood, upon their feet. Now doth the Lord interpret what this viſion meant, ſaying, *O Son of man, theſe bones are the whole houſe of Iſrael.* Behold, they ſay, our bones are dryed, our hope is periſhed, we are plainly cut off; But behold, ſaith the Lord, *I will open your graves, I will bring you forth of them, ye ſhall live, and come unto the Land of Iſrael, and ye ſhall know that I am the Lord.*

Ezek. 37.

This viſion I ſay, given to the Prophet, and by the Prophet preached to the people, when they thought that God had utterly forgotten them, compelled them more diligently to advert, what the former Prophets had ſpoken. It is no doubt, but they carryed with them, both the propheſie of *Iſaiah* and *Jeremy*, ſo that the Prophet *Ezekiel* is a Commentary to theſe words of *Iſaiah*, where he ſaith. *Thy dead, O Lord, ſhall live, with my body they ſhall ariſe.* The Prophet bringeth in this ſimilitude of the *dew*, to anſwer unto that part of their fidelity, who can believe no further of Gods promiſes, then they are able to apprehend by naturall judgement; As he would ſay, Think ye this impoſſible, that God ſhall give life unto you, and bring you to an eſtate of a Common-wealth again, after that ye be dead, and as it were raced from the face of the earth. But why do ye not conſider, what God worketh from yeer to yeer,

yeer in the order of nature, ſometimes ye ſee the face of the earth decked and beautified with herbs, flowers, graſſe, and fruits. Again, ye ſee the ſame utterly taken away by ſtorms, and vehemency of the Winter. What doth God to repleniſh the earth again, and to reſtore the beauty thereof. He ſendeth down his ſmall and ſoft dew, the drops whereof, in their deſcending, are neither great nor viſible, and yet thereby are the pores and ſecret veins of the earth, which before by vehemency of froſt and cold were ſhut up, opened again; and ſo doth the earth produce again the like herbs, flowers, and fruits. Shall ye then think, that the dew of Gods heavenly grace ſhall not be as effectuall in you to whom he hath made his promiſe, as that it is in the herbes and fruits that from yeer to yeer buddeth forth and decayeth? If ye do ſo, the Prophet would ſay your incredibility is inexcuſable, becauſe ye do neither rightly weigh the power, nor the promiſe of your God. Anno

The like ſimilitude uſeth the Apoſtle *Paul* againſt ſuch as called the reſurrection in doubt, becauſe that by naturall judgement they could not apprehend that fleſh once putrified, and reſolved, as it were, in other ſubſtance, ſhould ariſe again, and return again to the ſame ſubſtance and nature. *O fool* (ſaith he) *that which thou ſoweſt is not quickned, except it dye, and that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare corn, as it falleth, of wheat, or ſome other, but God giveth it a body as it pleaſeth him, even to every ſeed his own body.* In which words and ſentence, the Apoſtle ſharply rebuketh the groſſe ignorance of the *Corinthians*, who began to call in doubt the chiefe article of our faith, the reſurrection of the fleſh after that it was once reſolved, becauſe that naturall judgement (as ſaid he) reclaimed thereto. He reproveth (I ſay) their groſſe ignorance, becauſe they might have ſeen and conſidered ſome proofe and document thereof in the very order of nature: For albeit the wheat, or other corn caſt in the earth, appeareth to die or putrifie, and ſo to be loſt, yet we ſee that it is not periſhed, but that it fructifieth according to Gods will and ordinance.

Now if the power of God be ſo manifeſt in raiſing up of the fruits of the earth, unto the which no particular promiſe is made by God, what ſhall be his power and vertue in raiſing up of our bodies, ſeeing that thereto he is bound by the ſolemne promiſe of Jeſus Chriſt his eternall wiſdom? And the verity it ſelf that can not lie: yea, ſeeing that the members muſt once communicate with the glory of the head, How ſhall our bodies, which are fleſh of his fleſh, and bone of his bones, lie ſtill for ever in corruption, ſeeing that our head Jeſus Chriſt is now exalted in his glory. Neither yet is this power and good will of God to be reſtrained unto the laſt and generall reſurrection onely, but we ought to conſider it in the marvellous preſervation of his Church, and in the raiſing up of the ſame from the very bottome of death, when by Tyrants it hath been oppreſſed from age to age.

Now of the former words of the Prophet, we have to gather this comfort, That if at any time we ſee the face of the Church within this Realm ſo defaced (as I think it ſhall be ſooner then we look for) when we ſhall ſee, I ſay, vertue to be deſpiſed, vice to be maintained, the

Anno

the verity of God to be impugned, lies and mens inventions holden in authoritie; and finally, when we ſhall ſee the true Religion of our God, and the zealous obſervers of the ſame, to be trodden under the feet of ſuch as in their heart ſay, That there is no God. Let us then call to mind what have been the wonderous works of our God from the beginning, that it is his proper Office to bring forth light out of darkneſſe, order out of confuſion, life out of death; and finally, that it is he, that calleth things that are not, even as if they were, as before we have heard: And if in the day of our temptation (which in my judgement approacheth faſt) wee be thus armed, if our incredulity cannot utterly be removed, yet ſhall it ſo be corrected, that damnable deſpaire oppreſſe us not. But now let us hear how the Prophet proceedeth:

Pſal. 14.

Come (ſaith he) *thou my people, enter within thy chamber, ſhut thy door after thee, hide thy ſelf a very little while, untill the indignation paſſe over.*

Here the Prophet bringeth in God amiably calling upon his people to come to himſelf, and to reſt with him, untill ſuch time as the fury and ſharp plagues ſhould be executed upon the wicked and inobedient. It may appear at the firſt ſight, That all theſe words of the Prophet in the perſon of God calling the people unto reſt, are ſpoken in vain; for we neither finde chambers nor reſt more prepared for the deareſt children of God (ſo far as mans judgement can diſcern) then there was for the rebellious and diſobedient; for ſuch as fell not in the edge of the ſword, or dyed not of peſtilence, or by hunger, were either carryed captives unto *Babylon*, or elſe departed after into *Egypt*, ſo that none of *Abrahams* Seed, had either chamber or quiet place to remain within the Land of *Canaan*. For the reſolution hereof, we muſt underſtand, That albeit the Chambers whereunto God called his Choſen, be not viſible, yet notwithſtanding they are certain, and offer unto Gods Children quiet habitation in ſpirit, howſoever the fleſh be travelled and tormented.

The chambers are then Gods ſure promiſes, unto the which Gods people are commanded to reſort, yea, within the which they are commanded to cloſe themſelves in the time of greateſt adverſitie. The manner of ſpeaking is borrowed from that judgement and foreſight, which God hath printed in this our Nature; for when that men eſpie great tempeſts appearing to come, willingly they will not remain uncovered upon the fields, but ſtraightway they will draw them to their houſes or holds, that they may eſcape the vehemency of the ſame; and if they fear any enemy to purſue them, they will ſhut their doors, to the end that ſuddenly the enemy ſhould not have entry.

After this manner God ſpeaketh to his people; as if he ſhould ſay, The Tempeſt that ſhall come upon this whole Nation, ſhall be ſo terrible, that nothing ſhall appear but extermination to come upon the whole body: But thou my people (I ſay) that heareſt my word, beleeveſt the ſame, and trembleſt at the threatnings of my Prophets, now when the world doth inſolently reſiſt, let ſuch (I ſay) enter within the ſecret Chamber of my promiſes, let them contain themſelves quietly there, yea let them

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ſhut the door upon them, and ſuffer not infidelity, the mortall enemy of my trueth, and of my people that depend thereupon, to have free entry to trouble them (yea, farther to murther) in my promiſe; and ſo ſhall they perceive that my indignation ſhall paſſe, and that ſuch as depend upon me, ſhall be ſaved. Anno

Thus we may perceive the meaning of the Prophet; Whereof, we have firſt to obſerve, That God acknowledgeth them for his people, that are in greateſt affliction; yea, ſuch as are reputed unworthy of mens preſence, are yet admitted within the ſecret Chamber of God. Let no man think that fleſh and blood, can ſuddenly attain to that comfort; and therefore moſt expedient it is, That we be frequently exerciſed in meditation of the ſame. Eaſie it is I grant, in time of proſperity, to ſay, and to think, That God is our God, and that we are his people; But when he hath given us over in the hands of our enemies, and turned (as it were) his back unto us, then I ſay, ſtill to reclaim him to be our God, and to have this aſſurance, That we are his people, proceedeth wholly from the holy ſpirit of God, as is the greateſt victory of faith, which over-cometh the world; for increaſe whereof, we ought continually to pray. 1 John 5.

This doctrine we ſhall not think ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider how ſuddenly our ſpirits are carryed away from our God, and from believing his promiſe, ſo ſoon as any great temptation doth apprehend us, then begin we to doubt, If ever we beleeved Gods promiſes, if God will fulfill them to us, if we abide in his favour, if he regardeth and looketh upon the violence and injury that is done unto us, and a multitude of ſuch cogitations, which before lurked quietly in our corrupted hearts, burſt violently forth when we are oppreſſed with any deſperate calamity. Againſt the which, this is the remedy, once to apprehend and ſtill to retain, God to be our God, and firmly to believe, that we are his people whom he loveth, and will defend, not onely in affliction, but even in the midſt of death it ſelf.

Secondly, let us obſerve, That the judgements of our God, never were, nor yet ſhall be ſo vehement upon the face of the earth, but that there hath been, and ſhall be, ſome ſecret habitation prepared in the ſanctuary of God, for ſome of his choſen, where they ſhall be preſerved untill the indignation paſſe by, and that God prepareth a time, that they may glorifie him again, before the face of the world, that ſometimes deſpiſed them; And this ought to be unto us no ſmall comfort in theſe appearing dangers, to wit, that we be ſurely perſwaded, That how vehement ſoever the tempeſt ſhall be, that it yet ſhall paſſe over, and ſome of us ſhall be preſerved to glorifie the name of our God, as is aforeſaid.

Two vices lurke in this our nature; the one is, That we cannot tremble at Gods threatnings, before that the plagues apprehend us, albeit, that we ſee cauſe moſt juſt, why that his fierce wrath ſhould burn as a devouring fire. The other is, That when calamities before pronounced, fall upon us, then begin we to ſinke down in deſpair, ſo that we never look for any comfortable end of the ſame.

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To correct this our mortall infirmity in time of quietneſſe, We ought to conſider what is the juſtice of our God, and how odious ſin is. And above all other, how odious Idolatry is in his preſence, who hath forbidden it, and who hath ſo ſeverely puniſhed it in all ages, from the beginning; And in the time of our affliction we ought to conſider, what have been the wondrous Works of our God, in preſervation of his Church, when it hath been in uttermoſt extremity: For never ſhall we finde the Church humbled under the hands of Traytors, and cruelly tormented by them; but therewith, we ſhall finde Gods juſt vengeance to fall upon the cruell perſecuters, and his mercifull deliverance to be ſhewed to the afflicted: And in taking of this tryall, we ſhould not onely call to minde the Hiſtories of ancient times, but alſo we ſhould diligently mark what notable Works God hath wrought even in this our age, as well upon the one, as upon the other. We ought not to think that our God beareth leſſe love to his Church this day, then that he hath done from the beginning: For as our God in his own nature is immutable, ſo remaineth his love towards his elect, alwayes unchangeable; For as in CHRIST JESUS he hath choſen his Church, before the beginning of all ages, ſo by him will be maintain and preſerve the ſame unto the end. Yea, he will quiet the ſtorms, and cauſe the earth to open her mouth, and receive thoſe raging flouds of violent waters, caſt out by the Dragon, to drown and carry away the woman which is the ſpouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom, God for his own Names ſake, will be the perpetuall Protector.

Eccleſ. hiſtor. Sozomeni. lib. 5. cap. 5.

This ſaw that notable ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, *Athanaſius*, who (being exiled from *Alexandria* by that blaſphemous Apoſtata *Julian* the Emperour) ſaid unto his flock, who bitterly wept for his envious baniſhment; *Weep not, but be of good comfort, ſaid he, For this little cloud will ſuddainly vaniſh.* A little cloud, he called both the Emperour himſelf, and his cruell tyranny; And albeit, That ſmall appearance there, was of any deliverance to the Church of God, or yet, of any puniſhment, to have apprehended the proud tyrants, when the man of God pronounced theſe words, *Yet ſhortly after, God did give witneſſe, That thoſe words did not proceed from fleſh, nor blood, but from Gods very ſpirit.* For not long after, being in warfare, he received a deadly wound, whether by his own hand, or by one of his own ſouldiers, the Writers cleerly conclude not, But caſting his own blood againſt the Heaven, he ſaid, *Viciſti tandem Galilee*, That is, *At laſt thou haſt overcome thou Galilean*; So in deſpite, he termed the Lord Jeſus, and ſo periſhed that tyrant in his own iniquity; The ſtorm ceaſed, and the Church of God received now comfort.

Such ſhall be the end of all cruell perſecuters, Their raign ſhall be ſhort, their end miſerable, and their name ſhall be left in execrations to Gods people; and yet ſhall the Church of God remain to Gods glory, after all ſtorms. But now ſhortly, let us come to the laſt point.

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For behold (ſaith the Prophet) *the Lord will come out of his place to viſit the iniquitie of the Inhabitants of the earth upon them, and the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood and ſhall no more hide her ſlain; becauſe that the finall end of the troubles of Gods Choſen ſhall not be before that the Lord Jeſus ſhall return to reſtore all things to their full perfection.*

The Prophet bringeth forth the Etenall God, as it were from his owne place and habitation, and therewith ſheweth the cauſe of his coming, to bee, That hee might take account of all ſuch as have wrought wickedly; for that he meaneth, where he ſaith, *Hee will viſit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them.* And leſt that any ſhould thinke, That the wrong doers are ſo many that they cannot bee called to an account, he giveth unto the earth (as it were) an Office and charge to beare witneſſe againſt all thoſe that have wrought wickedly, and chiefly againſt thoſe that have ſhed innocent blood from the beginning; and ſaith, *That the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood, and ſhall no more hide her ſlain men.*

If Tyrants of the earth, and ſuch as delight in the ſhedding of blood ſhould be perſwaded that this ſentence is true, they would not ſo furiouſly come to their own deſtruction; for what man can be ſo enraged, that he would willingly do even before the eyes of God, that which might provoke his Majeſtie to anger, yea, provoke him to become his enemy for ever, if that he underſtood how fearfull a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God?

The cauſe then of this blinde fury of the world, is the ignorance of God, and that men think that God is but an Idoll, and that there is no knowledge above, that beholdeth their Tyranny; neither yet Juſtice that will, nor power that can repreſſe their impiety; but yet the Spirit of truth doth witneſſe the contrary, affirming, That as the eyes of the Lord are upon the juſt, and as his ears are ready to receive their ſobbing and prayers, ſo is his angry viſage againſt ſuch as work iniquitie, he hateth and holdeth in abomination every deceitfull and blood-thirſty man, whereof he hath given ſufficient document from age to age, in preſerving the one, or at leaſt in revenging of their cauſe, and in puniſhing of the other. Where it is ſaid, That the Lord will come from his place, and that he will viſit the iniquity of the inhabitants of the earth upon them, and that the earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood, we have to conſider, what moſt commonly hath been, and what ſhall be the condition of the Church of God, to wit, That it is not onely hated, mocked, and deſpiſed, but that it is expoſed as it were, in a prey, unto the fury of the wicked; ſo that the blood of the Children of God, is ſpilt like unto water upon the face of the earth.

The underſtanding whereof, albeit it be unpleaſant to the fleſh, yet to us it is moſt profitable, leſt that we ſeeing the cruell entreatings of Gods ſervants, begin to forſake the Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe that ſhe is not ſo dealt withall in this unthankfull world, as the juſt and upright dealing of Gods Children do deſerve: But contrariwiſe, for mercy they receive crueltie; for doing good to many,

Anno of all the reprobate they receive evill: And this is decreed in Gods eternall Councell, that the members may follow the trace of the head, to the end that God in his juſt judgement ſhould finally condemne the wicked; for how ſhould he puniſh the inhabitants of the earth, if their iniquitie deſerved it not? How ſhould the earth diſcloſe our blood, if it ſhould not bee unjuſtly ſpilt? Wee muſt then commit our ſelves into the hands of our God, and lay downe our neckes, yea, and patiently ſuffer our blood to bee ſhed, that the righteous Judge may require account, as moſt aſſuredly hee ſhall, of all the blood that hath been ſhed, from the blood of *Abel* the juſt, till the day that the earth ſhall diſcloſe the ſame; I ſay, every one that ſheddeth, or conſenteth to ſhed the blood of Gods Children, ſhall be guilty of the whole: So that all the blood of Gods children ſhall crie vengeance, not onely in generall, but alſo in particular, upon every one that hath ſhed the blood of any that unjuſtly ſuffered.

A terrible, but muſt true ſentence.

And if any thinke it ſtrange, that ſuch as live this day, can be guilty of the blood that was ſhed in the dayes of the Apoſtles, let them conſider, that the verity it ſelfe pronounced, That all the blood that was ſhed from the dayes of *Abel*, unto the dayes of *Zacharie*, ſhould come upon that unthankfull generation, that heard his Doctrine, and refuſed it.

The reaſon is evident, for as there is two heads and captains that rule over the whole world, to wit, Jeſus Chriſt, the Prince of Juſtice and Peace; and Sathan, called the Prince of the world; ſo are they but two Armies that hath continued battell from the beginning, and ſhall fight unto the end: The quarrell is one which the Armie of Jeſus Chriſt do ſuſtain, and which the reprobate do perſecute, to wit, The eternall truth of the Eternall God, and the Image of Jeſus Chriſt printed in his Elect, ſo that whoſoever in any age perſecuteth any one Member of *JESUS CHRIST*, for his Truths ſake, ſubſcribeth as it were, with his hand, the perſecution of all that have paſſed before him.

And this ought the Tyrants of this age deeply to conſider, for they ſhall bee guilty, not onely of the blood ſhed by themſelves, but of all (as is ſaid) that hath been ſhed for the Cauſe of Jeſus Chriſt from the beginning of the world.

Let the faithfull not bee diſcouraged, although they bee appointed as Sheepe to the Slaughter-houſe, for hee, for whoſe ſake they ſuffer, ſhall not forget to revenge their cauſe. I am not ignorant, That fleſh and blood will thinke that kinde of ſupport too too late, for wee had rather bee preſerved ſtill alive, then to have our blood revenged after our death; and truely if our felicitie ſtood in this life, or if death temporall ſhould bring unto us any damage, our deſire in that behalfe were not to bee diſallowed or condemned; But ſeeing that death is common to all, and that this temporall life, is nothing but miſerie, and that death doth fully joyne us with our God, and giveth unto us the poſſeſſion of our Inheritance, why ſhould we thinke it ſtrange to leave this world, and go to our Head and Soveraign Captain Jeſus Chriſt?

Laſtly, we have to obſerve this manner of ſpeaking, where the Prophet

phet ſaith, that *The earth ſhall diſcloſe her blood:* In which words the Prophet would accuſe the crueltie of thoſe that dare ſo unmercifully and violently force from the Breaſts of the Earth, the deareſt Children of God, and cruelly cut their Throats in her boſome, who is by God appointed the common mother of mankinde, ſo that ſhe unwillingly is compelled to open her mouth and receive their blood. Anno

If ſuch Tyrannie were uſed againſt any naturall woman, as violently to pull her infant from her Breaſts, cut the Throat of it in her own boſome, and compell her to receive the blood of her deare Childe in her owne mouth, all Nations would hold the fact ſo abominable, that the like had never been done in the courſe of nature; no leſſe wickedneſſe commit they that ſhed the Blood of Gods Children upon the face of their common mother the earth (as I ſaid before:) But bee of good courage (O little and deſpiſed Flock of Chriſt Jeſus) for hee that ſeeth your griefe hath power to revenge it, He will not ſuffer one teare of yours to fall, but it ſhall bee kept and reſerved in his Bottell, till the fulneſſe thereof bee poured downe from Heaven upon thoſe that cauſed you to weep and mourne; this your mercifull God (I ſay) will not ſuffer your blood for ever to be covered with the earth, nay, the flaming fires that have licked up the blood of any of our Brethren, the earth that hath beene defiled with it, I ſay, with the blood of Gods Children; for otherwiſe, to ſhed the blood of the cruell blood-ſhedders, is to purge the land from blood, and as it were to ſanctifie it; The earth (I ſay) ſhall purge her ſelfe of it, and ſhew it before the face of God; yea, the Beaſts, Fowls, and other Creatures whatſoever, ſhall be compelled to render that which they have received, bee it Fleſh, Blood or Bones that appertained to thy Children, O Lord, which altogether thou ſhalt glorifie, according to thy promiſe made to us in our Lord and Saviour *JESUS CHRIST* thy welbeloved Sonne, to whom with thee and the Holy Ghoſt be honour, praiſe, and glory for ever and ever. *Amen*

Let us now humble our ſelves in the preſence of our God, and from the bottome of our hearts, let us deſire him to aſſiſt us with the power of his Holy Spirit, that albeit for our former negligences God giveth us over into the hands of other then ſuch as rule in his fear, that yet he letteth us not forget his mercy, and that glorious Name, that hath beene proclaimed amongſt us; but that wee may look thorow the dolorous ſtorm of his preſent diſpleaſure, and ſee as well what puniſhment hee hath appointed for the cruell Tyrants, as what reward hee hath laid in ſtore for ſuch as continue in his fear to the end; That it would further pleaſe him to aſſiſt, That albeit we ſee his Church ſo diminiſhed, that it appear to bee brought (as it were) to utter extermination, that wee may be aſſured, that in our God there is great power and will, to increaſe the number of his Choſen, untill they bee enlarged to the uttermoſt parts of the earth: Give us (O Lord) hearts to viſite thee in time of affliction, and albeit we ſee no end of our dolours, yet our faith and hope may conduct us to the aſſured hope of that joyfull reſurrection, in the which wee ſhall poſſeſſe the fruit of that for which now we labour: In the mean time,

Anno grant unto us (O Lord) to repoſe our ſelves in the ſanctuary of thy promiſe, that in thee we may finde comfort, till that this thy great indignation (begun amongſt us) may paſſe over, and thou thy ſelfe appear to the comfort of thy afflicted, and to the terrour of thine and our enemies.

Let us pray with heart and mouth.

Almighty God and mercifull Father, &c. Lord into thy Hands I commend my ſpirit, for the terrible roaring of Gunnes and the noiſe of Armour do ſo pierce my heart, that my ſoule thirſteth to depart.

The laſt day of *Auguſt* 1565. at four of the Clock in the Afternoon, written indigeſtly, but yet truly ſo farre as memory would ſerve, of thoſe things that in publike I ſpake on Sunday, *Auguſt* 19. for the which I was diſcharged to preach for a time.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was ſhooting againſt the exiled for Chriſt Jeſus ſake.

Be mercifull to thy Flock, O Lord, and at thy good pleaſure put end to my miſery.

JOHN KNOX.

FINIS.